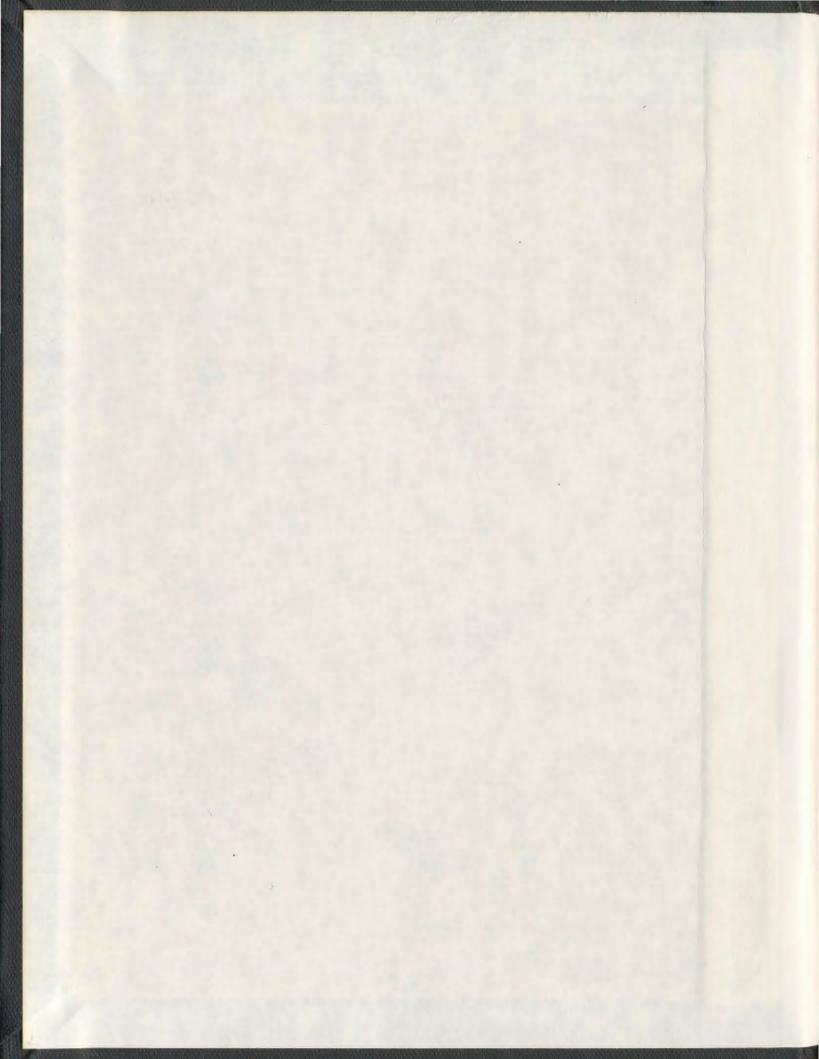
FAR FROM THE HOMES OF THEIR FATHERS: IRISH CATHOLICS IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND, 1840-86







Far from the Homes of their Fathers: Irish Catholics in St. John's,

Newfoundland, 1840-86

by

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Abstract

Despite being the first substantial Irish Catholic settlement in British North America, little work has been done on the Irish Catholic community in St. John's, Newfoundland in the second half of the nineteenth century. Much of what has been written by historians has focused on the migrant generation, their settlement patterns and adaptation. There is little understanding of the development of the multigenerational Irish ethnic group after 1840. This study addresses this lacuna, examining the Irish Catholic ethnic group in St. John's between 1840 and 1886. There are many reasons to undertake such a case study. St. John's was not only the political, economic and social center of the colony, it was also the most populous area with the largest number of Irish Catholics. It provides an opportunity to study the evolution of an Irish Catholic group that was unique in North America in that it formed the majority of the city's population during that period. Demographically, St. John's was also distinctive because Catholics were counterbalanced by a Protestant population that was of English rather than Irish descent. This makes the context of study different from other urban areas of British North America, where Catholics formed a minority and Irish Protestants formed a large portion of the population. Lack of largescale Irish migration to Newfoundland after the 1830s allows for an examination of the development of a Catholic group that was established in the pre-Famine period and that was majority Newfoundland-born by 1857.

As the first detailed account of Irish Catholics in St. John's between 1840 and 1886, this study chronicles their political, religious and social evolution through an examination of the Catholic Church, education, associations, politics and support for Irish nationalism. As a community study viewed through the lens of ethnicity, it traces the evolution of the identity of the multi-generational community. The findings are placed within the context of the wider North American diaspora to illuminate how the Irish Catholic experience in St. John's compares to other regions.

Catholics in St. John's did well compared to other urban areas in North America. By 1886, they were an integral part of the fabric of St. John's at all levels. The Catholic community of the late 1880s was confident, politically involved, and socially active due to the leadership of the Catholic Church and an expanded middle-class elite. Greater resources allowed the Church to assume control over education and associational life, which reinforced religious devotion and allowed it to impose its moral code upon the community. Catholics continued to have a say in the running of the colony as they dominated electoral politics and maintained a strong political voice. Politics became less divisive and less ethnically and religiously-based. By the 1880s, the growth of Newfoundland nationalism superseded that of Irish nationalism. For native-born Catholics and their political leaders, far removed from the everyday struggles of Ireland, local political issues and concerns became paramount.

Between 1840 and 1886, the Catholic community in St. John's evolved from a largely immigrant one defined by an Irish ethnic identity and world view, to one where Catholicism and not ethnicity became the basis of community solidarity. Members identified primarily as Newfoundland-born Catholics, and it was their religion that provided them with an essential link to their Irish past. Although a romantic attachment to Ireland remained, they were far from the homes of their fathers.

Acknowledgements

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Table of Contents

Abstract		ii
Acknowle	dgements	iv
Table of C	Contents	v
List of Tal	bles	ix
List of Ma	ps	xii
List of Fig	ures	xiii
List of Ap	pendices	xiv
Maps		xv
Chapter 1	Introduction	1
	1.1 Newfoundland Historiography	3
	1.2 Diaspora Historiography	17
	1.3 Ethnic Theory and Methodology	23
	1.4 Sources	29
	1.5 Transition	34
Chapter 2	St. John's: the City and its Catholic Community	37
	2.1 Irish Migration and Settlement	39
	2.2 City Geography and Residential Patterns	47
	2.3 Catholic Residential and Occupational Profile	53
	2.4 The Catholic Lay Elite	60
Chapter 3	The Catholic Church	73
	3.1 Ecclesiastical Leadership	76

	3.2 The Growth of Church Infrastructure	80
	3.3 Financing Church Expansion	84
	3.4 Church Personnel	98
	3.5 Irish Identity and Catholicism	103
	3.6 The Emergence of a New Devotionalism	107
	3.7 Conclusion	110
Chapter 4	Education	112
	4.1 The Development of the Education System in Newfoundland	116
	4.2 The Role of Education in the Catholic Community	121
	4.3 The Building of New Schools	129
	4.4 Enrollment and Attendance	134
	4.5 Instruction	144
	4.6 Curriculum	148
	4.7 Textbooks	156
	4.8 Secondary Education	162
	4.9 Funding Schools	174
	4.10 Conclusion	183
Chapter 5	Associational Life	186
	5.1 The Establishment and Growth of Catholic Societies	187
	5.2 Charitable Societies	197
	5.3 Leadership and Membership	205
	5.4 The Role of the Catholic Church	216
	5.5 Processions and Social Events	228

	5.6 Social Life and Activities	236
	5.7 Raising Money	246
	5.8 Conclusion	252
Chapter 6	Newfoundland Nativism	255
	6.1 The Establishment of the Newfoundland Natives' Society	256
	6.2 Political Background: the 1830s	261
	6.3 The Political Split in the Catholic Community	265
	6.4 The NNS: Political Aspirations	269
	6.5 The Blurring of Catholic Group Boundaries	275
	6.6 The Deepening of Social Divisions within the Catholic Community	280
	6.7 Healing the Rift	285
	6.8 The Legacy of Nativism	288
Chapter 7	Politics	292
	7.1 Politics From Above: The Political System	293
	7.2 Politics from Above: Issues and Alliances	299
	7.3 The Liberal Party and Electoral Politics	302
	7.4 Politics from Below: Electoral Politics	310
	7.5 The Declining Role of the Catholic Church in Politics	324
	7.6 Conclusion	332
Chapter 8	Support for Irish Nationalism	337
	8.1 O'Connell and Repeal	339
	8.2 Republicanism: Young Ireland and the Fenians	342

	8.3 The O'Connell Centennial and Parnell	350
	8.4 Loyalism	353
	8.5 Organization and Leadership	359
	8.6 Financial Support	370
	8.7 Conclusion	376
Chapter 9	Conclusion: The Irish Catholic Community of St. John's in Comparative Context	379
Bibliography		395
Appendices		417

List of Tables

Table 2.1	Native and Foreign-Born in St. John's, 1857-91	42
Table 2.2	Catholics and Protestants in St. John's, 1845-91	43
Table 2.3	Religious Denominations in St. John's, 1845-91	46
Table 2.4	Composition of Districts, St. John's, 1857-91	54
Table 2.5	Irish Names on the Barristers' Roll, Newfoundland, 1840-89	62
Table 2.6	St. John's Catholic MHAs, 1840-90	63
Table 2.7	Occupations of St. John's Catholic MHAs, 1840-90	64
Table 3.1	Catholic Bequests to the Church, 1840-86	91
Table 3.2	Bequests by Decade, Catholic Wills, 1840-86	92
Table 4.1	St. John's Catholic Schools, 1840-86	130
Table 5.1	Prominent Catholic Societies in St. John's, 1840-86	190
Table 5.2	Officers of the Ladies' St. Vincent de Paul, 1874-82	201
Table 5.3	St. Vincent de Paul Society Subscription Lists, 1874-82	204
Table 5.4	Ladies' St. Vincent de Paul Society Subscription Lists, 1874-82	204
Table 5.5	Birthplace and Occupation of Benevolent Irish Society Officers, 1840-85	207
Table 5.6.1	Relationship between the Benevolent Irish Society Officers, 1840-85 and other Catholic Societies	208
Table 5.6.2	Relationship between the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute Officers, 1865-74 and other Catholic Societies	209
Table 5.6.3	Relationship between the St. Vincent de Paul Officers, 1854-75 and other Catholic Societies	209
Table 5.6.4	Relationship between the Total Abstinence and Benefit Society	209

Officers, 1860-1875 and other Catholic Societies

Table 5.6.5	Relationship between the Mechanics' Society Officers, 1845-75 and other Catholic Societies	209
Table 5.6.6	Relationship between the Newfoundland Fishermens' Society Officers, 1858-74 and other Catholic Societies	210
Table 5.7	Clergy admitted to the BIS, 1830-85	223
Table 5.8	BIS St. Patrick's Day Dinners and Average Attendance, 1840-85	238
Table 6.1	Natives' Society Presidents, 1840-63	259
Table 6.2.1	Natives' Society Officers: Religion and Number of MHAs	260
Table 6.2.2	Occupations of NNS Officers	260
Table 7.1	Governments of Newfoundland, 1842-85	295
Table A1	Total Irish Migration to British North America, 1841-76	418
Table A2	Total Irish and UK Migrants to Newfoundland by Decade, 1840s-70s	419
Table A3	Irish Migration in 1847	420
Table A4	Irish Emigration to British North American Colonies, 1841-76	425
Table A5	Irish Emigration to Newfoundland, 1841-76	426
Table B1	Occupations in St. John's City Districts as Listed in the Newfoundland Census, 1857-91	428
Table B2	Irish Names in St. John's City Directory Business Listings, 1864-1886	430
Table B3	Women's Names in the St. John's City Directory Business Listings, 1864-86	432
Table B4	Women with an Occupation in the Lists of Residents, St. John's City Directories, 1864-86	433
Table B5	Irish Names and Marital Status amongst Women with an Occupation in the Lists of Residents, St. John's City Directories, 1864-86	436
Table C1	St. John's MHAs, 1840-90	437

Table C2	Party Alignments of St. John's MHAs, 1840-90	441
Table D1	Occupation of Catholics leaving Bequests to the Church, 1840-86	442
Table D2	Bequests to the Catholic Church in Ireland, 1840-1886	443
Table E1	Catholic Schools established in St. John's, 1840-86	445
Table E2	Enrollment and Average Attendance at Catholic Public Elementary Schools, St. John's, 1848-75	448
Table E3	Catholic School Board Members, 1844-84, with years also served on the Orphan Asylum School Committee	449
Table F1.1	Ladies' St. Vincent de Paul Society Income, 1875-1882, in pounds	451
Table F1.2	St. Vincent de Paul Society Income, 1875-1882, in pounds	452
Table F2	BIS Presidents, 1840-85	453
Table F3	Clerical Involvement in BIS Matters, 1840-85	454
Table F4	BIS Officers, 1840-86, with birthplace, occupation, and correlations to other Catholic Societies	455
Table F5	BIS Finances, 1840-85	464
Table G1	Natives' Society Officers, 1840-63	467
Table H1	Money given to Irish and other Causes, 1840-86	472

List of Maps

A REAL SHE

Map 1	St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador	xv
Map 2	St. John's c. 1880, showing Principal Streets with Catholic and Government Buildings	xvi
Map 3	BIS St. Patrick's Day Processional Route, 1875-85	xvii

List of Figures

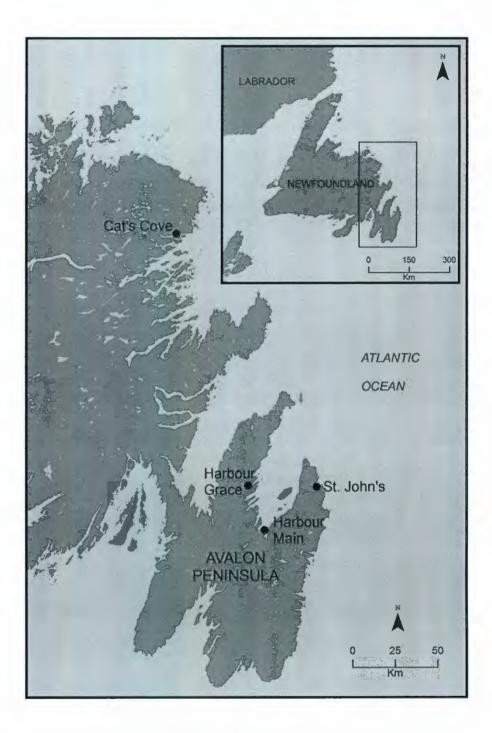
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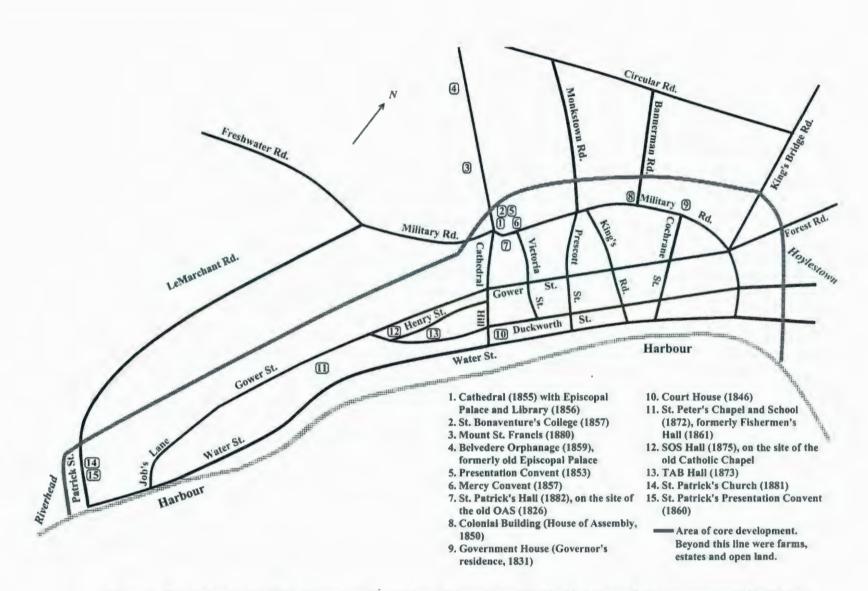
Figure 7.1	Native-Born St. John's MHAs, 1840-90: distribution over time, by decade	312
Figure 7.2	Occupations of St. John's MHAs, 1840-90: distribution over time, by decade	314
Figure A1	Percentage of Irish Migrants to Newfoundland by Decade, 1840s-70s	419
Figure A2	The Irish Migrant Flow to Newfoundland, 1841-76	421
Figure A3	Irish Male and Female Migrants to Newfoundland, 1844-76	423

List of Appendices

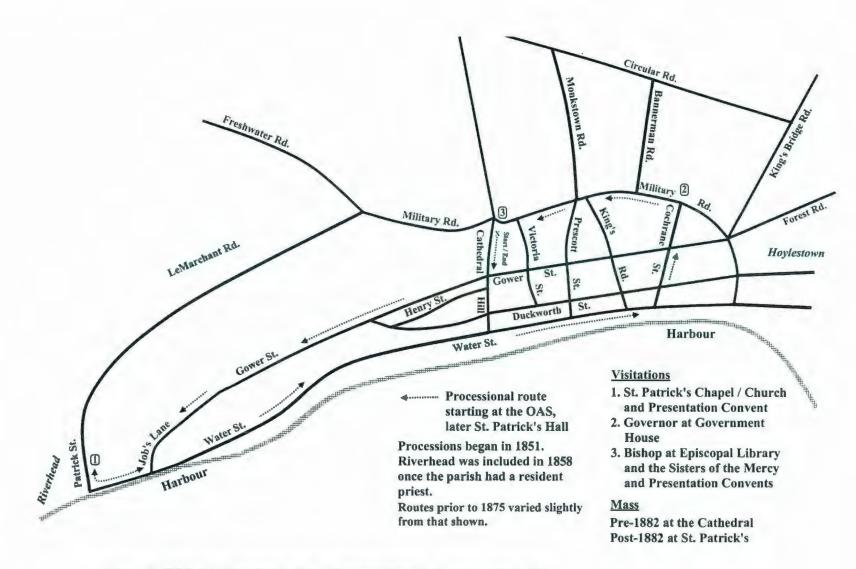
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Appendix A	Migration Data	417
Appendix B	Occupational Data	428
Appendix C	St. John's MHAs, 1840-90	437
Appendix D	Catholic Wills, 1840-86	442
Appendix E	Education	445
Appendix F	Catholic Societies	451
Appendix G	Newfoundland Natives' Society	467
Appendix H	Irish Nationalism	472





Map 2: St. John's c.1880, showing Principal Streets with Catholic and Government Buildings xvi



Map 3: BIS St. Patrick's Day Processional Route, 1875-85

Chapter 1

Introduction

The general perception in works on the Irish in Canada is that Newfoundland has the oldest, and perhaps closest, links to Ireland since it was one of the first colonies to receive Irish migrants in the eighteenth century. Cyril Byrne has suggested that of all the destinations in the Atlantic region Newfoundland can not only claim to be the oldest English colony, but the oldest Irish one as well.¹ Newfoundland was both the place of the first substantial Irish settlement in British North America and an important stepping-stone for migrants to the other colonies.² David Wilson has argued that the result is that "The roots of Irish ethnicity run deepest in Newfoundland [...] With the pull of the Atlantic prevailing over the pull of the continent, Newfoundland established closer and more immediate ties with Ireland than did most other parts of Canada."³ It is true that Newfoundland and Ireland had close ties in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries based on migrant and trade connections, as Irishmen arrived as servants in the cod fishery on board ships carrying Irish provisions.⁴ By the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, however, the Newfoundland fishery had changed from a migratory to a resident

¹ Cyril Byrne, "The First Irish Foothold in North America," *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, vol. 1 (Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds.; Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), 171.

² Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 17; Byrne, "The First Irish Foothold in North America," 171; David Wilson, The Irish in Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989), 9. ³ Wilson, The Irish in Canada, 9.

⁴ John Mannion, "The Irish Migrations to Newfoundland" (Public lecture delivered to the Newfoundland Historical Society, 23 October 1973), 1-2.

one, and settlement had become permanent. By the 1830s the provisions trade had ended. These developments spelled the end of Irish migration and most of Newfoundland's direct ties with Ireland.⁵

With the end of Irish mass migration in the 1830s, so too ends much of our knowledge of the Irish in the colony. Much of what has been written by historians has focused on the migrant generation, their settlement patterns, and adaptation. There is little understanding of the development of the multigenerational Irish ethnic group after 1840. This study addresses this lacuna, examining the Irish Catholic ethnic group in St. John's between 1840 and 1886. There are many reasons to undertake such a case study. St. John's was not only the political, economic and social center of the colony, but the most populous area with the largest number of Irish Catholics. It provides an opportunity to study the evolution of an Irish Catholic group that was unique in North America in that it formed the majority of the city's population during that period. Demographically, St. John's was also distinctive because Catholics were counterbalanced by a Protestant population that was of English rather than Irish descent. This makes the context of study different from other urban areas of British North America where Catholics formed a minority and Irish Protestants formed a large portion of the population.⁶ In addition, the lack of large scale Irish migration to Newfoundland after the 1830s allows for an examination of the development of a Catholic group that was established in the pre-

⁵ Shannon Ryan, "Fishery to Colony: A Newfoundland Watershed, 1793-1815," *Acadiensis*, 12:2 (Spring 1983), 34; Thomas Power, Introduction to *The Irish in Atlantic Canada, 1780-1900* (Thomas Power, ed.; Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1991), 7; Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, 16-7.

⁶ John Mannion, "Tracing the Irish: a Geographical Guide," *The Newfoundland Ancestor*, 9:1 (May 1993), 4; Kildare Dobbs, "Newfoundland and the Maritimes: an Overview," *The Untold Story*, 181; Wilson, *The Irish in Canada*, 11.

Famine period and that was majority Newfoundland-born by 1857. In a more general context, this study will also place the development of the Catholic community⁷ within the broader political, social and economic changes that occurred in St. John's. As a founding group, the evolution of the community was closely tied to that of the city, which grew from little more than a fishing station in the early nineteenth century to a burgeoning urban center by the 1880s.

1.1 Newfoundland Historiography

Irish Catholics have been represented in Newfoundland historiography in two divergent ways: as a poor, illiterate, troublesome group that turned the colony into a sectarianized and embittered little Ireland and, conversely, as industrious and productive members of Newfoundland society who, upon arrival, integrated successfully into their new surroundings. The former characterization is specifically in the context of the role Catholics played in the political history of the colony. Gertrude Gunn's seminal work on nineteenth century Newfoundland politics has largely set the tone in this regard. Gunn argued that the identity of Irish immigrants was shaped by "psychological baggage" that they brought with them from Ireland:

The mass of Irish emigrants had brought not education, or executive ability, or means, but, rather, a low standard of life; they knew nothing of elective local government, but they had seen violence at the hustings and the polls; they were predisposed by past experience to dislike the English and to distrust the Protestants they found. Thus Newfoundland in 1832 was

⁷ Community will be defined here as including "the affective ties of community that are extended beyond simple primary groups on the basis of what are perceived to be 'common' characteristics" such as religion or language. Thus the community can extend "from the family level to that of the ethnic group or nationality." Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-80* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 3.

less a colonial version of England than a colonial Ireland with the Irish potential for strife.⁸

The "potential for strife" referred specifically to Irish Catholic participation in local politics between 1832 and 1864, of which Gunn paints a decidedly negative picture. While Catholics played a leading role in the fight for representative government in 1832 and responsible government in 1855, the middle class immigrant desire for political power in those systems was largely to blame for the sectarian state of nineteenth century Newfoundland society. Gunn's paradigm pits Irish Catholics against English Protestants in a battle in which Catholic political leaders, motivated by imported "racial" and religious animosities against Protestants, not only sought political influence but religious ascendancy. Conditions in their new homeland fostered memories of wrongs in the old, creating rival sectarian political parties. The result, she concluded, was that nineteenth century Newfoundland became a combination of Ireland and a rudimentary North American colony. It had the grievances and prejudices of the former and the political ambitions and social frustrations of the latter.⁹

While Newfoundland academics and historians such as James Hiller have also studied politics in the latter part of nineteenth century, Gunn's work stands alone as the only detailed published monograph.¹⁰ This may partly explain why her "colonial Ireland"

⁸ Gertrude Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 182, 185, 187.

⁹ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 182, 185, 187.

¹⁰ James Hiller's work includes "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901" (PhD Thesis, Cambridge, 1971); "Confederation Defeated: the Newfoundland Election of 1869," *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 67-94; and "Political Effects of the Harbour Grace Affray, 1883-1885" ([Newfoundland Historical Society], 1971). There have also been some Masters theses written on nineteenth century politics. For example, Edward C. Moulton, "The Political History of Newfoundland 1861-1869" (MA Thesis, Memorial University of

of sectarian strife thesis became the dominant theme in later works such as that of Frederick Jones, Keith Matthews, Patrick O'Flaherty and John Greene.¹¹ Jones argued that Newfoundland in the nineteenth century mirrored Ireland in many ways. It was ruled by England and divided by ethnicity, class and religion as Irish Catholics and English Protestants battled for political power.¹² Patrick O'Flaherty agreed, stating that the "seed of ethnic and sectarian hatred" defined nineteenth century Newfoundland politics and society.¹³ He has even gone so far as to characterize pre-1843 Newfoundland as a "trans-Atlantic Tipperary" and "transatlantic Ulster."¹⁴ O'Flaherty placed the blame for this squarely on the shoulders of Irish Catholics. Like Gunn, Jones and O'Flaherty both claimed that Irish Catholics tried to make Newfoundland into a "surrogate Irish state," guided as they were by the wrongs of their homeland. They were "sick of losing" politically in Ireland, and thought that, once in Newfoundland, they could make up ground through political domination.¹⁵

An essential part of the sectarian argument is the key role that the Catholic Church played in nineteenth century Newfoundland politics, specifically during Bishop Michael

¹¹ Frederick Jones, "John Bull's Other Ireland: Nineteenth Century Newfoundland," *Dalhousie Review*, 55:2 (1975), 227-35; Patrick O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843* (St. John's, Long Beach Press, 1999), 151 and "The Seeds of Reform: Newfoundland, 1800-18," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 23 (1988), 39-59; John Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation: Priests and Merchants in Newfoundland Politics*, *1745-1855* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); Keith Matthews, "The Class of '32: St. John's Reformers on the Eve of Representative Government," *The Acadiensis Reader, Volume One* (P.A. Buckner and David Frank, eds.; Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1985), 212-25.

¹⁴ O'Flaherty, as a chapter title in Old Newfoundland, and Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843-1933 (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 2005), 132.

Newfoundland, 1960); David MacWhirter, "A Political History of Newfoundland, 1865-1874" (MA Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1963); and John Greene, "The Influence of Religion in the Politics of Newfoundland, 1850-1861" (MA Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970).

¹² Jones also examines the fracturing of the Protestant community in 1844-76 caused by the arrival of Edward Feild, Bishop of Newfoundland. The Anglican-Methodist split saw the latter transfer their support to Catholic Liberals. Frederick Jones, *Edward Feild, Bishop of Newfoundland, 1844-76* (St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1976); Jones, "John Bull's Other Ireland," 225.

¹³ O'Flaherty, Old Newfoundland, 151 and "The Seeds of Reform," 39-59.

¹⁵ O'Flaherty, Old Newfoundland, 192.

Anthony Fleming's episcopacy between 1829 and 1850. Fleming has been portrayed by many academics as a meddlesome political tyrant bent on Catholic ascendancy and using any means to achieve it. Philip McCann suggested that while Fleming established schools and developed parishes like other bishops in Atlantic Canada, it was the championing of Catholic political rights that was of the upmost importance to him.¹⁶ McCann placed Fleming's role in the larger context of Irish politics. He pointed out that, in the context of the fight for Catholic rights in the late 1820s in Ireland, led by Daniel O'Connell, it was only natural that Irish-born Fleming would follow his lead in fighting for Catholic political and social equality in Newfoundland. Like Gunn, he argued that Fleming also brought anti-Protestant baggage from Ireland, detesting the Protestant colonial administration in Newfoundland which he blamed for excluding Catholics from politics.¹⁷

Academics also began to examine the motivations of the mass of lower class Catholics as well as their political leaders. McCann argued that lower class Catholics were motivated by local factors. While he suggested that the politicization of Irish Catholics in Newfoundland in the 1830s was primarily due to Fleming and the clergy he recruited from Ireland, McCann was quick to point out that Catholics were not merely passive instruments of priests as they often presented a united front against government action.¹⁸ The main reason for their activism, he suggested, was class antagonism, specifically between those engaged in the fisheries and fish merchants. McCann argued

¹⁶ Phillip McCann, "Bishop Fleming and the Politicization of the Irish Roman Catholics in Newfoundland, 1830-1850," Religion and Identity: The Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada (Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne, eds.; St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1987), 87. See also John FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture in Irish Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850" (PhD Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), 114.

¹⁷ McCann, "Bishop Fleming," 93-4.
¹⁸ McCann, "Bishop Fleming," 88.

that Fleming used this antagonism to get support for Catholic politicians. Fleming railed against what he saw as the profiteering of Newfoundland merchants whose economic wealth, he believed, was gained at the hands of poorer fishermen whom they exploited.¹⁹

The role class played in the political activism in the Catholic community in the early nineteenth century received further attention from Sean Cadigan. Cadigan argued that class antagonism was exploited by Fleming and used as a ploy to get the lower classes to vote the way he wished. Cadigan also pointed out that Fleming infused rhetoric with ethno-religious arguments. As Daniel O'Connell played upon the grievances of tenants against landlords in Ireland to mobilize support, Fleming and Catholic politicians played upon the fishermen's discontent over immediate economic grievances related to the fishery. Like McCann, Cadigan suggested that the lower class were not mere pawns of the Church but had agency, as fishermen willingly supported Fleming in order to end what they believed to be an exploitation of their labour by the merchants.²⁰

Apart from Cadigan and McCann, there has been no attempt by Newfoundland historians to revise the image of Catholic political participation in the nineteenth century. It is only in the few studies that extricate the Irish Catholic group from the political context that a more positive image of the community emerges. The most exhaustive work on Irish Catholic migrants has been done by historical geographer John Mannion. Mannion investigated material and cultural transfer, the demographic patterns of Irish migration to the colony and the importance of the Newfoundland provisions trade in

¹⁹ McCann, "Bishop Fleming," 92.

²⁰ For example, there was the issue of the wage lien system, which guaranteed servants the first share of a bankrupt planter's fish and oil profits, as a means of providing them with recourse should they not be paid. For a detailed discussion of this see Sean Cadigan, *Hope and Deception in Conception Bay: Merchant-Settler Relations in Newfoundland*, 1785-1855 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 147.

shaping it.²¹ His overall conclusion was that Irish immigrants successfully adapted to their new surroundings, transferring some elements of Irish material culture across the Atlantic, while leaving others behind, and modifying others in order to adapt to the new environment.22

Mannion's work also did much to highlight new issues surrounding both adaptation and the formation of Irish identity in Newfoundland. Microstudies focused on the experiences of individual families and migrants in particular areas of Newfoundland such as St. John's and Logy Bay.²³ In his study of Inistioge, County Kilkenny immigrants in Newfoundland, for example, he argued that once in Newfoundland migrants formed an Irish national identity that reduced parish and provincial loyalties. While Irish identity was still "guided by homeland culture," it was becoming far less local and more 'national' in character.²⁴ Once in Newfoundland, Inistioge immigrants were integrated into the larger Catholic community, evident in spousal choice as the immigrants now married outside their native parish and chose spouses on a broader, more regional basis. Mannion pointed out that "colonial marriages were crucial in forging a new cultural identity among the Irish settlers."In direct contrast to Gunn, he concluded that "integration and assimilation were the norm for Irish immigrants."25

²¹ Mannion, "Tracing the Irish" and "The Waterford Merchants and the Irish-Newfoundland Provisions Trade, 1770-1820," Canadian Papers in Rural History, 3 (1982), 178-203.

²² John Mannion, "Old World Antecedents, New World Adaptations: Inistioge (Co. Kilkenny) Immigrants in Newfoundland," Newfoundland Studies, 5:2 (1989), 4.

²³ Mannion argues that some members of the Irish immigrant group enjoyed economic and social advancement, with most becoming owners of property and gaining prominence in mercantile society. It shows the gradual assimilation of Irish immigrants in St. John's. John Mannion, "Migration and Upward Mobility: The Meagher Family in Ireland and Newfoundland 1780-1830," Irish Economic and Social History, 15 (1988), 54-70.

²⁴ Mannion, "Old World," 92.
²⁵ Mannion, "Old World," 45, 60.

The theme of Irish identity and the successful integration of Irish Catholics was also evident in John Fitzgerald's work, which offered new findings concerning the construction of Irish identity in St. John's in the context of the institutional development of the Catholic Church between 1829 and 1850. Fitzgerald's thesis specifically focused on the role Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming played in fostering Catholic identity. He concluded that Fleming was central to creating an Irish Catholic Church, culture and identity during that period. FitzGerald concluded that before 1850, Irish identity in St. John's was largely equated with religious identity, and that Bishop Fleming and the Church "reinvented" and nurtured Irish Catholic culture, forging an identity that was "Irish not British," According to Fitzgerald, in the 1830s Fleming created for the community an "Irish world" and by 1850 the place of the Catholic Church and Irish culture in Newfoundland was "secure."²⁶ By mid-century Catholics had fought for and won their civil rights, control over schooling and a place in the political establishment.²⁷

In terms of Catholic political activity FitzGerald's conclusions do not offer much that is new. In broad terms, his work largely followed from Gunn, arguing that Irish Catholics brought with them from Ireland political baggage and grievances and, in so doing, were operating entirely in an Irish context. His argument, however, did differ from Gunn's in that he concluded that Fleming and Catholics in general operated along the political norms of Ireland, particularly those of Daniel O'Connell. As such, it was their desire for religious, political and social equality and not ascendancy or anti-Protestant

²⁶ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture,"402.
²⁷ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," iii.

bitterness that guided the actions of the Church and Catholic political leaders.²⁸ While FitzGerald downplayed Fleming's anti-Protestantism or seeming desire for Catholic political supremacy, his overall conclusion was that Newfoundland society in the first half of the nineteenth century was fundamentally sectarian. The political paradigm of Irish Catholics versus English Protestants remained largely unchallenged by FitzGerald who argued that such a state "became the only acceptable way of ensuring that opposing denominational rivalries did not clash in civic unrest."²⁹

FitzGerald, however, did point out that while there was a sectarian political state in Newfoundland in the nineteenth century, the Catholic community itself was not by any means a homogeneous group. In contrast to Mannion's conclusion that Irish Catholics in Newfoundland defined themselves less in terms of provincialism or localism, FitzGerald suggested that these divisions remained strong in St. John's. ³⁰ Specifically, immigrants from Wexford were divided from those from Waterford. He hinted that class differences served to reinforce the division, as the former were less well-off than the latter. It is not clear what impact this split had on the community, since FitzGerald suggested that this divide did not prevent the establishment of an ethnic or religious identity.³¹

The construction of Irish identity was also examined in a more recent doctoral thesis by Willeen Keough. In addition to ethnic identity, her work also focused on an under-examined aspect of Irish diaspora history, that of Irish women. Her work is more

²⁸ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," iii, iv.

²⁹ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," iv.

³⁰ This type of localism was common amongst German Catholics in New York, although they were still united under the banner of Catholicism; for more on this see Nadel, *Little Germany*, 6-7. John E. Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity*, 1875-1935 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) also deals with this issue, although the Italian Catholics of Toronto lost the regionalism the German Catholics of New York retained.

³¹ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," ii, 459.

analytically based than FitzGerald's, however. In examining identity formation and cultural continuity, she used gender as an "analytical concept reflected through the lenses of ethnicity, class and religion" to understand the construction of Irish-Newfoundland womanhood. ³² Keough contrasted the construction of womanhood in Newfoundland with the experiences of middle class women of English descent on the southern Avalon in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She concluded that Irish women in Newfoundland "resisted the pressures of gender ideology" to a greater extent than their English "non-emigrating sisters." Irish-Newfoundland women did not move towards domesticity and economic dependence, but rather remained an important force in the economic, political and social sphere within their communities. Keough argued that this refutes the idea that women's contribution to society was "secondary, diversionary or anomalous."³³ Irish Newfoundland women had a degree of authority at the local level and were not submerged into the "prescribed gender roles of hegemonic culture."³⁴

Although Mannion, FitzGerald and Keough examined the Irish community on its own terms, the main paradigm in nineteenth century Newfoundland historiography remains, as John Greene points out, that religion, ethnicity and politics had become inextricably intertwined.³⁵ In that sense, the historical development of the Irish Catholic community has become secondary to specific arguments concerning their political involvement in the colony in the 1830s and 1840s. For example, there has been no institutional history of the Catholic Church, or even the other denominations, in the

³² Willeen Keough, "The Slender Thread: Irish Women on the Southern Avalon, 1750-1860" (PhD. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2001), 3-4, 70.

³³ Keough, "Slender Thread," 15.

³⁴ Keough, "Slender Thread," 60.

³⁵ Greene, Between Damnation and Starvation, 4.

century. Indeed, the only attempt to do so was in 1888 by Bishop Michael Francis Howley.³⁶ In 1984, Raymond Lahey wrote a short piece on the establishment of the Catholic Church in Newfoundland between 1784 and 1807 under Bishop James Louis O'Donel, but this was not a monograph and was very short in length.³⁷ In addition to his thesis, John FitzGerald also did some work on the Church in the nineteenth century, but it was mostly confined to the period under Fleming in the early part of the nineteenth century.³⁸ The result is that "the Newfoundland studies that do exist are superficial surveys that have not placed the Church within a social, economic, and political context."³⁹

Much the same can be said of Catholic education in Newfoundland, although it has received a little more attention. There have been several works written concerning the three Irish teaching Orders in Newfoundland and their contribution to Catholic education. The Presentation and Mercy Orders, in particular, have ensured that both the general history of the Orders and their history in Newfoundland have survived.⁴⁰ There has been less written concerning the Christian Brothers in Newfoundland. Two Masters theses, one

³⁹ Greene, Between Damnation and Starvation, 4.

³⁶ Howley, Archbishop Michael F. *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, vol. 2 (Brother Joseph B. Darcy, C.F.C. and John F. O'Mara, eds.; St. John's: Terra Nova Publishing, 2005).

³⁷ Raymond J. Lahey, "James Louis O'Donel in Newfoundland 1784-1807: the Establishment of the Roman Catholic Church" (St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1984).

³⁸ In addition to FitzGerald's thesis see "Bishop Fleming and Irish Factionalism: Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850." *Historical Studies*, vol. 64, 1998, pp. 27-45; and "Departures of the Forgotten Bishop: Thomas Francis Brennan (1855-1916) of Dallas and St. John's," *Journal of Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Historical Studies*, vol. 71, 2005, pp. 60-78.

⁴⁰ For example, see Sister Mary Paula Penney, "A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations to the Growth of Education in the Province of Newfoundland" (Ph.D. Thesis, Boston College, 1980); Mary James Dinn, "Foundation of the Presentation Congregation in Newfoundland" (St. John's : [s.n.], 1975); Sister Mary Basil McCormack, *The Educational Work of the Sisters of Mercy in Newfoundland*, 1842-1955 (Washington, D.C. : Catholic University of America, 1995); Sister Willamina M. Hogan, *Pathways of Mercy in Newfoundland* 1842-84 (St. John's: Harry Cuff, 1986); Katherine E. Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry* (St. John's, NL: Flanker Press, 2006).

of which dates back to 1932, and a recent work by Brother Joseph Darcy are the only lengthy pieces on the subject.⁴¹ However, rather than a general work concerning the Brothers in Newfoundland, Darcy's book specifically chronicled the history of St. Bonaventure's College in St. John's, and the Brothers' role in its development as a secondary educational institution.

The vast majority of this work, however, was written by members of the Orders and not by academics. The result has been that, while the educational contributions of these orders are presented, they are not placed in the more general context of the development of the education system in Newfoundland in the nineteenth century. In itself, this subject has received some attention by historians. The first general history was produced in the early 1950s by Frederick Rowe, which he later supplemented with further work in the 1970s.⁴² It was a chronological narrative covering the various education acts, the establishment of the denominational system, and touching on issues such as financing, teacher training, salaries and school boards. In the 1980s and 1990s, Philip McCann's work went further, examining not only the general development of education, but the impact of religion, class and gender on education in Newfoundland.⁴³ McCann also used

⁴¹ Michael Leo Crumlish, *The Christian Brothers, a Factor in the Development of Education in Newfoundland* (MA Thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1932); Melanie Martin, "From Waterford to St. John's: the Early Years of the Irish Christian Brothers in Newfoundland" (MA Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2003); Brother Joseph B. Darcy, *Noble to Our View: The Saga of St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's Newfoundland Canada, The First 150 Years 1856-2006* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2007).

⁴² Frederick Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1952) and Education and Culture in Newfoundland (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1976).

⁴³ Phillip McCann, Schooling in a Fishing Society, Education and Economic Conditions in Newfoundland and Labrador 1836-1986 (St. John's: Institute for Economic and Social Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1994) and Schooling in a Fishing Society, Companion Volume: Tables (St. John's: Institute for Economic and Social Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1994); also McCann "Class, Gender and Religion in Newfoundland Education, 1836-1901" [1988?] and "Newfoundland School Society 1823-1836: Missionary Enterprise or Cultural Imperialism?"[s.n.: 1976?].

a quantitative approach, publishing valuable statistics with regard to the number of schools, teachers, teacher salaries, pupils, attendance, and financial support.⁴⁴

No recent work, however, has been undertaken by historians to revise or add to these earlier monographs. As with the Catholic Church, there has never been a separate comprehensive examination of Catholic education in Newfoundland. The same general issues that McCann examined with regard to Catholic schools, teachers and teacher salaries, pupils, attendance, and financial support have not been addressed or contextualized.

In terms of social or cultural history, there is also a large gap in nineteenth century Newfoundland historiography. Philip McCann's article concerning the invention of colonial identity in Newfoundland between 1832 and 1855 was the only attempt to address the issue of the invention of culture and identity in St. John's in the century. He argued that the administration under Governor John Harvey between 1841 and 1846 fostered a nativist, local and patriotic culture in Newfoundland. McCann suggested that this new culture was fostered by Harvey himself, who drew on imperial sentiment in order to create a sense of colonial nationalism. He argued that this was achieved through various social events and festivals that served to reinforce this identity.⁴⁵ While McCann's article offered an interesting, albeit partial, look into the social life and activities of the city during that period, it is not an entirely convincing argument. He did not address issues of religion or ethnicity. The role that Catholics, the majority of the

⁴⁴ McCann, Schooling in a Fishing Society, Companion Volume, iii.

⁴⁵ Phillip McCann, "Culture, State Formation and the Invention of Tradition: Newfoundland 1832-1855," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 23 (Spring/Summer 1988), 86.

population in St. John's, might have played in the formation of this new colonial identity, if they adopted it at all, was also not discussed by McCann.

An analysis of ethnic, fraternal or religious societies or associational life in St. John's in the nineteenth century is also missing in the historiography. Most societies are relegated to a short, cursory entry in the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*.⁴⁶ A few short pieces exist concerning the Newfoundland Natives' Society, but there has been no proper examination of their rhetoric, motives, or how they defined themselves as an organization.⁴⁷ The Orange Order has only received a small amount of attention. Elinor Senior's 1959 Master's thesis is the most detailed examination of the origin of the Order in 1863, but is restricted to its political role, and her work has not yet been revised by others.⁴⁸

John FitzGerald has done some work concerning the origins of some Catholic societies but, again, not much is known about their overall development in the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ There is no comprehensive history of the only Irish ethnic society in

⁴⁶ For example, the British Society and the St. Andrew's Society. The British Society was established by English Protestants of various denominations and by 1852 it had 210 members. The St. Andrew's society was established by Presbyterians and was for those born in Scotland and their descendants. While it was a benevolent society, it was also designed to promote Scottish culture. Wayne C. Stockwood, "British Society, Newfoundland," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL)*, vol. 1, 267; Elizabeth Graham, "St. Andrew's Society," *ENL*, vol. 5, 7; McCann, "Culture, State Formation and the Invention of Tradition." 86-103.

⁴⁷ Patrick O'Flaherty "Natives' Society, the Newfoundland," *ENL*, volume 4, 21-7; Geoff Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives Society in the Political Crisis of 1840-2" (MUN: Honours Dissertation, 1984).

⁴⁸ Although, a recent article by Eric Kaufmann does discuss the Order in a more general and comparative context. Elinor Senior, "The Origin and Political Activities of the Orange Order in Newfoundland, 1863-1890" (MA Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1959); Eric Kauffman, "The Orange Order in Ontario, Newfoundland, Scotland and Northern Ireland: a Macro-Social Analysis,' in *The Orange Order in Canada* (David A. Wilson, ed.; Portland, Ore: Four Courts Press, 2007).

⁴⁹ See for example FitzGerald's "Irish Fraternities in 19th Century St. John's: The Mechanics' Society," Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Website, 2001; updated February 2003;

http://www.heritage.nf.ca/society/irish_mechanics.html; and "Irish Fraternities in 19th and 20th Century

Newfoundland, the Benevolent Irish Society (BIS). The only attempt was made by the society itself in 1906 when it published a centenary volume.⁵⁰ There have only been two works on the BIS since that time, neither of which is a full-length monograph.⁵¹ There has been no effort by academics to understand the importance of this, or any Catholic organization, in the context of the overall development of the Catholic community and the formation and evolution of Irish identity.

In examining the Catholic community in St. John's, one must also understand the economic, political and social context in which they lived. Not much, however, has been written on the development of the city itself in either the nineteenth or the twentieth century. There exists only a popular history written by Paul O'Neill.⁵² Other works offer fragmentary glimpses of the development of the city, but mostly in the context of the great fires of 1846 and 1892 that destroyed the majority of St. John's.⁵³ Histories tracing the architectural development of the city have also been written.⁵⁴ A recent work of historical geography contains articles examining agriculture, demography, heritage conservation and city planning from the early seventeenth to the late twentieth century.⁵⁵

⁵² Paul O'Neill, The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland (Erin, Ontario: Press Porcépic, 1975-6).

St. John's: the Total Abstinence Society," Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Website, 2001; updated February 2003; <<u>http://www.heritage.nf.ca/society/irish_temperance.html</u>>.

⁵⁰ Centenary Volume, Benevolent Irish Society of St. John's, Newfoundland, 1806-1906 (Cork, Ireland: Guy & Co., [1906?].

⁵¹ Noel A. Veitch, "The Contribution of the Benevolent Irish Society to Education in Newfoundland from 1823 to 1875" (M.Ed. Thesis, Saint Francis Xavier University, 1965), and a student paper by Carleen Dearness entitled "The Mind of the Benevolent Irish Society" (St. John's: Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973).

⁵³ Paul Butler, *St. John's City of Fire* (St. John's: Flanker Press, 2007); Melvin Baker, "The Great St. John's Fire of 1846" (1983) and his "The St. John's Fire of July 8, 1892: the Politics of Rebuilding, 1892-95" (1982).

 ⁵⁴ A Gift of Heritage: Historic Architecture of St. John's, Newfoundland (St. John's: Dicks and Co., 1998).
 ⁵⁵ Alan G. Macpherson, ed., Four Centuries and the City: Perspectives on the Historical Geography of St. John's (St. John's: Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2005).

nineteenth century is by historian Melvin Baker. He has completed extensive and impressive work on the development of social services such as hospitals and the police force between 1800 and 1888. He has also done extensive work on the origins and development of municipal government in St. John's in the late 1880s.⁵⁶

1.2 Diaspora Historiography

Studies of the Irish in Canada tend to examine the Irish experience in a rural context, focusing largely on migration patterns and settlement in Atlantic Canada and Ontario.⁵⁷ There are some studies of Irish communities in an urban context in Atlantic Canada such as Halifax and Saint John, although these too are confined to the migrant group.⁵⁸ Thematically, Canadian studies touch on many of the same themes found in the larger diaspora literature such as integration and assimilation, the Catholic Church, education, politics and nativism. Recently, more attention has been paid to Orangeism and Irish nationalism and their connection to politics and the formation of Irish identity in

⁵⁶ Melvin Baker's work includes Aspects of Nineteenth century St. John's Municipal History (St. John's: Harry Cuff, 1982); "A History of Local Government in St. John's Newfoundland, 1888-1902" (MA Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1975); "The Government of St. John's, Newfoundland, 1800-1921" (PhD Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980); "Politics of Assessment: Water Services and the Developing Urban Community of St. John's, Newfoundland, 1844-1864" (1981).

⁵⁷ Houston and Smyth, Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement; Wilson, The Irish in Canada; Byrne, "The First Irish Foothold in North America"; Donald Akenson, The Irish in Ontario (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); Power, Introduction to the The Irish in Atlantic Canada, 1780-1900; New Ireland Remembered (Peter Toner, ed.; Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1988); Brendan O'Grady, Exiles and Islanders: the Irish settlers of Prince Edward Island (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

⁵⁸ Terrence Punch, Irish Halifax: The Immigrant Generation, 1815-1859 (Halifax: St. Mary's University, 1981); Scott See, Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

Canada. These studies also pushed their examinations into the twentieth century, highlighting the experiences of the later generations of Irish in Canada.⁵⁹

Canadian academics have also begun to examine the multigenerational Irish Catholic experience and identity formation in urban settings, notably Toronto. Works by Mark McGowan and Brian Clarke examined the multigenerational Irish Catholic ethnic group in that city, tracing the evolution of Irish identity from the nineteenth into the twentieth century. They placed Irish identity not only within the political, social and economic development of both Toronto and Canada, but within the broader theoretical context of ethnicity and identity. Both concluded that later generations of Irish Catholics in Toronto adopted a Canadian Catholic identity that was more Catholic than nationalist, and more Canadian than Irish.⁶⁰ McGowan has argued that Irish Catholics became increasingly less concerned with issues in the old country, and more interested in the domestic concerns in their new home.⁶¹ Between 1887 and 1922, he suggested, Englishspeaking Catholics in Toronto "submerged" their ties to Ireland and embraced many of the values of Canadian society, thus successfully adjusting to their North American environment. Second and subsequent generations did not define themselves as "Irish-Canadian," but simply as "Canadian," in contrast to "Irish-Americans."

⁵⁹ Gregory S. Kealey, "The Orange Order in Toronto: Religious Riot and the Working Class," *Essays in Canadian Working Class History* (Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds.; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 13-34; Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: a Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Milton, ON: Global, 1999); Robert McLaughlin, "Irish Nationalism and Orange Unionism in Canada: a Reappraisal," *Éire-Ireland*, 41:3-4 (Fall/Winter 2006), 80-109; *The Orange Order in Canada* (David A. Wilson, ed.; Portland, Ore: Four Courts Press, 2007); David Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee, vol. 1: Passion, Reason, and Politics, 1825-1857* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008); *Irish Nationalism in Canada* (David Wilson, ed.; McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

⁶⁰Brian Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Mark McGowan, *The Waning of the Green* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 4-6.

⁶¹ McGowan, Waning of the Green, 4.

Urban Canadian studies that trace the mutigenerational Irish Catholic ethnic group, such as those by McGowan and Clarke, have parallels in similar works in American diaspora studies. However, American historians have always tended to focus on the urban experience of Irish Catholics, particularly on the eastern seaboard of the United States. Interpretations have evolved from earlier pioneering works, like that of Oscar Handlin and Thomas Brown, that focused solely on the immigrant group and the migrant experience.⁶² Newer urban studies have shifted in both approach and methodology, and no longer portray Irish Catholics solely as poor, illiterate, unskilled, ghettoized and caught in a constant sectarian and nativist struggle. Nevertheless, this older view is still evident in American historiography in the works of Lawrence McCaffrey and Kerby Miller.⁶³

American academics have recently begun examining the Irish Catholic community's experience in areas outside of the eastern seaboard, notably the mid-west and west coast, previously viewed as mostly rural and dominated by Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Historians such as David Emmons have argued that there are good reasons to shift focus to these areas as they contain cities such as Denver and San Francisco that were filled with miners, loggers and industrial workers of all kinds.⁶⁴ Examinations of

⁶² Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted: the Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1951); Thomas Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, 1870-1890 (New York: Lippincott, 1966).

⁶³ Lawrence J. McCaffrey, "Diaspora Comparisons and Irish-American Uniqueness," *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora* (Charles Fanning, ed.; Carbondale: South Illinois University Press, 2000), 15-28; Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 7, 346.

⁶⁴ David M. Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 9-10.

these areas suggested that, unlike the east coast, Catholics who lived in cities further west were not isolated, unskilled, backward, or barred from upward mobility.⁶⁵

Variations in the experience of Irish Catholics in different parts of the United States led academics to search for the reasons why. They began focusing upon the conditions that Irish Catholics met upon their arrival in these areas and the importance of local context. R.A. Burchell's work on San Francisco, for example, revealed that the experience of the Irish in that city was much more positive than that of the Irish in cities such as Boston and New York. Burchell's San Francisco was a frontier society, the Irish arriving just as the city was developing and thereby making a large contribution to establishing its social, economic and political institutions. Unlike places such as New York and Boston where there was an entrenched Anglo-Saxon Protestant host society, San Francisco had no such pre-existing power structure. As a result, Irish migrants did not encounter the same degree of nativisim, instead becoming part of the host society themselves.⁶⁶

The relative political, economic and social integration of Irish Catholics in previously unexamined areas in the United States also led academics to rethink and revise another main theme of urban studies: identity formation. As Burchell's work showed, Irish Catholics were not always discriminated against or barred from successful

⁶⁵ For example see R.A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism*; McGowan, *The Waning of the Green* and Punch, *Irish Halifax*. There is also much valuable work being done on areas outside of North America, such as Malcolm Campbell, "The Other Immigrants: Comparing the Irish in Australia and the United States," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 14:3 (Spring 1995), 3-22.; Patrick O'Farrell, *Vanished Kingdoms: Irish in Australia and New Zealand* (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1990); Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *The Irish Diaspora* (New York: Longman, 2000); and William Smyth, "Irish Emigration, 1700-1920," *European Expansion and Migration: Essays on the Intercontinental Migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe* (P.C. Emmer and M. Morner, eds.; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

integration into American society. In his study of the Irish in the Southern United States between 1815 and 1877, David T. Gleeson also concluded that the Irish there were fully integrated into southern society, and that the "Irish in the Old South were not and did not see themselves as victims." He did qualify this by stating that many did see themselves as exiles, but he disagrees with Miller that this impeded their integration into southern society.⁶⁷ While he admitted that the Irish had a strong sense of ethnic awareness due to their isolation, they did not allow themselves to languish because of it. In fact, preserving their sense of identity actually facilitated their successful integration. It provided a social and kinship network within the Catholic group and allowed them to create "vibrant ethnics communities" providing jobs and housing. Second, their strong sense of Irish identity advanced the Catholic Irish integration as southerners. As time passed, the Irish paralleled their past situation in Ireland with that of southerners, namely that they had been 'done wrong' by Britain in the same way the South felt it was being 'done wrong' by the North. Gleeson claims that in doing so, they built strong bonds with native southerners, an important step in their integration.⁶⁸

A key part of the successful integration thesis is the fact that studies are no longer confined to an examination of the migrant generation. Historians now trace the evolution of Irish communities over several generations, extending their investigations well into the twentieth century.⁶⁹ This approach has also been used to re-examine areas on the eastern seaboard of the United States, as American historians now focus on under-examined

⁶⁷ David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 6.

⁶⁸ Gleeson, The Irish in the South, 6.

⁶⁹ See Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2001) and Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish*.

social and cultural aspects of the Irish community in the context of generational change. An excellent compilation of articles on the Irish in New York includes contributions exploring a range of topics from Irish involvement in fairs, county organizations to the persistence of the Irish language in America. The compilation is important because it traces the evolution of the Irish Catholic community in New York over several generations. These essays highlight the importance of class diversity in terms of Irish cultural and social life, and how it relates to the formation and evolution of Irish identity and adaptation in America.⁷⁰

As recent urban studies now go beyond the historical reconstruction of the Irish Catholic community and trace the evolution of the identity of the multi-generational Irish group, the result is that they have become both community and ethnic studies. As Donald Akenson has argued, "really good ethnic history is simultaneously a rigorous documentation of the behavior of a specific group of individuals and equally a chronicle of their evolving consciousness [...] what begins as emigration history becomes part of what is sometimes called the 'history of consciousness.'" The social and cultural behaviors of the Irish are important for an understanding of the transformation "of everyday life."⁷¹ In order to trace the history of consciousness historians now place their studies within a broader theoretical framework rooted in ethnic theory. An excellent American example of this new approach is found in a recent study of the Irish in New England by Thomas Meagher. His is an exceptional examination of the evolution of the identity of a multi-

⁷⁰ See for example Colleen McDannell, "Going to the Ladies' Fair: Irish Catholics in New York City, 1870-1900" (234-251), John T. Ridge, "Irish County Societies in New York, 1880-1914" (275-300), and Kenneth E. Nilsen, "The Irish Language in New York, 1850-1900" (252-274), all in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds.), *The New York Irish* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

⁷¹ Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, xxiv.

generational Irish ethnic group in Worcester, New England from 1880 to 1928. Meagher argued that the Irish in Worcester often displayed "confusion in their search for practical approaches to relate to their neighbors and appropriate definitions of who they were."⁷² He chronicled the constant redefinition and invention of Irish identity and ethnic group boundaries by later generations. His conclusions showed that the evolution of Irish Catholic identity is not a linear, straightforward process, but a complex and ever-changing one, never entirely complete.

1.3 Ethnic Theory and Methodology

As Clarke's, McGowan's and Meagher's studies have shown, it is essential to use broader theoretical concepts to help trace and explain identity evolution. Akenson pointed out that one of the most necessary, yet challenging, tasks for academics is defining who is "Irish" and what Irishness means. He has been especially harsh on American studies that often equate Irish with Catholic, creating what he terms "semantic nests."⁷³ He noted that the label "Irish" has taken on several confusing meanings and has come to refer to immigrants, the entire multigenerational Irish group, Catholics and Protestants, or simply Catholics. He cautioned that scholars should avoid such ambiguity by making a clear statement as to whether "Irish" refers to the entire group or simply one part.⁷⁴ As David Wilson has also pointed out, there is a difference between an immigrant group consisting of members born in Ireland, and an Irish ethnic group that spans several generations.⁷⁵

⁷² Meagher, Inventing Irish America, 12.

⁷³ Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, 6

⁷⁴ Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, 7.

⁷⁵ Wilson, *The Irish in Canada*, 9.

"semantic nest" syndrome has emerged in Newfoundland Akenson's historiography, as Catholic and Irish have become synonymous, as have English and Protestant. The reason has less to do with academic ambiguity, however, and more to do with the fact that the vast majority of Irish migrants to Newfoundland were indeed Catholic, as evidenced by contemporary and secondary sources.⁷⁶ In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there was only a small number of Irish Protestants in St. John's, resembling an "emigrant gentry" comprised of physicians and imperial officers. However, with the large influx of Irish Catholics in the 1820s and early 1830s, the religious composition of the Irish group shifted, becoming overwhelmingly Catholic. While there were Irish Protestants in the city, they constituted such a small number compared to the aggregate total of Irish Catholics as to be insignificant in terms of a study of Irish ethnicity. In addition, there is no evidence of a significant or distinct body of Irish Protestants in St. John's in the second half of the nineteenth century, as none have shown themselves in the contemporary evidence, either by description or self-identification. They simply seem to disappear from the historical record.

When examining the Irish ethnic group in St. John's, then, the issue becomes not only how historians choose to assign boundaries for the group, but those the group assigned themselves. In that sense, as Akenson suggested, the definition of "Irishness"

⁷⁶ This was noticed by contemporaries such as Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle who stated that "the Protestants are chiefly of English descent, and the [Roman Catholics] of Irish parentage," *Newfoundland in 1842* (London: Henry Colburn, 1842), vol.1, 161. Irishmen in the diaspora also commented on the religious composition of the group, an extract from the *Boston Pilot* reprinted in the *Patriot and Terra Nova Herald*, 4 May 1850 stating that the "majority are of Irish descent." In terms of secondary sources, Mannion argues that the Irish population was almost entirely Catholic, "Tracing the Irish," 4; see also Dobbs, "Newfoundland and the Maritimes: an Overview," 181; W.G. Handcock, "Spatial Patterns in a Trans-Atlantic Migration Field: The British Isles and Newfoundland During the 18th and 19th Centuries," *The Settlement of Canada: Origins and Transfer* (Brian S. Osborne, ed.; Kingston: Queen's University, 1976), 13.

should be both objective and subjective. For the migrant generation this is somewhat simple as, objectively, "the only historically defensible definition of an Irish migrant is [someone] who either was born in Ireland or was a permanent resident of Ireland before embarking for some New World."⁷⁷ Determining the ethnic affiliation of later generations in the ethnic group not born in Ireland, however, is more difficult because it becomes largely subjective. Akenson tried to simplify the issue by arguing that "a person is accepted as being of Irish ethnicity if she or he, when asked 'what is your primary ethnic background?' responds by saying 'Irish'." Such statements, he suggests, must be taken at face value. Therefore, he concluded that it is fair to say that "a person is part of the Irish ethnic group – whether he or she is of the first generation or the fifth or anything in between – as long as his or her primary sense of ethnic identity is Irish."⁷⁸

The issue remains, however, of how ethnic identity is defined and manifested. There is no single agreed upon definition within the wider body of ethnic studies, as ethnic theorists have argued about its origins, markers and very character. Older studies tended to view ethnicity as a static, unchanging "thing," as primordialists argue that it was an inherent characteristic that a person was born with. More recent studies, however, reject this notion and present a more useful definition. Kathleen Conzen has suggested that ethnicity is "a cultural construction accomplished over historical time [...] a process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting

⁷⁷ Akenson, The Irish Diaspora: A Primer (Toronto: P.D. Meany, 1996), 8.

⁷⁸ There are limits to this, however. As Thomas Hylland Eriksen argues, identities can be manipulated by members of the ethnic group, but not indefinitely and with limitations. The important point is that ethnic membership is maintained by the members of the group themselves. Akenson, *Irish Diaspora*, 9-10; Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives* (London: Pluto Press, 1993), 31-2, 37-8.

communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories.⁷⁹ As a concept, viewing ethnicity as an invention has some advantages over other theories. It shifts the focus from individual assimilation to the collective and allows for a dynamic process with multiple relationships and multi-directional changes.⁸⁰

The dominant theme of recent studies, and one this study will adopt, is that ethnicity is constantly reinvented to reflect changing realities, both in the host society and within the ethnic group itself. In historicizing ethnicity, and viewing it as a process, the development of ethnicization in history neither ends nor reaches a steady state for long. The invention thus allows for a revival of ethnic consciousness after what may appear to be a period of dormancy for a particular group.⁸¹ Since ethnicity is dynamic, it is no surprise that upon arriving in the New World significant changes take place and new identities are formed. Nevertheless, the old identities often remain and, as Wsevolod W. Isajiw, pointed out, identity becomes "multi-sided." In this case, a new identity is not necessarily gained at the expense of the old one, but both co-exist.⁸²

Ethnic identity's ever-changing and multi-sided nature makes determining its markers and characteristics over generations challenging for historians. This is particularly problematic when studying the Irish ethnic group which, as Akenson has argued, tended to blend in with the English population in British North America as they spoke English, were not discriminated against and were familiar with British politics and

⁷⁹ Kathleen Neils Conzen et al, "The Invention of Ethnicity: a Perspective from the USA," Journal of American Ethnic History, 12:1 (Fall 1992), 4-5.

⁸⁰ Conzen, "The Invention of Ethnicity," 31-2.

⁸¹ Conzen, "The Invention of Ethnicity," 5, 16-7.

⁸² Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Ethnic-Identity Retention," *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City* (Raymond Breton, ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 34-5.

culture.⁸³ To solve this problem, ethnic theorists generally agree that to get at the root of identity, historians have to look for both external and internal markers to provide an organizational model. Isajiw argued that the former includes observable behavior such as language, participation in ethnic societies or sponsored functions such as concerts, as well as participation in ethnic institutional organizations, such as churches and schools. Internal markers, however, are less overt and refer to attitudes and feelings of individuals. Specifically, these include self-image, and knowledge of one's heritage and the historical past, or finding comfort in the traditional cultural patterns and maintaining a preference for one's own against other groups.⁸⁴

One difficulty with ethnic markers is, however, that they tend to change from generation to generation as adaptation and assimilation takes place. Isajiw warned that "it should not be assumed that the ethnic identity retained by the third generation is of the same type or form of identity as that retained by the first or the second generation."⁸⁵ Generational change also raises the question of what determines an ethnic group. An

accepted definition is that it is a social group with an ethnic component either being a sense of ancestry, culture and language.⁸⁶ As with identity, theorists have pointed out that ethnic groups consist of both objective and subjective components. The former comprises interaction in a social setting and may be in the form of communal life or ethnic group networks.⁸⁷ According to Alan Anderson and James Frideres, the objective component also refers to a common group of people with shared cultural or psychological attributes,

⁸³ Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, 5.

⁸⁴ Isajiw, "Ethnic-Identity Retention," 36-7.

⁸⁵ Isajiw, "Ethnic-Identity Retention," 37.

⁸⁶ Alan B. Anderson and James S. Frideres, *Ethnicity in Canada: Theoretical Perspectives* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), 48.

⁸⁷ Jeffrey Reitz, The Survival of Ethnic Groups (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1980), 92.

such as language, religion, and folkways.⁸⁸ The subjective component, however, is a selfdefinition or ethnic identification, referring to a sense of belonging to the group on the basis of ethnic origin, and is based on the shared feelings of the group.⁸⁹ These criteria can exist independent of one another, as a person may feel part of the group without ever formally interacting with its members. Jeffrey Reitz has called these people "nominal members" because they live outside the group, but still feel part of it. He pointed out that some persons may feel that active participation in the ethnic community is not important to their sense of ethnic identity and they may "believe ethnicity consists of abstract ideals or feelings about 'the homeland.""⁹⁰

This study accepts that ethnic identity is ever-changing, fluid, and multi-sided. It is also based on the idea that ethnicity is not a given, and that members of the Irish Catholic ethnic group are identifiable either because they defined themselves as such, or exhibited observable markers of that identity such as religion or participation in institutional organizations. It also accepts that Irish Catholics in St. John's could have had more than one identity at any given time, and that multiple identities could exist simultaneously. As such, an Irish Catholic in St. John's in the second half of the nineteenth century may have identified as Irish, Catholic, a Newfoundlander, or a combination of all three. It does not assume that the existence of one precluded that of another.

This thesis addresses lacuna in the Newfoundland historiography with regard to the Catholic community in St. John's between 1840 and 1886. In part, it chronicles the

⁸⁸ Anderson and Frideres, Ethnicity in Canada, 48.

⁸⁹ Reitz, The Survival of Ethnic Groups, 92; Anderson and Frideres, Ethnicity in Canada, 48.

⁹⁰ Reitz, The Survival of Ethnic Groups, 92.

demographic development of the community, as well as its religious, political and social evolution in the period. Specifically, however, this study builds on the work of Mannion, FitzGerald and Keough, largely picking up chronologically where they left off, examining issues of identity formation and change within the multigenerational Irish ethnic group in the later period. It draws on recent diaspora studies and trends in Canadian and American historiography, examining the historical evolution of the Irish Catholic group in an urban setting within the broader context of identity formation and change.

1.4 Sources

A historian attempting a study of nineteenth century Newfoundland encounters great obstacles in terms of available primary source material. The two devastating fires in St. John's in 1846 and 1892, which destroyed much of the city, also destroyed a great deal of primary documentation. The available sources, however, are also problematic. In examining the demographic evolution of the Catholic community in St. John's, the historian does not have the benefit of any manuscript census returns. Newfoundland did not have a nominal census until 1921, so there is no accurate way to discern things such as occupational status or cohort depletion.⁹¹ In addition, censuses for the nineteenth century simply provide an aggregate number for each denomination, with no subdivisions based on ethnicity, sex or age. The problem arises from the fact that there was a lack of accurate data available at the time, something that Newfoundland Governors frequently

⁹¹ Laura Morgan argues that the absence of nominal census data for century "means that attempting a social history project for the period is a challenge to the researcher's creativity," "Class and Congregation: Social Relations in two St. John's, Newfoundland, Anglican Parishes, 1877-1909" (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1997), 42.

complained of. In a dispatch to Earl Grey in 1848 Governor Gaspard Le Marchant stated that there were no tables kept in the colony showing the number of births, marriages and deaths in each year and that "no accurate returns can be prepared showing the relative numbers employed in the fisheries, trades and other occupations of the people."⁹² One way to circumvent this problem is through the use the various city directories available for the nineteenth century that include both residential and business listings.⁹³ The residential and occupational profile of prominent Catholics is traced this way and, with the assistance of John Mannion's Irish surnames list, these directories assist in profiling the community at large.

Sources are richer with respect to the Catholic Church and education. Diaries and letters of the various Bishops, as well as some records regarding Church finances exist. The latter are not particularly extensive, but are supplemented by other available sources such as wills.⁹⁴ The Irish Orders in St. John's also have their respective archives that contain primary and secondary source material chronicling the history of the orders in Newfoundland and their personnel. One particularly useful source is the correspondence of the Christian Brothers that recount their everyday encounters after they arrived in St. John's in 1876. Since the Irish Orders were instrumental in the development of Catholic

⁹³ The directories examined include Thomas Hutchinson, Hutchinson's Newfoundland directory for 1864-65, containing alphabetical directories of each place in the colony, with a post office directory, and an appendix containing much useful information (Hutchinson's Directory) (St. John's: T. McConnan, 1864), <http://www.ourroots.ca/e/toc.aspx?id=1276>; John A. Rochfort, Business and General Directory of Newfoundland 1877 (Rochfort's Directory) (Printed by Lovell Print. and Pub. Co., for the compiler: Montreal, 1877), <<u>http://collections.mun.ca/u?/cns_tools,17422</u>>; John Sharpe, Directory for the towns of St. John's, Harbor Grace, and Carbonear, Newfoundland, for 1885-86: containing much useful information relating to the colony (Sharpe's Directory) (St. John's: [s.n.], 1885).

⁹² Reports to Secretary of State on Past and Present State of H.M. Colonial Possessions, 1847, p.18; 1847-48 [1005] XLVI.1.

⁹⁴ Supreme Court, Newfoundland Wills from LDS FHC Microfilm 1830-1962, also referred to as Newfoundland Will Books (NWB); Newfoundland's Grand Banks Genealogy Site, http://ngb.chebucto.org/index.html.

education, their archives also contain information about their schools as well. This is supplemented with the annual reports of the Catholic School Inspector to detail school enrolment, attendance, books, teachers and funding.

In terms of Catholic associational life not many sources remain. There are only two Societies for which minute books exist: the Benevolent Irish Society, which was the only Irish ethnic society in St. John's, and the St. Joseph Catholic Society. These have been used to trace the activities and development of both societies. Other than these, however, there are no records or comprehensive membership lists are available for Catholic societies in the period. However, the *Newfoundland Almanac* and local newspapers are used to fill this gap. The former listed the executive members of the societies, and the latter printed minutes of meetings, along with officer lists. Newspapers are also used to chronicle the social life of the community through reports of events such as bazaars, plays and lectures.

Tracing the political activity of Catholics is a little easier. Official government records such as Colonial Office records and the correspondence of the various Governors exist. While these records have been consulted, mostly to examine specific cases in domestic politics, they are not relied on heavily. The problem is that official sources such as the writings of the Governors provide a paternalistic, narrow, and mostly top-down depiction of the Irish Catholic community. While they are valuable, they are not useful in recreating the historical development of the community. Instead, debates in the House of Assembly and newspaper editorials are used to trace Catholic political activity, and gauge Catholic political opinion. Reconstructing the historical development of the Catholic community and its leaders is more problematic in Newfoundland than in other parts of the diaspora. Personal records such as letters, memoirs or diaries have not survived. The type of detailed work by Kerby Miller and David Fitzpatrick using emigrant letters, for example, is simply not possible.⁹⁵ As Paul O'Leary found when studying the Irish in Wales, whatever was committed to paper in St. John's was sparse and done by males who were professional and upwardly mobile.⁹⁶ A large amount of information regarding the members of the Catholic middle class and their political and social role within the community has been collected. The size of this group was relatively small and identifying the middle-class leaders of the community emerged from the combination of various sources. Through the creation of several name databases drawing on biographical information, as well as political and associational involvement, the size and a profile of the leaders of the Catholic community emerged, and when the leadership changed.

One group that remains silent in the historical record, however, is the lower and working class. Unlike other parts of the diaspora, there were no trade unions or organized working class activism. As in Wales, in St. John's one is left with a somewhat incomplete historical record that is largely confined to the perceptions of the colonial elite and the activities of the respectable class in the public sphere. Circumventing this problem has been one of the major challenges of this study. One way to provide a more complete picture of the Catholic community in St. John's has been through balancing the official

⁹⁵ Miller, Emigrants, and David Fitzpatrick, Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994).

⁹⁶ Paul O'Leary, Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales, 1798-1922 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 10.

sources of the middle class elite with those that reflect the activities of all classes. In this, the use of local newspapers, a well-established source base for historical research and the focus of much diaspora scholarship, has been instrumental.⁹⁷ Middle-class Catholics in St. John's owned, and edited various papers between 1840 and 1886 and had a clear public voice. The Shea family's Newfoundlander, for example, consistently printed Irish news and provided editorial commentary on Irish affairs. R. J. Parsons' Patriot and Terra Nova *Herald* did the same. Although Parsons was a Presbyterian, he was closely allied with the Catholic Church and the community.⁹⁸ Editors can, to a certain degree at least, be viewed as opinion leaders who help shape and reflect the opinion of their readers.⁹⁹ However, local papers can be seen, to some extent, as a barometer of Catholic thought.¹⁰⁰ It is in newspapers that the articulation of the group's ethnic identity is evident, through such things as a recounting of public and political meetings, editorials, and letters to the editors. They provide the type of information that cannot be found in government documents, acting as "a survey of the socially significant activities" of all classes of an ethnic group and serving as "indicators of the direction of relevant currents."¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ For a detailed discussion of the development of the Newfoundland press in the century see Maudie Whelan, "The Newspaper Press in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland: Politics, Religion, and Personal Journalism" (PhD Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2003) and "Journalism in Newfoundland: A Beginning History" (Master's of Journalism Thesis, Carleton University, 1993).

⁹⁷ See for example Michael De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison: University Wisconsin Press, 2004) and Leslie Williams, *Daniel O'Connell, the British Press, and the Irish Famine: Killing Remarks* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003).

⁹⁹ Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, *The People's Choice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 146.

¹⁰⁰ McGowan, Waning of the Green, 14.

¹⁰¹ Earl Niehaus, *The Irish in New Orleans*, 1800-1860 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965), preface; Robert Thomsen, "Cultural and Political Nationalism in Stateless Nations: Neo-Nationalism in Newfoundland and Scotland," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 28:1-2 (2001), 69.

1.5 Transition

This thesis will examine the Irish Catholic community in St. John's between 1840 and 1886. The period of study is largely framed by events in both Newfoundland and Irish history. By 1840 Irish migration to Newfoundland had virtually ceased. That same year, the Newfoundland Natives' Society was founded, marking the beginning of an articulated Newfoundland identity and the emergence of an embryonic Newfoundland nationalism. The 1840s was the decade that Bishop Fleming completed the construction of the Catholic Cathedral in St. John's, and it was also the decade when the Great Famine occurred, a pivotal event for both Irish and Irish diaspora history. 1886 is an appropriate end date because it marks a time of political change in St. John's. Party alignments were in flux, new Catholic political leaders and issues emerged, and politics became largely class-based.¹⁰² In addition, in 1887 St. John's entered an era of municipal government, greatly changing the political context. The date also marks the beginning of a new era in Irish nationalist politics as well, as in 1886 the First Irish Home Rule Bill was introduced and defeated in the House of Commons.

As the first detailed account of Irish Catholics in St. John's between 1840 and 1886, this study chronicles their political, religious and social evolution through an examination of the Catholic Church, education, associations, politics and support for Irish nationalism. However, the thesis will also go beyond this, tracing what Akenson calls the "evolving consciousness" of the multi-generational community. As a community study viewed through the lens of ethnicity, it traces the evolution of Irish Catholic identity, mapping its invention and redefinition. Between 1840 and 1886, the Catholic community

¹⁰² O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 160-1.

in St. John's evolved from a largely immigrant one, defined by an Irish ethnic identity and world view, to one where Catholicism and not ethnicity became the basis of community solidarity. Members identified primarily as Newfoundland-born Catholics, with their religion providing them with an essential link to their Irish past.

While a case study of the Irish Catholics in St. John's is important in its own right, this thesis is based on the idea that placed in comparative perspective it can provide insight into the broader trends and themes in diaspora studies. In recent years, Donald Akenson and Kevin Kenny have both advocated such comparative exercises. Akenson has argued out that "when read with caution, each part of the diaspora helps us to understand every other part. Local studies, provincial studies, national studies, all are important."¹⁰³ Similarly, Kenny argued that examining an ethnic group at the diaspora or "transnational" level allows scholars to identify the larger, global forces at work, such as the mass movements of peoples and their connections to their homeland. This scholarship must be balanced, he has cautioned, by the addition of comparative or "cross-national" level studies of specific destinations that reveal their individual contexts and unique characteristics.¹⁰⁴ When examined as a local case study, the Irish community in St. John's can yield important information not only about its own development within a specific historical context, but also what that experience reveals about the larger Irish diaspora. Newfoundland's nineteenth and early twentieth century political, social and economic development does not fit neatly into the larger Canadian or North American context, and

¹⁰³ Akenson, The Irish Diaspora, 271.

¹⁰⁴ There have been a few attempts at cross-national study. See for example Campbell, "Other Immigrants" and also his "Immigrants on the Land: a Comparative Study of Irish Rural Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Minnesota and New South Wales," *The Irish Diaspora*, 176-95.



this is precisely why the evolution of Irish ethnicity in Britain's oldest colony, and the place of the Irish Catholic community within it, are of particular interest.

Chapter 2

St. John's: the City and its Catholic Community

On a bright, sunny, calm day in late May 1837, Irish educator and journalist Thomas Talbot arrived in St. John's, Newfoundland for a week-long visit. He had left Ireland one month earlier, and made his way across the Atlantic on board a small fishing vessel. As his ship approached the rocky and barren entrance to St. John's called the "narrows," it was greeted by a soldier standing atop a large rock shouting inquiries as to its name, point of origin and duration at sea. As the vessel passed through the safety of the narrows and St. John's came into full view, Talbot's feelings of cheeriness and expectation were quickly subdued by the bleak sight that lay before him. As he gazed for the first time upon the town, he was aghast at its gloominess and bareness. It was little more than a fishing village, he thought, that stretched only slightly northward from the waterfront over a steep hill. What few houses there were, Talbot recalled, were built in disorganized clumps. They were made of wood and had an appearance that was both miserable and decrepit, all of which gave "a rough, somber aspect" to the town. ¹ As he made his way through St. John's, he was struck by the fact that there were no proper streets, just dirty, muddy lanes and paths that ran east to west, appropriately named "Lower, Middle and Upper Path." There were only a handful of shops dotting the water's edge, while the

¹ Thomas Talbot, Newfoundland or a letter addressed to a friend in Ireland in Relation to the condition and circumstances of the Island of Newfoundland with an especial view to emigration (London: Hampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1882), 1-2.

majority of the structures consisted of fish flakes and stages. The only large building that Talbot could discern was Government House, surrounded by relatively well kept grounds and overlooking the town from the top of the hill. The population, he noted, was small at 15,000, and was comprised mainly of fishermen, with only a small number of shopkeepers, and professional men. The atmosphere, Talbot thought, presented to the visitor "an aspect barren and dreary."²

Some forty years later, however, Talbot told a much different tale. He now remarked that the town barely resembled what he had described in such vivid detail all those years ago, and that he did not believe St. John's to be inferior to any other urban area in British North America. There were several proper clean streets lined with houses of brick and stone, as well as shops and mercantile premises. Larger structures now dotted the town, including churches of various denominations, schools and convents. Talbot also noted that there were also some grand entertainment halls, as well as an Athenaeum containing a library. The population had doubled to over 30,000 and now, instead of solely engaging in fishing-related employment, a large segment of the population was engaged in a burgeoning business sector along with farming and manufacturing. St. John's was no longer dreary to Talbot, and was instead "a well cultivated and blooming region" that he believed would be most welcoming to any visitor.³

Such were Talbot's observations of the social and economic improvement of St. John's over the course of the nineteenth century, but how accurate is his account? What proportion of the population he described was from Ireland, or of Irish descent? Did they

² Talbot, Newfoundland, 2-3.

³ Talbot, Newfoundland, 3-5.

own the new houses of brick and stone, or did they reside in the poorer parts of town? Were they members of the new business sector and manufacturing sector? What role did they play, if any, in the expansion and overall improvement of the St. John's in the second half of the century?

2.1 Irish Migration and Settlement

The first impression of St. John's for the majority of Irish migrants would have been akin to Talbot's 1837 description, as a large number of them arrived in the two decades prior to the time he was writing. Irish migration to Newfoundland, however, began much earlier in the eighteenth century. The pattern of Irish settlement in St. John's, and Newfoundland in general, fits within that of the other parts of the Atlantic region. As in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, mass Irish migration to Newfoundland began in the second half of the eighteenth century, although most of the migrants to came from a small area in the southeast of Ireland. The influx of migrants after 1815 resulted in a sharp increase in the number of Irish who comprised the population in both rural and urban areas.⁴ St. John's also experienced an influx of immigrants during this period, the vast majority of which were Catholic. In 1807, the population in St. John's numbered only around 5000, but by 1836 it had tripled to 15,000. This was the direct result of the arrival of two large groups of Irish Catholics to Newfoundland, the first between 1810 and 1815, and the second between 1825 and 1831. The majority of the migrants entered through the port of St. John's, most either remaining

⁴ Thomas Power, introduction to *The Irish in Atlantic Canada, 1780-1900* (T. Power, ed.; Fredericton, NB: New Ireland Press, 1991), 7-8.

there or settling in areas nearby. The dramatic effect of this migration upon the demographic character of St. John's is seen by the fact that by 1836 Irish Catholics formed the majority of the population, comprising some three-quarters of the residents. Almost thirty percent of all the Irish recorded in Newfoundland at that time resided in St. John's. ⁵

The Atlantic pattern, however, was somewhat different from other areas of British North America such as Montreal, Quebec City and Toronto. In these cities, the majority of Irish migrants arrived during or just after Ireland's Great Famine, dramatically changing their demographic character. For example, in 1851 Toronto's population had doubled and the number of Irish Catholics had increased substantially.⁶ By the time of the Famine, however, the great majority of migrants had already arrived in the Atlantic region. The one exception was Saint John, New Brunswick, which did receive a large number of Famine migrants.⁷

In Newfoundland, famine migrant ships usually only stopped in the city due to inclement weather or to take on supplies, and those on board did not choose to stay in the colony. In many instances, the colonial government, the Catholic Bishop and local societies such as the Benevolent Irish Society provided passengers with food and monetary assistance to finish their journey to other parts of North America.⁸ By the late

⁵ John Mannion, "Tracing the Irish: a Geographical Guide," *The Newfoundland Ancestor*, 9:1 (May 1993), 4-19.

⁶ Brian Clarke, Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 13, 15-6.

⁷ William Spray, "The Reception of the Irish in New Brunswick," *New Ireland Remembered* (Peter Toner, ed.; Fredericton, NB: New Ireland Press, 1988), 11; Peter Toner, "The Irish of New Brunswick at Mid-Century: the 1851 Census," *New Ireland Remembered*, 110.

⁸ Such was the case in June 1846 when distressed Irish migrants on the shipwrecked brig Brilliant, bound from Ireland to Quebec with 160 passengers, landed in St. John's. A collection in the city yielded over £127

1840s Irish migration to Newfoundland, as well as migration in general, had decreased substantially, being significantly lower compared to other areas of British North America. This has been analyzed in Appendix A, which also provides detailed immigration statistics.⁹ Newfoundland only received 4693 Irish migrants between 1841 and 1876, 65 percent of whom arrived in the early1840s. This accounted for only 1.2 percent of all the Irish people who migrated to British North America in that period. The reason for this decline was primarily because the St. John's economy did not have much to offer potential migrants. The city did not experience large-scale industrialization in the nineteenth century, and thus did not have the wage-based labour opportunities that had attracted so many Irish migrants to larger cities in British North America and the eastern United States. There was also no prospect of farming that attracted the Irish to the Canadas, as was the case in Ontario. Newfoundland could only offer Irish migrants a volatile and unstable economy based upon the cod fisheries, with bad years resulting in high unemployment and distress. In 1857, for example, Governor Bannerman noted the "want of employment, and the inhabitants writing to their friends that many of them were in a state of extreme destitution."¹⁰

By the early 1860s Irish migration to the island was virtually non-existent. This lack of replenishment had repercussions for the development of the Irish Catholic

to help them continue their passage to Quebec. Colonial Office (CO) 194/125, 386-7; *Benevolent Irish* Society (BIS) Minutes, 7 June, 1846. Similar instances occurred as late as February and August 1850; BIS Minutes, 1 August 1850. A total of £20 was given to Bishop Mullock for relief, of which £5 was marked to go to the ship's doctor. ⁹ The migration data discussed in this chapter and in Appendix A, has been drawn from two sources:

⁹ The migration data discussed in this chapter and in Appendix A, has been drawn from two sources: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, General Report [issued yearly; the data presented here was reported between 1841/2-1872]; and Report and Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration of United Kingdom, 1876, p.13; 1877 (5) LXXXV.621. There are gaps in this data, but a general pattern can still be seen.

¹⁰ Papers relative to Emigration to N. American Colonies, p.30; 1857-8 (165) XLI.593.

population in St. John's. As can be seen in Table 2.1, the number of Irish-born in St. John's had declined dramatically by the end of the century: in 1857 there were 4007 Irishborn people in the city, but by 1891 there were only 623.

Census Year	St. John's Total Population	# born in NL	# born in England	# born in Ireland	# born in Scotland	# born in other British Colonies	# born in foreign or other states	
1857	24,851	19,221	1005	4007	315	227	76	
1869	22,553	18,945	562	2308	209	173	56	
1874	23,890	21,005	576	1734	272	207	96	
1884	31,142	28,446	590	1079	318	495	214	
1891	29,007	27,147	518	623	263	294	111+*	

Table 2.1 Native and Foreign-Born in St. John's, 1857-91

Notes: * = The figure for St. John's West is illegible. The Newfoundland Census recorded separate information for St John's East and St. John's West after 1845, which has been combined here. The census for 1845 did not provide a count of those born in other places.

Sources: Newfoundland Census, 1857, 1869, 1874, 1884, and 1891.

In St. John's, Irish Catholics were one of three main ethnic groups, the other two being the English and the Scottish. Catholics remained the majority in St. John's from 1845 to 1891, although their percentage of the total city population had declined, as shown in Table 2.2. By the end of the century, their numbers had fallen from over threequarters to just over half of the population. The Catholic population as a whole was in flux, actually peaking in 1884, but this did not last. Fluctuations seem to have been primarily due to outmigration, a consequence of the same economic uncertainty and lack of opportunity that kept potential migrants away.¹¹

¹¹ An analysis based on cohort depletion using the census data failed. While the census provided age ranges separated by sex, it only recorded deaths for the previous year, not for the years between censuses.

Census Year	St. John's Total Population	# of Catholics	Catholic % of Total Population	# of Protestants	Protestant % of Total Population	
1845	20,941	16,285	78	4666	22	
1857	24,851	18,249	73	6522	26	
1869	22,553	16,044	71	6506	29	
1874	23,890	15,719	66	8171	34	
1884	31,142	19,396	62	11,746	38	
1891	29,007	16,590	57	12,417	43	

Table 2.2 Catholics and Protestants in St. John's, 1845-91

<u>Notes</u>: The *Newfoundland Census* recorded separate information for St John's East and St. John's West after 1845, which has been combined here. The various Protestant denominations have been added together. The Catholic and Protestant totals provided by the census do not add up to the St. John's total population. Sources: *Newfoundland Census*, 1845, 1857, 1869, 1874, 1884, and 1891.

In general, emigration was the cause of the general population drop in the colony between the 1857 and 1869 Censuses.¹² In 1873, for example, 312 persons migrated from Newfoundland to the United States.¹³ It is clear, however, that St. John's Catholics were much more likely to emigrate than Protestants. While the Catholic population fluctuated, the Protestant population experienced a slow, but steady, increase. As in Ireland, it seems that emigration was an expected part of life for St. John's Catholics in the second half of the century. In the early 1850s the Catholic Bishop of St. John's, John Thomas Mullock, wrote to a friend in Dublin stating that there was great emigration, presumably from his own flock, to the United States due to a high level of economic distress.¹⁴ In the 1850s

¹² The Newfoundland Almanac cites emigration as the reason for population decline. Newfoundland Almanac 1873, 84.

¹³ This was based on United States Treasury returns that gave the number of immigrant arrivals from Newfoundland up to June 30 1873 as 109 males and 203 females. *The Yearbook and Almanac of Canada for 1873: Being an Annual Statistical Abstract for the Dominion, and a Register of Legislation and of Public Men in British North America* (Ottawa: J. Bailiff, 1872?), 155.

¹⁴ Letter to Mullock from Rathmines, Dublin, Archives of the Archdiocese St. John's (AASJ), 104/1/8.

and 1860s, the Catholic Newfoundlander commented on migration from the island to both the United States and Australia, also carrying advertisements to aid in emigration to these countries.¹⁵ Even in the 1880s the pattern continued. In 1885, Brother Fleming, superior of the Christian Brothers in Newfoundland, wrote to his predecessor Brother Holland in Ireland, lamenting that "Catholics lost a good many [people] by emigration."¹⁶

The majority of those leaving were skilled men.¹⁷ In the early 1880s, Thomas Talbot reported that it was tradesmen and mechanics who could not find employment in the city.¹⁸ Proximity, available shipping routes and economic opportunity made the eastern seaboard of the United States a preferred destination for emigrants. Boston was a popular destination, and records there provide some insight into the social and economic composition of the Newfoundland migrants. Using passenger and census records from Newfoundland to Boston between 1840 and 1859, Edward Vincent Chafe concluded that 79 percent of those leaving the island were Catholics, either native-born or Irish-born. He also found that the number of Irish-born migrating was low, suggesting that migrants from Ireland were "not using Newfoundland as a stepping stone to the North Atlantic

¹⁵ Advertisements appeared in October and November 1852 announcing that ships would be stopping in St. John's on their way to the "Gold Regions" in Australia. Ships such as the brigantine Oueen stopped in St. John's on its way from London to Geelong, an area touted in the advertisement as being close to the "Gold Digging" regions. Other vessels such as the Jane Goudie and Ascutna arrived from Boston and New York also on their way to Gold regions such as Port Philip and Sydney. Local residents in St. John's also took matters into their own hands. An announcement appeared in the paper around the same time stating that residents in the city purchased the brigantine Sybil to carry "chiefly young men, clerks and mechanics, to convey them to Australia...the total number on boards will be about seventy persons." Another advertisement appeared a few days later seeking persons to invest a sum of £400 to purchase a vessel to sail to Australia. The Sybil did depart from St. John's bound for Port Philip, South Australia on 22 November, and while the denomination of the passengers is not given the list of those on board indicates that 51 were on board and that there was a mix of families, including 15 children, and single persons. Single men comprised the majority of the passengers. Newfoundlander, 11 October 1852; 15, 18 and 22 November 1852.

¹⁶ Fleming to Holland, Slattery Papers (SP) #86, 27 April 1885, Archives of Mount St. Francis, St. John's (AMSFSJ). ¹⁷ Newfoundlander, 18 December 1868.

¹⁸ Talbot, Newfoundland, 62-5.

World in this period."¹⁹ This signaled a change from the earlier migration pattern in which Newfoundland acted as an important stepping-stone to the other colonies in British North America.²⁰ Given that Boston was an industrial city, it is not surprising that most of the migrants were young, male and skilled. Tradespeople accounted for over half the migrants, three-quarters of whom were under the age of 35. Despite being from Newfoundland, Catholic migrants were lumped in with the unskilled Irish in the same poor neighborhoods in Boston. However, due to their skills, many moved up the social and economic ladder within a year. Such success, no doubt, encouraged others from Newfoundland to follow and accounts for the fact that the migrant flow was characterized by chain migration.²¹

While the Catholic community's percentage of the total St. John's population fell steadily in the second half of the century, at no time were they a minority group. Their numerical advantage over Protestants of all denominations, as shown in Table 2.3, may account for the fact that Catholics had good relations with them. There is no evidence of anti-Irish feeling in the city, and there were no acts of sectarian violence against Catholic property, individuals or as a group between 1840 and 1886. The situation resembles that of the Irish Catholics in San Francisco between 1848 and 1880 who, as Raymond Burchell points out, coexisted peaceably with Protestants. As in St. John's, the Catholic Irish were fully integrated in society, as they arrived early in the city's history and

¹⁹ Edward Chafe, "A New Life on Uncle Sam's Farm: Newfoundlanders in Massachusetts, 1840-59" (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982), 27.

²⁰ Cyril Byrne, "The First Irish Foothold in North America," *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, vol. 1 (Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds.; Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), 171.

²¹ Chafe, A New Life on Uncle Sam's Farm, 66-7, 82, 86.

became prominent leaders in the community.²² Contemporaries in St. John's often commented on this general quiet. Writing of his visit to the island in 1842, for example, Sir Richard Bonnycastle stated that the city was generally a peaceable place, with orderly Irish Catholic and English Protestant citizens who were respectful of one another regardless of ethnic or religious origin.²³

	Census Year							
Denomination	1845 %	1857 %	1869 %	1874 %	1884 %	1891 %		
Roman Catholics	78	73	71	66	62	57		
Church of England	14	16	18	19	20	22		
Reformed Church of England	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0		
Methodists	4	6	7	10	12	15		
Presbyterians	2	3	3	3	3	4		
Congregationalists	2	1	1	2	2	1		
Salvation Army	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.5		
Other	0.07	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
Baptists and Other	n/a	0.03	0.01	0.004	0.11	0.03		

Table 2.3 Religious Denominations in St. John's, 1845-91

<u>Notes</u>: in 1857, 1869 and 1874 the Presbyterians were divided into Free Kirk and Kirk of Scotland; for those years the data has been combined. In the years up to 1891 the Methodists are referred to as Wesleyans, and in 1845 the Church of England members are referred to as Protestant Episcopalians. The Catholic and Protestant totals provided by the census do not add up to the St. John's total population. There are no non-Christian denominations listed in the census, although it is possible that any existing members were counted under "Other" or "Baptists and Other."

Sources: Newfoundland Census, 1845, 1857, 1869, 1874, 1884, and 1891.

²² R.A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) 3-4, 6-7, 13.

²³ Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, Newfoundland in 1842 (London: Henry Colburn, 1842), vol. 2, 81-2.

2.2 City Geography and Residential Patterns

Very little has been written about the general development of the city in the nineteenth century. Much of what exists is in the context of the two great fires in 1846 and 1892 that destroyed much of the city, essentially resulting in its rebuilding.²⁴ What is known is that in the early part of the nineteenth century, the geographical layout of St. John's reflected its role as a commercial center for the cod fishery. In 1806, for example, the town did not extend much further than the wharves and merchant premises located along the waterfront. There were only a few shops and public houses, which were located close to this area. St. John's did not contain proper streets, and consisted of only 700 scattered wooden dwellings, which lined narrow lanes and paths. Most of the city was meadow or pasture land, some of which was used for commercial farming.²⁵ Between 1830 and 1846 St. John's did not change much in overall character.²⁶ Most of the population continued to live in a relatively small area close to the harbour between what became Water Street that ran parallel to the harbour and Duckworth Street, which ran parallel above it. The south side of Water Street, facing the harbour, contained structures related to the fishery such as wharves, warehouses and merchant's stores, while the north side contained taverns and small shops. Water Street and Duckworth Streets were also residential streets, as shop owners and clerks often lived above the premises.²⁷

The 1846 fire marked a dividing line in the development of the city as it destroyed

 ²⁴ Paul Butler, St. John's City of Fire (St. John's: Flanker Press, 2007); Melvin Baker, "The Great St. John's Fire of 1846" (1983) and "The St. John's Fire of July 8, 1892: the Politics of Rebuilding, 1892-95" (1982)
 ²⁵ John Mannion, "St. John's," *Historical Atlas of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987-1993), vol. 1, plate 27.

²⁶ Thomas Talbot, Newfoundland, 2-3.

²⁷ Elizabeth Oliver, "The Rebuilding of the City of St. John's After the Great Fire of 1892: A Study in Urban Morphogenesis" (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1983), 95, 98.

three-quarters of the houses and structures in St. John's, and left over half of the town's population homeless.²⁸ While the city did expand north after 1846, it was not reconstructed on an ordered grid pattern as in other urban centers. Rebuilding, as Melvin Baker has characterized it, was "haphazard."²⁹ This was primarily due to the fact that the city did not have a municipal government to oversee and implement a rebuilding plan. In addition, Crown Land was held for the use of the fishery and much city land was held by absentee landlords who employed agents, usually local merchants and lawyers, to collect rent and maintain properties. There was also the issue of cost. Landowners, fearing higher taxes, were averse to introducing property assessments. The result was that much stayed the same after the fire and the city remained dominated by row houses, constructed primarily of wood. While the city expanded further northward up the hill after the 1846 fire, it also stretched further to the west in an area called Riverhead, and to the east in an area called Hoylestown, as seen in Map 2. In 1855 the city was officially divided into two political districts, west and east.³⁰

Nineteenth century St. John's was segregated along class, rather than ethnic or religious lines, a pattern that was evident since permanent settlement began in the late eighteenth century. In the late eighteenth and early decades of the nineteenth century, the lower class, which comprised the majority of the population, was confined to a

²⁸ The extent of the damage can be clearly seen in the following map: House of Commons, Parliament, Great Britain, [Map of St. John's, Nfld., showing extent of fire of 1846] ([London: Standage & Co., Litho.], 1851), < <u>http://collections.mun.ca/u?/maps.144</u>>. There were accounts of the devastation in all the city newspapers. See for example *Newfoundlander*, 18 June, 1846. Also see Melvin Baker, "The Great St. John's Fire of 1846" (1983) and D. W. Prowse, *History of Newfoundland* (Portugal Cove- St. Philip's, NL: Boulder Publications, 2002), 458-60.

²⁹ Baker, The Government of St. John's, 170.

³⁰ The dividing line was Beck's Cove, where the Murray Premises now stands. However, it is not clear through which streets the division cut. Baker, *The Government of St. John's*, 170.

particularly filthy, crowded area above Water Street in a series of wooden tenements. Since most were engaged in the fishery, it also made sense that they would live closest to the waterfront and the wharves. In contrast, the upper class, comprised of government officials and military officers, lived well north of this area around Fort Townshend and Fort William. These more affluent areas stood atop the hill that overlooked the city, and also looked down on the lower class neighborhoods below, in both the literal and metaphorical sense.³¹

After the reconstruction of the city in 1846, the laboring classes continued to reside close to Water Street and the harbor. New working class areas appeared just north of there, called Tarahan's Town, and further east in Hoylestown, both of which consisted of squalid tenements. If reconstruction did not reflect the desire to ensure grid-type organization it did reflect a desire to ensure class-based residential segregation. For example, to ensure that Tarahan's Town was separated from the business area of Water Street, Duckworth Street emerged as a middle-class buffer on which merchants and professional men resided.³² Streets further north on the hill such as Military Road, remained middle class, and contained single family houses. Streets even further north such as Rennie's Mill Road, and parts of Circular and Monkstown Road, not only contained large houses, but estates with sprawling grounds.³³

³¹ Baker, *The Government of St. John's*, 15-6, 43; Robert MacKinnon, "The Agricultural Fringe of St. John's, 1750-1945," *Four Centuries and the City: Perspectives on the Historical Geography of St. John's* (Alan G. Macpherson, ed.; St. John's: Dept. of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2005), 53; John Mannion, "St. John's," *Historical Atlas*, vol.1, plate 27.

³² Baker, The Government of St. John's, 163-5.

³³ Oliver, The Rebuilding of the City of St. John's, 97, 102.

Despite the fact that the city's geographic limits had been extended further north, east and west by 1886, no extensive development had occurred.³⁴ It remained a comparatively small city, was still quite dirty as it lacked an adequate sewerage system, and streets were still little more than muddy, narrow paths. The principal street remained Water Street, which, with Duckworth Street, continued to be the commercial core of the city. Most residences continued to be located close to the waterfront, and the further away from the harbour, the less commercial and more residential the city became. There were still large parts of land in the city that remained undeveloped, particularly north of Military Road. However, even in the core areas such as on Duckworth and other streets closer to the waterfront there were stretches of land that were vacant, as shown on Map 2.³⁵

The lack of general progress and improvement in infrastructure reflected the fact that, until 1888, St. John's was without a municipal system and a formal infrastructure that could address these problems adequately. However, it is unclear if this would have solved the problem, given that even after the system was established problems still remained.³⁶ Baker argues that the city's development "runs counter to the normal course

³⁴ The extent of growth can be seen in two maps of St. John's, one in 1846, House of Commons, Parliament, Great Britain, [*Map of St. John's, Nfld., showing extent of fire of 1846*] ([London: Standage & Co., Litho.], 1851), < <u>http://collections.mun.ca/u?/maps,144</u>>, and one for1892 by Charles E. Goad, entitled *Insurance plan of the City of St. John's, Newfoundland* (Charles E. Goad: Toronto, 1907), < http://collections.mun.ca/u?/maps,162>.

³⁵ Oliver, The Rebuilding of the City of St. John's, 61-2, 85, 95, 98, 104.

³⁶ There was, however, a Board of Works established in 1855, and appointed by the Colonial Government. It administered all public buildings, property, streets and roads in the colony and in 1863 it assumed control over the sewerage system. Even though the Board had a measure of control, Baker points out that between 1800 and 1888 it was the Colonial Government that had financial and administrative control over many city services. He points out that with a wide range of issues from sewerage to fire services, the main stumbling block was money and taxation. In addition, because the majority of the population was lower class they were unable to support local services. Baker, *The Government of St. John's*, iii-v.

of contemporary urban evolution in both Great Britain and North America.³⁷ In North America, municipal incorporation was common between 1820 and 1841. He has pointed out that despite the fact that St. John's was large enough numerically, it was not incorporated like Halifax or Toronto. This had much to do with the different political development of the colony itself and its tumultuous political times in the early decades of the nineteenth century.³⁸

That the majority of the population lived close to the waterfront was directly related to the economic character of St. John's. Until the 1870s, St. John's remained primarily a commercial and distributing center for the cod and seal fisheries.³⁹ By 1857 the majority of the population, 65 percent, was still engaged in fishing-related occupations, while 23 percent worked in trades related to the fishery. Agriculture did not play a major role in the economy and only about 300 residents were farmers. The number engaged in business and professions was still small, with only around 450 merchants, shopkeepers, politicians, commercial clerks, doctors, lawyers and clergy.⁴⁰ It was not until around 1870 that the socio-economic character of St. John's began to change. Government and business leaders encouraged the development of a manufacturing sector to better serve an expanding population and local economy, producing such items as clothing, footwear, confectionary and baked goods. This resulted in a shift in the labour force such that in the 1870s there were eight large businesses in the clothing industry and

³⁷ Baker, The Government of St. John's, 52.

³⁸ Baker, The Government of St. John's, 52.

³⁹ Baker, The Government of St. John's, 163-5.

⁴⁰ Baker, The Government of St. John's, 43.

about six large bakeries and confectionaries.⁴¹ By 1874, the number of persons engaged in fishing-related occupations had dropped to half of the total workforce, and by 1891 this number had decreased dramatically to just over five percent.⁴²

In contrast, the number of workers in the secondary sector such as mechanics and tradesmen, factory workers, and those in the transport and construction trade, almost doubled from just over 34 percent in 1874 to 67 percent in 1891. The service sector expanded as well, with the number of clerical workers now accounting for fifteen percent of the work force.⁴³ While there were many changes, St. John's did not experience growth as an industrial center like other cities at the time such as Toronto, and there was no great increase in the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labourers.⁴⁴

To some extent socio-economic diversification affected residential patterns. The west and east districts differed in their general socioeconomic composition, as shown in detail in Appendix B, Table B1. The east, dominated by middle-class streets such as Duckworth Street and those to the north such as Military Road, retained its middle-class character. This was also the district in which Government House was located. As such, this area consisted mainly of clergy, teachers, doctors, lawyers, civil servants, and office workers. The western part of St. John's, however, was predominantly working class, as this was where new factories emerged, and so contained a higher proportion of factory

⁴¹ John Joy, "The Growth and Development of Trades and Manufacturing in St. John's, 1870-1914" (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977), 21, 42.

 ⁴² Baker, The Government of St. John's, "Distribution of the Labour Force, 1836-1921," Appendix I, 5, 396.
 ⁴³ Newfoundland Census 1857, 1869, 1874, 1884 and 1891; Baker, The Government of St. John's,

[&]quot;Distribution of the Labour Force, 1836-1921," Appendix I, 5, 396.

⁴⁴ Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 15.

and workshop employees.⁴⁵ This division also suggests that as in the earlier decades, residential patterns were influenced by proximity to employment.

2.3 Catholic Residential and Occupational Profile

Irish Catholic migrants who arrived in St. John's in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, found that there was very little economic diversification and economic activity was tied to the cod fishery. Those who chose to stay in St. John's often had very few skills that could be transferred to such an economy, as many were only familiar with farming and agricultural life. Some found themselves with skills for which there was no great demand in a fishing port, such as weaving or millinery, and so many were forced to adapt to the needs of the cod fishery. Some migrants, however, were able to ply trades familiar in Ireland such as coopering, stonemasonry, carpentry, or blacksmithing. These trades could also serve the needs of the fishery, and could be applied to such things as the construction of boats.⁴⁶ At the end of the eighteenth century, Irishmen were predominantly fishermen, publicans, shopkeepers and artisans.⁴⁷ The majority of Irish Catholics in the late eighteenth and early decades of the nineteenth century were of the lowest class, and so they were confined to the dirty, crowded lower

⁴⁵ Oliver, *The Rebuilding of the City of St. John's*; Laura Morgan, "Class and Congregation: Social Relations in two St. John's, Newfoundland, Anglican Parishes, 1877-1909" (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1997), 65. While her work was on 1877-1909, by using the same method of investigation it can be seen that the socioeconomic composition of the districts was the same in the 1850s and 1860s as well. Kenneth Kerr has also done this type of work and his conclusions are the same. See his work "A Social Analysis of the Members of the Newfoundland House of Assembly, Executive Council, and Legislative Council for the period, 1855-1914" (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973), 289.

⁴⁶ John Mannion, "Old World Antecedents, New World Adaptations: Inistioge (Co. Kilkenny) Immigrants to Newfoundland," *The Irish in Atlantic Canada* (Thomas Power, ed.; Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1991), 88-9. Also see Mannion. "Migration and Upward Mobility: The Meagher Family in Ireland and Newfoundland, 1780-1830, *Irish Economic and Social History*, vol.15, 1988, 54-70.

⁴⁷ Mannion, "Old World Antecedents," 89; John Mannion, "St. John's," Historical Atlas, vol.1, plate 27.

class areas above Water Street in wooden tenements.⁴⁸ By 1855, however, Catholics were spread out and were equally represented in both western and eastern districts of the city, with only a slight preponderance in the east, as seen in Table 2.4. This pattern was also true for the Protestant population as well, but the gap was larger than for Catholics.

		Eas	it			We	st	
Year	Pop.	Protestants	Catholics	Irish- Born	Pop.	Protestants	Catholics	Irish- Born
1857	13,261	3933	9238	2010	11,590	2499	9011	1997
1869	12,693	4300	8393	1236	9860	2206	7651	1072
1874	18,024	4869	8155	953	10,866	3302	7564	781
1884	16,727	6644	10083	637	14,415	5102	9313	442
1891	15,347	7048	8299	365	13,660	5369	8291	258

Table 2.4 Composition of Districts, St. John's, 1857-91

Notes: The Newfoundland Census for 1845 did not divide the city into districts. Sources: Newfoundland Census, 1857, 1869, 1874, 1884, and 1891.

Some idea of where Irish Catholics fit into the city's socioeconomic structure can be achieved by cross-checking the names in St. John's city directories with John Mannion's list of Irish surnames in Newfoundland. Mannion has identified the most common Irish surnames that can be traced back to an Irish parish or county, with the four most common being Walsh, Power, Murphy and Ryan. Mannion has also identified Irish surnames in Newfoundland that are primarily English in occurrence.⁴⁹ Mannion's list is a

⁴⁸ Melvin Baker, "The Government of St. John's, Newfoundland, 1800-1921" (PhD Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980), 43; MacKinnon, "The Agricultural Fringe," 53; John Mannion, "St. John's," *Historical Atlas*, vol.1, plate 27.

⁴⁹ Mannion, "Tracing the Irish," 4-19. In using Mannion's Irish name list and city directories, caution must be used. In some instances Irish names were not on the list such as "Mullowney," which occurs many times in the *BIS Minutes*. There is also the issue of spelling and literacy that causes problems. "Read," for example, appears in the directories but is not found on Mannion's list, although "Reid" is. The same is true of "Haw" and "Hawe," respectively. Nevertheless, this is a method used in studies to determine members of

useful starting point for analyzing names in the city directories in order to profile Irish occupational status.⁵⁰ As Laura Morgan has argued, because Newfoundland does not have nominal censuses for the nineteenth century, city directories are "crucial in discovering differences in socioeconomic status among families that would not have been visible using church registers and records alone."⁵¹

An examination of business listings in St. John's city directories between 1864 and 1886 indicates that, as in Toronto, the Irish were particularly well represented in the burgeoning manufacturing sector, especially in skilled trades such as tailoring, coopering, and boot and shoe manufacturing.⁵² For example, in 1885, Irish names accounted for about four-fifths of coopers and two-thirds of boot and shoe makers, as seen in Appendix B, Table B2. The Irish were also active in the semi-skilled trades, accounting for the vast majority of butchers and the majority of bakers. Many were also members of the business class, dominating the grocery trade and the sale of liquors.

This method of investigation is especially useful when applied to examining the economic status of women, as they are often difficult to discern in other sources. Between 1864 and 1886, Irish women were well represented in the city directory business listings, as shown in Appendix B, Table B3. Of the total number of women with an occupation,

⁵² Analysis was restricted to those categories which had over 10 names. The directories examined include Thomas Hutchinson, *Hutchinson's Newfoundland directory for 1864-65, containing alphabetical directories of each place in the colony, with a post office directory, and an appendix containing much useful information (Hutchinson's Directory)* (St. John's: T. McConnan, 1864),

an ethnic group. See for example, David M. Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 14-16.

⁵⁰ This method, while indicating ethnicity, cannot indicate the religion of the individuals.

⁵¹ Laura Morgan, Class and Congregation, 45.

http://www.ourroots.ca/e/toc.aspx?id=1276; John A. Rochfort, Business and General Directory of Newfoundland 1877 (Rochfort's Directory) (Printed by Lovell Print. and Pub. Co., for the compiler: Montreal, 1877), <<u>http://collections.mun.ca/u?/cns_tools.17422</u>; John Sharpe, Directory for the towns of St. John's, Harbor Grace, and Carbonear, Newfoundland, for 1885-86: containing much useful information relating to the colony (Sharpe's Directory) (St. John's: [s.n.], 1885); Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 20.

Irish names comprise about two-thirds, which means they played an active economic role in the community. Women with Irish names were the vast majority in the skilled trades of bonnet makers, dressmakers and milliners during that period. Women in general were not well represented in retail trades, but of the small number listed the vast majority are Irish names. Women also formed a slight majority of those who ran boarding houses, and again Irish names are the majority, although by 1886 had decreased significantly.

In addition to the business listings, some city directories also contain comprehensive alphabetized lists of residents with occupations and addresses.⁵³ Using the lists of residents, other observations can be made about women's economic activities in the community. In particular, an occupational profile can be sketched by compiling the names of individual women with an occupation. This is more inclusive than the business listings because those women who were not engaged in "business," such as teachers and nurses, are also included. In the lists of residents, women with an Irish name were represented in a wide variety of occupations from washerwomen to nurses, detailed in Appendix B, Table B4. One occupation that Irish women were not well represented in, however, was the teaching profession, but this is not surprising given that the responsibility for Catholic education fell primarily upon the Irish teaching orders in the city, specifically the Sisters of Presentation and Sisters of Mercy.⁵⁴ Another occupation that does not appear frequently is that of domestic servant. There are only a small handful of women listed with this type of employment and, while Irish names are found amongst

⁵³ Rochefort's Directory 1877 does not include this type of information and so McAlpine's Directory 1870-71 was substituted instead. *McAlpine's Maritime Provinces' Directory for 1870-71, containing directories* of the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island (McAlpine's Directory) (Halifax: David McAlpine, 1871), <<u>http://collections.mun.ca/u?/cns_tools,16502</u>> (Newfoundland sections only).

⁵⁴ This will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 2.

them, they do not dominate as they did in Toronto or parts of the eastern United States.⁵⁵ This was most likely because the demand for this type of work was not as great in St. John's given that it had such a small population, with a very small upper class that would require such services.

It is also possible to sketch the marital status of some of these women. The general pattern, and the pattern for those women with Irish names, is the same, as shown in Appendix B, Table B5. The number of married women consistently outnumbers single women, but both are outnumbered by those women with no given status. This would seem to indicate that the majority of business women were older, unattached, and independent. A shift is visible in 1886 as the number of married women, young women and widows is about the same, while those without title had decreased drastically from 41 in 1864 to six. Of these six, all have Irish names. For the first time "Widow" is noted, and Irish names comprise the majority of these women who may have taken over a husband's business, or continued to run the family business on their own. They may also have needed money after their husbands' deaths and decided to enter the workforce to secure an income.

It appears that both Irish-born and native-born Catholic men and women did fairly well in business. However, they did not seem to own or manage the largest commercial and manufacturing firms, being employees rather than employers. The big merchant houses were still largely Protestant-owned, as seen in lists of the owners of bakeries and confectionaries, clothing firms, tanneries, boot and shoe manufacturers, cordage and cooperages in St. John's between 1870 and 1914. Most were owned or operated by the

⁵⁵ Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 20; Kevin Kenny, The American Irish (New York: Pearson, 2000), 186.

Bowring Brothers, Ayres, and Job Brothers and Joy's list of names for each trade do not show a preponderance of Irish names or well-known families.⁵⁶ That is not to say that some did not own successful retail businesses. For example, native-born John O'Mara Jr., whose Waterford-born father had a successful mercantile business, became the first druggist in the city and owned one of the largest drug stores in St. John's.⁵⁷ As in other parts of the diaspora, Irish Catholics were successful in directing their sales efforts towards their fellow Irishmen in the city, importing a variety of goods from Ireland. Some shops, like that owned by James Byrne, offered customers a selection of Irish tabinets and linens.⁵⁸ Selling specifically Irish goods must have been fairly profitable and somewhat popular as even in the late nineteenth century, merchants and businessmen imported from Ireland. In the 1890s, for example, advertisements still appeared in the press announcing the arrival of Irish goods. In 1891, for example, one read "From Land of the Shamrock, an arrival of an assortment of Irish Tweeds from Cork." 59 While merchandise from Ireland did not dominate the import business, certain items such as clothing and linens as well as some types of food, such as potatoes and ham, continued to be available for purchase for those who so desired.

One of the largest and most successful businesses that relied on the selling of goods from Ireland was Bernard Duffy's Bookstore. In the 1840s it was the largest bookstore in St. John's, and operated under the patronage of the Catholic Bishop and

⁵⁶ Joy, "The Growth and Development of Trades and Manufacturing in St. John's," 21-30, 42-52, 71-3, 77-83, 105-8, 115-20.

⁵⁷ Paul O'Neill, *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland*, rev. ed. (Portugal Cove-St.Phillip's: Boulder Pub., Ltd., 2003), 700.

 ⁵⁸ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 21 May 1845. He had just received a large assortment of goods from the manufacturing districts in England, Ireland and Scotland.
 ⁵⁹ Newfoundland Colonist, 15 April 1891.

clergy of Newfoundland.⁶⁰ Duffy relied on familial connections in Ireland to import such items as portraits and engravings and his advertisements often emphasized that these items were direct from the "old country." He also sold a large collection of standard Catholic books such as the Roman Catholic journal *The Telegraph*, which recounted the political and religious life of Ireland.⁶¹ His store also catered to the religious needs of the Catholic community stocking a large number of Bibles, prayer books, and standard works of Church History.⁶² Those who wished could also subscribe to Irish papers such as the *Nation* to keep informed on Irish political matters.⁶³

Irish Catholics in St. John's, however, were not only concentrated in the business and secondary sector of the economy. As in Ontario, they also had a proclivity to engage in farming.⁶⁴ In order to meet the needs of an expanding urban population in the second half of the century, there was an increase in the number of farms that surrounded the city. By 1850 there were 400 farms on the outskirts of St. John's, the majority of which had been established by Irish immigrants who had arrived in the first decades of the century. The Irish dominated the farming industry, as only a little less than twenty percent of farms had been established by English settlers, and a smaller number by the Scottish, or

⁶⁰ Patriot and Terra Nova Herald (Patriot), 28 April 1849 and 12 April, 1858; Newfoundlander, 6 July 1848 and 4 March 1852.

⁶¹ Newfoundlander, 6 July 1848; Patriot, 12 April, 1858.

⁶² Newfoundlander, 26 January 1854.

⁶³ Patriot, 24 June 1854.

⁶⁴ In *The Irish in Ontario* Donald Akenson challenges the idea in American scholarship that the Irish were primarily engaged in unskilled labour. Using eastern Ontario as his example, he has argued that the Irish were actually farmers and not unskilled labourers. Akenson's conclusion was challenged by Peter Toner who urged that caution must be used in interpreting these findings, suggesting that this may have been an isolated instance. Toner faults Akenson, charging that "unstated, but quite clear to the reader, is [Akenson's] assumption that what is true of the Irish in Ontario must therefore be more or less true of the Irish in the rest of Canada." Donald Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) and Peter Toner, "Lifting the Mist: Recent Studies on the Scots and Irish," *Acadiensis*, vol.18, no.1 (1988), 219.

settlers from the Maritimes. The farms were of various sizes, but for the most part they were small and relatively successful, aimed at supplying the St. John's market and providing the means to raise a family.⁶⁵

2.4 The Catholic Lay Elite

While the vast majority of the Catholic community in St. John's was comprised mostly of the lower class engaged in the fisheries and, by 1880, a small but growing business and lower middle class, there was a small but influential number of Catholics who were members of the St. John's elite. This group is here defined as merchants, politicians, military officers, senior civil servants, lawyers, and businessmen.⁶⁶ In the first half of the century, this group was comprised primarily of Irish-born merchants such as Patrick Morris, John and James Kent and Thomas Meagher, all of whom resided in the city and were involved in the Newfoundland-Waterford mercantile and passenger trade. Meagher, for example, was quite an adaptable and ambitious character. He expanded both his trading routes to other ports in North America as well as the range of goods he imported into Newfoundland. Meagher's success was not confined to the merchant trade, but also included the tailoring business, and the wholesale and retail trade. In addition, he owned a large amount of property in St. John's, which he sublet for additional capital.⁶⁷

Another very successful Catholic merchant during the early decades of the century was Patrick Morris. Like Meagher, Morris developed a successful mercantile and passenger trade, owning premises along the St. John's waterfront. He too built his success

⁶⁵ MacKinnon, "The Agricultural Fringe," 53, 63.

⁶⁶ Baker, The Government of St. John's, 50.

⁶⁷ John Mannion, "Meagher, Thomas," Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB), vol. 7.

on the importation of passengers and provisions from Waterford in return for cargoes of cod and oil. As with Meagher, Morris expanded his business, importing timber from New Brunswick and a wide range of goods from Liverpool and other British and North American ports.⁶⁸

Morris, the Kents and Meagher were characteristic of the Catholic elite in city the early part of the century. They constructed successful mercantile businesses primarily based on kin networks on both sides of the Atlantic. Patrick Morris' brother James and Robert Kent, Morris' brother-in-law, formed a partnership in Waterford in 1813 to carry out trade.⁶⁹ Another of Morris' brothers, Simon, also a trader in Waterford, arrived in St John's in 1828 to work with Patrick and other members of the Irish-based Morris and Kent clans. The Kents and the Morrises would continue to be inextricably tied together in their business dealings. James Kent became Morris' partner in 1828, but he returned to Waterford to partner with his brother John Kent who established trade identical to that of Morris, his uncle. John Kent's brother, James, also did well in Ireland becoming Mayor of Waterford in 1849.⁷⁰ He was well respected, even welcoming the Queen when she visited the city in 1849.⁷¹ Members of this small kinship group kept the most direct ties with Ireland through their direct business and familial dealings, and because they could afford to travel back and forth for leisure.

⁶⁸ John Mannion, "Morris, Patrick," DCB, vol. 7.

⁶⁹ Mannion, "Morris," DCB, vol. 7.

⁷⁰ Newfoundlander, 25 January 1849. Reprinted from the Dublin Freeman.

⁷¹ An extract from a personal letter to his brother John, recounting his experience appeared in the *Newfoundlander*, 6 September 1849.

	T ()			Reli	igion Unkn	own	
Decade	Total New	Catholic	Protestant	Irish i	Names	Surname	Illegible
Decude	Barristers	cutione	Trotestant	Primarily Irish	Primarily English	not identified	megione
1840-9	16	4	7	2	1	2	n/a
1850-9	12	2	6	2	0	2	n/a
1860-9	10	2	3	1	3	1	n/a
1870-9	15	0	2	7	3	2	1
1880-9	20	3	1	3	1	9	3
Total	73	11	19	15	8	16	4

Table 2.5 Irish Names on the Barristers' Roll, Newfoundland, 1840-89

Source: Law Society of Newfoundland, Barristers' Roll, 1826-1980, ([1980]).

In the second half of the century, the character of the elite changed as Catholic lawyers replaced merchants as the dominant group. An examination of names on the Barristers' Roll for Newfoundland between 1840 and 1889 shows that Catholics were fairly well represented in the legal profession, although they did not seem to dominate it.⁷² Of the 73 new barristers admitted in the period, eleven were Catholic compared to nineteen Protestants, as shown in Table 2.5. Among the remaining individuals whose religion could not be positively identified, however, one sees a high number of Irish names as per Mannion's Irish surname list. When these are added to the identifiable Catholics, their total increases significantly. While the Irish may not have been numerically dominant in the profession, many would become respected political leaders and forge connections with the Protestant political elite.

⁷² Law Society of Newfoundland, Barristers' Roll, 1826-1980, ([1980]).

Religious Balance		Birthpla	ice	
Total MHAs, 1840-90	35	St. John's	12	
Total Catholics	29	Other NL	1	
Total Protestants/unknowns	6	Ireland	10	
% Catholics	83	Other	3	
	1	Unknown	3	

Table 2.6 St. John's Catholic MHAs, 1840-90

Source: This table is based on Appendix C, Table C1 for which a complete list of sources is given.

Many members of the Catholic elite used their economic success and reputation as a stepping stone to colonial politics, serving as members of both the elected assembly and the Governor-appointed Legislative Council. In fact, the majority of the Members of the elected House of Assembly (MHA) for the city during the nineteenth century were Catholic, shown in Table 2.6 and examined in detail in Appendix C, Table C1. Of the 35 MHAs elected for the St. John's district between 1840 and 1890, Catholics numbered 29, or 83 percent. The most common occupations held by those MHAs were, by a wide margin, merchant and lawyer, with a few teachers, as seen in Table 2.7. Merchants of small standing included MHAs Peter S. Brennan, J. Kavanagh and John Fox. Larger merchant Patrick Morris was one of the most prominent Catholic politicians in the 1830s, and was appointed Colonial Treasurer in 1840.

Occupations	#
Merchant	9
Lawyer	6
Teacher	4
Grocer	2
Bonesetter	1
Bookstore Owner	1
Builder	1
Cooper	1
Druggist	1
Farmer	1
Journalist	1
Laundry Owner	1
Master Mariner	1
Planter	1
Tavern Owner	1
unknown	1

Table 2.7 Occupations of St. John's Catholic MHAs, 1840-90

<u>Notes</u>: Several MHAs had more than one occupation; these have been counted separately here, so as to provide a simple tally of the occupations represented among those elected. <u>Source</u>: This table is based on Appendix C, Table C1 for which a complete list of sources is given.

Among those Catholic MHAs who were lawyers was Irish-born Robert Kent who was called to the bar in 1865, and studied law with well-known Protestant lawyer, judge and politician Hugh William Hoyles. Rising to the top of the profession, he became the President of the Law Society of Newfoundland in 1888, a position which he held until his death in 1893. Kent also became a successful politician. In 1873 he won the first of many victories in St. John's East, a district he would represent for thirteen years. He was Speaker of the Assembly in the early 1880s, and for a short time was the leader of the Liberal Party.⁷³

⁷³ James K. Hiller, "Kent, Robert,"DCB, vol. 12.

Another Catholic barrister who achieved great success in both law and politics was Philip Francis Little. Born in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island in 1824 to Irish parents, he moved to St. John's as a young man of twenty. In 1844 he became a barrister and quickly became a well-respected Catholic lawyer, but like Kent he had political aspirations. He was first elected as an MHA for St. John's in 1850, but only three years later he reached the highest political office in the colony, becoming the Premier as well as Attorney General. Little was forced to resign in 1858 due to poor health, falling back on his law practice and for a short time serving as a judge.⁷⁴ In 1864 he retired to Ireland, leaving his family law practice to his younger brother Joseph who had joined his brother in the colony in 1851. Joseph's life was very similar to that of his brother's. He was called to the bar in 1859, but owing to the demise of the law firm in the 1860s, he partnered with Robert Kent. Joseph entered politics and in 1869 and was elected as MHA for Harbour-Main, outside St. John's. Only one year later he assumed the position of Attorney General, a post his brother had held some years earlier. However, in the early 1880s he left politics and returned to law, joining the Supreme Court. He had continued success, becoming Chief Justice in 1898, and three years later he was knighted.⁷⁵

In addition to barristers and merchants, a smaller number of the Catholic political elite in St. John's, such as John Valentine Nugent and Thomas Talbot, were teachers. Described by some of his peers as having a volatile temper, the Irish-born Nugent arrived in St John's in 1833, immediately opening a private school. Nugent soon found a voice in politics, becoming a prominent politician in St. John's, serving as MHA between 1842

⁷⁴ Hiller, "Little, Philip Francis," *DCB*, vol. 11.

⁷⁵ Hiller, "Little Joseph," DCB, vol. 13.

and 1848. For a short time in the 1840s Nugent launched and edited a Catholic newspaper called the *Newfoundland Vindicator*. His political connections and educational background helped make Nugent a prominent figure in education, becoming Newfoundland's first Inspector of Schools in 1844. He also opened the first Catholic Academy in 1850, providing Catholics with the opportunity for secondary education.⁷⁶ Nugent, also a lawyer, decided to turn his attention towards law, accepting the position of Sheriff in 1856, a position that he held until 1871.⁷⁷

Like Nugent, Thomas Talbot was an educated Irishman who combined his talents as a schoolteacher and journalist in Newfoundland. He held many teaching positions in the colony, becoming well-known for his writing in the areas of journalism, translation, poetry, a novel and his 1882 work *Newfoundland; or, a letter addressed to a friend in Ireland in relation to the condition and circumstances of the island of Newfoundland, with an especial view to emigration.* An educated and respected man, he, like Nugent, became involved in politics serving as an MHA for St. John's between 1861 and 1870, and was appointed High Sheriff in 1872.⁷⁸

While these individual Catholics left their mark on Newfoundland's political, economic and social development, there was one family in particular that stands out in the century. Individually and collectively, the members of the Shea family epitomize the success and respect that native-born Catholics achieved in St. John's. What is most remarkable is that this success was carried through successive generations, lasting into the

 ⁷⁶ Frederick Rowe, *The History of Education in Newfoundland* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1952), 121;
 Brother Joseph B. Darcy, *Noble to Our View: The Saga of St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's Newfoundland Canada, The First 150 Years 1856-2006* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2007), 10.
 ⁷⁷ Elizabeth A. Wells, "Nugent, John Valentine," *DCB*, vol. 10.

⁷⁸ Iona L. Bulgin, "Talbot, Thomas," Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL), vol. 5, 337.

twentieth century. The Sheas' story began in the 1780s when the patriarch of the family, Henry Shea, migrated to Newfoundland from Ireland. Henry became a merchant of small standing in St. John's and quickly gained the respect of his Catholic and Protestant peers alike as a man of great loyalty and integrity, at a time when, as in Ireland, Catholics in Newfoundland faced restrictions in their public and private lives.⁷⁹ Shea was one of the few Catholics to serve on the grand jury of Newfoundland's Supreme Court, and in 1806 he became the first Catholic officer in one of the companies of the Loyal Volunteers of St. John's, the majority of which were Catholics. He was rewarded for his service two years later and was promoted to captain. In 1806 he was also appointed as secretary of the newly established fraternal association, the Benevolent Irish Society. What made this appointment remarkable was that the society was founded and dominated by a small Irish Protestant elite, drawn mostly from the ranks of military officers. In a society dominated by Protestants, Henry served as the only Catholic officer, but would later become its vice-president and would be touted by members as one of the best servants of the association.⁸⁰

Henry Shea's sons not only garnered the same respect from their peers, they enjoyed the same success as their father. Two of Henry's sons, Henry and Joseph, went on to become physicians. Another son, John, started a family newspaper, the *Newfoundlander*, which would become the largest and most influential Catholic paper in Newfoundland for most of the nineteenth century. After their father's death in 1830, John assumed control over the mercantile business and moved back to Ireland, ultimately

 ⁷⁹ For more on the Penal Laws see Kevin Whelan, *The Tree of Liberty: Radicalism, Catholicism and the Construction of Irish Identity, 1760-1830* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996) and Maureen Wall, *The Penal Laws, 1691-1760* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1967).
 ⁸⁰ John Mannion, "Shea, Henry," DCB, vol. 6.

becoming the Mayor of Cork and the city's Chief Magistrate.⁸¹ He was well respected in Ireland, some there claiming that despite being Newfoundland-born, he was "more Irish in heart than the Irish themselves."⁸² In 1844, John left the paper to Henry's most famous and politically ambitious son, Ambrose. However, after only two years, Ambrose decided that he wanted to focus on the business trade and so he left the paper to his younger brother, Edward. Ambrose also decided to enter political life and in 1848 was elected as MHA for the Catholic district of Placentia-St. Mary's. This marked the beginning of a successful forty-six year political career that would make him one of the most prominent Catholic politicians of the century.⁸³ Described by his contemporaries as a witty man with "[a] great capacity to work, and of marked intellectual force," it was no surprise to Ambrose's peers that he rose to prominence.⁸⁴ However, he was not the only Shea son with political ambitions, and was joined by his brother, Edward Dalton Shea, the voungest son. Edward became an MHA in 1855 and he enjoyed some political success, becoming Financial Secretary in the 1860s. However, he was to remain in his older brother's shadow and so most of his political career was uneventful.⁸⁵

Unlike his Irish-born peers such as John Nugent, John Kent and Patrick Morris, Ambrose Shea's political career took some time to take root. While he was a well known and popular political figure amongst the Catholic electorate, he did not immediately rise to the top of the political ladder. Newfoundland-born, he was somewhat of an outsider in

⁸¹ Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," DCB, vol. 13.

⁸² John Shea's obituary in the Cork Reporter, 11 October 1858, reprinted in the Patriot, 25 October 1858.
⁸³ Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," DCB, vol. 13.

 ⁸⁴ Ambrose Shea was ranked as the most prominent Newfoundlander to date in Henry Youmans Mott, Newfoundland Men: A collection of biographical sketches, with portraits, of sons and residents of the island who have become known in commercial, professional, and political life (Concord, NH: T.W. & J.F. Cragg, 1894), 1, http://collections.mun.ca/u?/cns,26171.
 ⁸⁵ Hiller, "Shea, Sir Edward Dalton," DCB, vol. 14.

the Irish-dominated political clique in the first half of the century.⁸⁶ Despite this, Ambrose's political future was looking brighter in the 1850s. In 1855 he was not only elected for St. John's, but was appointed as Speaker of the House. However, he continued to be preoccupied with other things, devoting time to his general trade business amongst other pursuits such as insurance and as agent for the transatlantic steamer service. In 1859 he also became president of the newly-established Water Company. Nevertheless, by the 1880s, he had managed to become a very influential Catholic politician. This was not solely due to his ambition and abilities, but also because those Irish-born peers who had overshadowed him, such as Morris and Kent, had faded from the political scene. The high-point of his career was in the mid-1880s, when the British Government appointed him Governor of Newfoundland, an appointment that was later withdrawn.⁸⁷ Despite feeling hurt and betrayed, Shea continued, at least from a distance, to be involved in Newfoundland affairs. He did receive the title of Governor in 1887 when he was appointed Governor of the Bahamas and, although not his homeland, it was still a high honour and spoke to his political abilities. The commemoration of Ambrose's death in 1905 showed the high esteem that his fellow Catholics and all Newfoundlanders held for him. His body was returned to St. John's where he was given a state funeral. Ambrose Shea was the first Newfoundlander to receive this honour.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," DCB, vol. 13.

⁸⁷ The reasons were related to local political squabbling at the time and a campaign by some of Shea's political peers who wanted the post for themselves. In addition, while on the surface Shea had the experience and qualifications for the post, his intimate involvement in local politics worked against him as impartiality and political neutrality were key requirements of the Governor. Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," *DCB*, vol. 13.

⁸⁸ Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," DCB, vol. 13.

The Shea men would continue to hold high status into the next century as well. Ambrose's brother, Edward, was manager of the savings bank in St. John's until 1905 and was knighted in 1902. Edward's son George became a merchant as well as an MHA, and rose to prominence in municipal politics, becoming the first mayor of St. John's in 1902.⁸⁹ His son Ambrose John D'Alton Shea was unsuccessful in politics but remained a prominent personality, being involved in radio.⁹⁰

Members of the Catholic elite not only carved out for themselves a niche in the political and economic life of the city alongside their Protestant counterparts, they also lived alongside them, helping to form affluent enclaves. Their residential pattern can be traced as city directories published between 1864 and 1886 provided addresses for many of these men.⁹¹ On Military Road, Queen's Road, and Cochrane Street, Catholics Edward Morris, Thomas Talbot and James Kent resided alongside their fellow Protestant MHAs such as J.J Rogerson. The more affluent members of society were also concentrated a little to the north of this area in an enclave around Rennie's Mill, Monkstown, Forest, Circular and Kingsbridge Roads. In the second half of the century this area became so popular amongst the well-to-do that some decided to move into the neighbourhood. For example, Frederick Carter, Protestant speaker of the House of Assembly and barrister, who had resided on Quidi Vidi Road in the mid-1860s, moved to Forest Road by 1870,

⁸⁹ Hiller, "Shea, Sir Edward Dalton," *DCB*, vol. 14; "Candidates for the Coming Municipal Election," *The Newfoundland Quarterly*, 5:4 (March 1906), 1; "Shea, Hon. George, M.L.A.," *Who's Who and Why: a Biographical Dictionary of Men and Women of Canada and Newfoundland, volume 5, 1914* (C. W. Parker, ed.; Vancouver: International Press, 1914), 838, http://collections.mun.ca/u?/cns_tools,18895>.

⁹⁰ "Shea, Ambrose John D'Alton," *Newfoundland Who's Who 1952* (St. John's: Newfoundland Who's Who, 1952), 86, http://collections.mun.ca/u?/cns_tools,18024>.

⁹¹ Hutchinson's Newfoundland directory for 1864-65; McAlpine, McAlpine's Maritime Provinces' Directory for 1870-71 and Sharpe, Directory for the towns of St. John's, Harbor Grace, and Carbonear, Newfoundland, for 1885-86.

next to his fellow barristers and members of the Legislature. Catholic MHA Laurence O'Brien lived in this area as well at Rostellan Villa, on Rennie's Mill Road. Ambrose Shea and members of his family lived on Kingsbridge Road, along with other Catholic MHAs such as W.J.S. Donnelly. Their neighbours included Protestant members of the House such as John Winter and R.J. Pinsent.

Some of the Catholic elite also lived on large estates in areas that, at the time, were well outside the core residential area of the city. Philip Little, for example, had a large estate on Waterford Bridge Road, west of Water Street, alongside his Protestant neighbour James Fraser, clerk of House of Assembly. Torbay Road, well northeast of the city center at that time, was a popular area for the elite to build cottages. Henry Shea, the Governor's private secretary, resided at Glenbrook Cottage. His neighbours, Protestants George Emerson, clerk of Legislative Council and Henry Thomas, a merchant, resided at Virginia and Retreat Cottages respectively.

These estates, villas and cottages signify the extent of change that had occurred since the early decades of the nineteenth century when St. John's was little more than a small commercial center based on the cod fishery, with two main streets with an Irish community largely comprised of poor immigrants living in a small and dirty area of the city. In the second half of the century, the population of St. John's increased and the city expanded both geographically and in terms of its socio-economic structure. With few obstacles in the way of their success, Catholics were a part of this expansion and could be found in every class and every area of St. John's. From the small but influential elite to the lower classes, Catholics were deeply woven into the political, social and economic fabric of the city.

One of the most tangible signs of the role that Catholics had in the expansion and progress of St. John's was the construction of many of the very buildings Thomas Talbot found lacking when he arrived in 1837, and which he held up forty years later as symbolic of the city's progress. Churches, convents and schools, which comprised some of the grandest structures in the city, were built by the Catholic Church and funded by all classes of the community. These structures were not only a mark of Catholic numerical strength in the city, but also signified the Catholic community's commitment to fostering and protecting their Faith. The largest, the Cathedral, stood high atop the city as the largest structure, towering high above all below it. It, along with other church buildings, was a visible sign of the Catholic Church's expansion and increasing strength in St. John's.

Chapter 3

The Catholic Church

Amidst the darkness of night on 3 September 1855, St. John's was alive with excitement as a steamer entered the narrows. As it approached the dock, the bells of the Cathedral, the convents and the old Catholic chapel resonated throughout the town. The steamer was carrying Catholic Ecclesiastics from various parts of North America, including Archbishop Hughes of New York; the Bishop of Toronto, Rev. Dr. Charbonnel; Rev. Bishop McKinnon of Arichat; Bishop Connolly of Saint John, New Brunswick; and the Bishop of Albany, New York, Monsignor McNerney. After their vessel landed, they were whisked off in carriages, forming part of a grand procession, which included a music band, various Catholic societies and members of the clergy. The procession made its way to the Cathedral along the principal streets of the city illuminated by torches, gas lights and the lights from houses lining the route. The streets were a moving sea of people, as cheering crowds made their way along the illuminated path to the church grounds. Upon their arrival at the front of the edifice, the prelates were welcomed by the firing of guns, music and the ringing of church bells. The ecclesiastics remained in the city for several days, assisting with the consecration of the Cathedral on 9 September.¹

Certainly there was much cause for celebration. The consecration of the Cathedral

¹ Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, *The Cathedral of St. John's Newfoundland with an Account of Its Consecration* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1856), 5-7, Archives of the Archdiocese of St. John's (AASJ), 104/1/3.

in 1855 marked a milestone in the history of Catholicism in Newfoundland as it stood as the physical symbol of a permanent and strong Catholic Church.² This achievement was a testament to the efforts of Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, the Tipperary-born Bishop of Newfoundland from 1830 until his death in 1850, who had laid the foundation stone some fourteen years earlier.³ Under Fleming's leadership in the 1830s and 1840s, there emerged an institutionalized and reinvigorated Catholic Church shaped by his ultramontane views. With his guidance, church infrastructure expanded and personnel increased as Fleming recruited Irish-born clergy and established two communities of Irish Religious Orders in St. John's, the Presentation Sisters in 1833 and the Mercy Sisters in 1842.⁴

The consecration of the Cathedral in 1855 marked the end of the era of establishment for the Catholic Church in Newfoundland. Thereafter began a time of consolidation and further expansion. This growth mirrored that of Ireland, which experienced a "devotional revolution" in the mid-nineteenth century, led by the efforts of Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin between 1852 and 1878 and Ireland's first cardinal. As in Ireland and the diaspora, the Church in St. John's in the second half of the century would further expand both in terms of infrastructure and the number of church personnel. It also became financially and organizationally stronger. More personnel and infrastructure enabled better ministering to the Catholic community in St. John's, which

² John FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture in Irish Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850" (PhD. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), iv.

³ Bishop Fleming died 14 July 1850. Raymond J. Lahey, "Fleming, Michael Anthony," Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB), vol. 7.

⁴ John FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 114, 462; Phillip McCann, "Bishop Fleming and the Politicization of the Irish Roman Catholics in Newfoundland, 1830-1850," *Religion and Identity*, 87; Raymond Lahey, "Fleming, Michael Anthony," *DCB*, vol. 7.

in turn increased devotional practices.⁵

Apart from being a testament to the permanence of Catholicism in St. John's, the Cathedral also symbolized something less tangible: a specifically Irish Catholic culture and identity. From the architectural and interior design, to the Irish stone from which it was constructed, Fleming wanted the Cathedral to epitomize everything "Irish."⁶ By the mid-nineteenth century in the United States and British North America, the Catholic Church had become the central part of Irish ethnic identity and culture, acting as a means of preserving both.⁷ For Irish Catholics in Worcester, Massachusetts for example, religion was a link to their past and reinforced a sense of Catholic community and identity.⁸ This was also true in Saint John, New Brunswick where the role of religion in shaping ethnicity became vital in defining not just Irish identity, but the Irish community as a whole. Irish immigrants in that city defined themselves not just as Irish, but as Irish Catholics within a larger Protestant community.⁹ In the Atlantic region in general, the center of Irish identity was the Roman Catholic Church which was, as Peter Toner has stated, "the main vehicle for self-expression of the Catholic Irish."¹⁰ This was also true in Ontario where the Irish were predominantly Protestant, but amongst Ontario's Catholic population the Irish predominated. The result was that, in many areas, Irish identity

⁵ For more on the devotional revolution see Sean Connolly, *Religion and Society in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (The Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, 1985); Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75," (1972) *The Historical Dimensions of Irish Catholicism* (New York: Arno Press, 1976) and David Miller, "Irish Catholicism and the Great Famine," *Journal of Social History*, vol. 9 (1975), 83. On Cullen see Desmond Bowen, *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1983).

⁶ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," iv, 402, 459, 447-8.

⁷ Kevin Kenny, The American Irish (New York: Pearson, 2000), 75, 114.

⁸ Timothy J. Meagher, Inventing Irish America (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 93-4.

⁹ T.W. Acheson, "The Irish Community in Saint John, 1815-1850," in Peter Toner (ed.), New Ireland Remembered (Fredericton, N.B.: New Ireland Press), 1988, 37.

¹⁰ Peter Toner, introduction to *New Ireland Remembered* (Peter Toner, ed.; Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1988), 4.

became equated with Catholicism and religion became an essential component of ethnic identity.¹¹

In the 1830s and 1840s, Fleming had indeed fostered an Irish Catholic identity that revolved around a purely Irish Church, but how 'Irish' would the Catholic Church continue to be in the second half of the century? Would Fleming's successors continue to foster such a strong link between Catholic and Irish identity, and would members of a mostly Newfoundland-born community continue to link ethnic and religious identity?

3.1 Ecclesiastical Leadership

Bishop Fleming was a determined and headstrong man, characteristics that did not endear him to many of his contemporaries. Much has been written of his episcopacy in the early nineteenth century, and he remains one of those historical figures around which there are polarized views.¹² Nevertheless, Fleming accomplished much during his tenure. Apart from establishing a solid foundation for the Church in Newfoundland, he ensured that it was thoroughly centralized and that the authority of the Bishop was absolute. As in other parts of North America, however, this was not an easy task as Fleming was faced with the issue of trusteeism. Fleming's predecessor, Bishop Thomas Scallan, allowed some lay control over church affairs, and when Fleming succeeded him in 1830, these middle-class trustees wished to continue this practice. Fleming refused, leading to years

¹¹ Brian Clarke, Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 7-8, 11.

¹² On differing views of Bishop Fleming and his supporters see among others Gertrude Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland, 1832-1864* (1966); FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," and John P. Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation: Priests and Merchants in Newfoundland Politics, 1745-1855* ((McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

¹² McCann, "Bishop Fleming," 81-2.

of internal divisions within the Catholic community during his episcopacy, alienating a section of the Catholic middle class.¹³ Nevertheless, Fleming was victorious, effectively putting an end to large-scale lay involvement in church matters and the issue did not reemerge. His wanted his power to be absolute, and it was.

The Bishop did indeed have a powerful position by 1850 when John Thomas Mullock, a Limerick-born Franciscan, succeeded Fleming.¹⁴ Mullock had already been in St. John's for some time, however, acting as Fleming's coadjutor from 1843 onwards during the latter's ill health. In some ways he was like his fellow Irishman Fleming, wishing to increase the institutional strength of the Church. To that end, Mullock took steps to reinforce the position of the Bishop in the early 1850s, successfully pressing for Newfoundland to be divided into two dioceses. In 1856 this was done. Formerly the Bishop of Newfoundland, Mullock now became the Bishop of St. John's and John Dalton became Bishop of Harbour Grace, in Conception Bay.¹⁵

In most other ways, however, Mullock and his predecessor were diametrically opposed, both in personality and in leadership style. While as outspoken as Fleming, he was not as stubborn, preferring to guide rather than to dictate. This was particularly evident in his relationship with his priests with whom he had a great rapport. One of the biggest differences was in how he saw his role as Bishop. While Fleming assumed an authoritative position as an Irish missionary tending to his flock, Mullock believed

¹³ FitzGerald argues that Fleming did not create these divisions, but admits that the situation was not helped by his "lack of foresight in predicting how his program of reforms might threaten the trustees and exacerbate extant factional divisions." The conflict had to do with the building and financing of the Cathedral, particularly how Fleming was using the funds for the Cathedral. FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," iii, 461; Lahey, "Fleming, Michael Anthony," *DCB*, vol. 7.

 ¹⁴ Archbishop Michael F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, vol. 2 (Brother Joseph B. Darcy, C.F.C. and John F. O'Mara, eds.; St. John's, NL: Terra Nova Publishing, 2005), 45.
 ¹⁵ Frederick Jones, "Mullock, John Thomas," *DCB*, vol. 9.

himself to be an equal member of the Catholic community. Contemporaries and fellow ecclesiastics noted that Mullock was a concerned citizen who took a sincere interest in the welfare of the country, a place he referred to as his adopted home. That he had strong ties to Newfoundland was not only evident in his words, but in the fact that he brought his siblings over from Ireland to live in St. John's.¹⁶

Mullock believed that his position as Bishop could be used to spur social, political and economic progress. He quickly became very active, and even outspoken, on numerous public issues during his episcopacy. For example, only a year into his tenure he appealed for road building to improve communication on the island.¹⁷ The following year, he became one of strongest supporters of responsible government, wishing to protect what he called "the welfare of the country to which I am bound by so many ties."¹⁸ Other issues ranged from a fight to have a line of steamers running between Europe and America call at Newfoundland to the idea of building an Atlantic Cable connecting Newfoundland to Ireland.¹⁹ He also advocated steam communication to provide better service within the colony, knowing too well from experience how difficult it was to visit distant, isolated outports.²⁰

Mullock's activism was directly tied to the fact that Mullock saw himself as a Newfoundlander and a champion of its progress. In his sermon on the death of Mullock, Reverend Michael Howley, who would become Newfoundland's first native bishop in 1894, noted that "no one advocated [progress] more strongly than Dr. Mullock especially

¹⁶ Biographical Information, Bishop John Thomas Mullock, AASJ 104/1/1.

¹⁷ Jones, "Mullock, John Thomas," *DCB*, vol. 9; Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, vol. 2, 81; Biographical Information, Bishop Mullock, 104/1/1.

¹⁸ Patriot and Terra Nova Herald (Patriot), 16 February 1852.

¹⁹ Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, vol. 2, 96-7, 120-1.

²⁰ Patriot, 4 June 1860.

for this his adopted country and people; his mind was ever at work, his voice ever uplifted to encourage intellectual and social advancement; he never dissociated this from religion itself. It was in the interest of religion that he advocated progress."²¹ Remarks made in the press and amongst contemporaries echoed this sentiment. One Catholic contemporary remarked that "the country had lost one who had its interests deeply at heart," while another added that Mullock had been a man "whose labours have been incessant and untiring for the welfare of the people, and the advancement of the best interests of this his adopted land."²²

Mullock died in March 1869, but his position was not filled immediately and St. John's was without a bishop for a year. Mullock's successor was Thomas Joseph Power, from New Ross. He was a protégé of Archbishop Cullen and had achieved prominence among the Dublin clergy, becoming the director of Holy Cross College, Clonliffe. He was of much the same temperament as Mullock, known in Ireland for his kindness and humility.²³ He too was a conciliatory man, but unlike Mullock was not inclined towards controversy, political or otherwise. This did not mean that he was not interested in the progress of Newfoundland, he was simply not as outspoken on such issues. In fact, Bishop Power's tenure is often overlooked because it was bookended by two outspoken and highly active bishops, Mullock and Michael Howley, a vocal Newfoundland nationalist. This does not mean that the Church did not strengthen during Power's tenure. He took an active role in building and expanding infrastructure, and solidified it

²¹ Benevolent Irish Society Minutes (BIS), 23 May 1869.

²² Patriot, 5 April 1869.

²³ J.G. Higgins, "Right Rev. T.J. Power, D.D., Bishop of St. John's, 1870-1893," Basilica Centenary Volume 1955, 125, AASJ 101/1/4.

internally.²⁴ He is most noted for his success in bringing the Christian Brothers to Newfoundland in 1876, something that both Fleming and Mullock failed to achieve.²⁵

3.2 The Growth of Church Infrastructure

The Catholic Church in St. John's expanded greatly under Bishop Mullock's leadership. It was during his episcopacy that the majority of churches, orphanages and convents in the city were built, and a second parish created. Before 1840, St. John's was practically devoid of Catholic buildings. The community did not even have a proper church, only a small chapel with a small Episcopal residence a good distance away. There was only one ramshackle convent occupied by the Presentation Sisters, adjoining their school. There were no other Catholic schools and no orphanages. In the 1840s there was some expansion under Bishop Fleming, most notably the start of the Cathedral above the city. During his tenure, however, only one new convent and school was established, that of the Mercy Order in 1842. It was not until the mid-1850s under Mullock that great increases in church infrastructure took place, both in the city and in Newfoundland in general. In total, Mullock built eleven new convents and numerous churches in Newfoundland.²⁶ In addition, in 1855 he consecrated two Catholic cemeteries in St. John's, Mount Carmel in the east end, and Belvedere just north of the Cathedral.²⁷

The first few years of Mullock's episcopacy, however, were mostly spent completing projects that Bishop Fleming had already begun. His largest task was

²⁴ Hans Rollmann, "Power, Thomas Joseph," DCB, vol. 7.

²⁵ Higgins, "Right Rev. T.J. Power," 126.

²⁶ Jones, "Mullock, John Thomas," DCB, vol. 9.

²⁷ James M. Fleming Sr., Chronological History of the Irish Catholic Church in Newfoundland and Labrador: the Important Church Events of the Parishes, Bishops, Priests and Religious on the Island (Newfoundland: Transcontinental, 2006), 30.

finishing the construction of the Cathedral, as well as furnishing it.²⁸ At the time of Fleming's death in 1850, only the exterior of the church was completed, and much work still needed to be done on the interior. When construction began in the early 1840s there were not enough skilled tradesmen to carry out such a large project, and "the consequence unfortunately was, that in its erection the most serious mistakes were committed."²⁹ By the early 1850s the entire building had to be re-plastered and the roof was in danger of collapse, requiring repairs that were very expensive. With great effort, by 1854 the interior and exterior were brought to near-completion, under the Bishop's tireless guidance. Mullock purchased a new organ, altar plate and Stations, and boasted that because of these additions the Cathedral was now of the "most solid, permanent, rich, and ornamental character." With the addition of interior decorations, statues and monuments, Mullock believed that the Cathedral would be a tribute to the zeal and faith of the Catholic people, and "be a treasure of art as well as of religion, the likes of which is found in few cities, worthy of the Catholic people of Newfoundland."³⁰

This grand Cathedral would become the center of a Church enclave in St. John's. Only a year after its consecration, Mullock completed the construction of an Episcopal residence and library adjacent to it. He furnished these buildings with paintings, religious artefacts and books, and it was under his guidance that "all these magnificent buildings were being furnished in a style fitting their grandeur."³¹ He also constructed a seminary behind these buildings called St. Bonaventure's College, which was opened in 1857 and

²⁸ Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, vol. 2, 5-6, 37-8, 41.

²⁹ Newfoundlander, 18 May 1854.

³⁰ Newfoundlander, 18 May 1854.

³¹ Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, vol. 2, 79-80.

built larger convents for the Presentation and Mercy Sisters next to the Cathedral. The Presentation Sisters moved into a new convent and school in 1853 and, four years later, a new Mercy convent and school was opened very near to those of the Presentation Order.³²

Mullock also saw the need for Catholic orphanages in the city and encouraged the Mercy Order to undertake such a task. In 1852 he oversaw construction of an orphanage at the rear of the Mercy convent.³³ The Immaculate Conception Orphanage was opened on 8 December 1854 and, by the end of that year, it housed thirteen children, a number which had increased to twenty by the following February. In 1855 an infirmary was also built at the rear of the convent to tend to the needs of sick orphans.³⁴ By 1859, however, the orphanage had become too small, leading the Sisters to establish a second convent solely dedicated to the education of orphans. In November of that year, four sisters and thirty orphan girls took up residence just northwest of the Cathedral at Belvedere. This was the former residence of Bishop Fleming, which he had bequeathed to the Mercy Sisters upon his death. The Sisters named the building St. Michael's convent and orphanage, Belvedere, in his honour.³⁵

By the 1850s the city was expanding westward and, recognizing this, Mullock turned his attention to the spiritual and social needs of Catholics in Riverhead. His first task was to establish a new parish that included both a church and a convent. In a

³² The original Mercy convent was torn down and the Sisters stayed in the orphanage infirmary while awaiting their new building. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, vol. 2, 64, 76; *Newfoundlander*, 24 July 1856; Katherine E. Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, (St. John's, NL: Flanker

Press, 2006), 108. ³³ Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, 95-7, 11-13.

³⁴ In Mullock's Pastoral in February 1855 he states that there were 20 orphans. Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, 96, 99; *Patriot*, 26 February 1855; Mullock's pastoral letter, 1855, AASJ 104/1/41.

³⁵ Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, 110-1,169. The building remained an orphanage until 1967, after which it became the offices of the Roman Catholic School Board of St. John's, and housed the offices of the Catholic newspaper *The Monitor*, as well as the Social Action Office of the Catholic Diocese.

symbolic gesture, Archbishop Hughes of New York laid the foundation stone for the new structure, to be called St. Patrick's, as part of the festivities surrounding the consecration of the Cathedral.³⁶ Although Mullock had been planning to build as early as 1852, it was not until June 1864 that construction began.³⁷ Realizing that the church was some time from completion, Mullock provided the new parish with all the interim necessities. In 1860 he built a provisional chapel and parochial residence, established a convent for the Presentation Sisters, and provided the parish with priests.³⁸

St. Patrick's Church, however, would not be completed in Mullock's time, and the task would fall to Bishop Power. It was finally consecrated on 28 August 1881.³⁹ Power continued Mullock's work of expanding the reaches of the Church, improving the size of orphanages and convents in the city.⁴⁰ For example, by 1871 the Mercy Order's St. Michael's convent and orphanage had become too small to accommodate the 84 orphans there.⁴¹ A steady increase in numbers led Power to build a new facility on the old site, which was completed in September 1885.⁴² When the Sisters relocated into their new facility, they numbered eleven Sisters and 120 girls.⁴³ One of Power's biggest undertakings, however, was building a residence for the newly arrived Christian Brothers, a project that was started in January 1878 and completed on 21 August 1880.⁴⁴ It was

³⁶ BIS Minutes, 16 September 1855.

³⁷ Rev. Richard Singleton (ed.), St. Patrick's Church: One Hundred Years 1881-1981 (St. John's: Robinson-Blackmore Ltd., 1981), 29.

³⁸ Singleton, St. Patrick's Church, 29.

³⁹ BIS Minutes, 25 and 28 August 1881, 17 February 1882.

⁴⁰ Hans Rollmann, "Power, Thomas Joseph," DCB, vol. 7.

⁴¹ Newfoundland Almanac, 1871, 64.

⁴² Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 169, 175.

⁴³ Slattery to Holland, *Slattery Papers (SP)* #95, 12 October 1885, Archives of Mount St. Francis, St. John's (AMSFSJ).

⁴⁴ Annals of the Christian Brothers, [11], AMSFSJ.

called Mount St. Francis of Sales Monastery, and was located near the Cathedral and across the street from St. Bonaventure's College. It was also close to the new St. Michael's convent and orphanage.⁴⁵ Apart from building new structures, Power also increased the grandeur of the interior of the Cathedral by adding stained glass windows and installing the still-new innovation of central hot water heating.⁴⁶

Thus, by the late 1880s, the Catholic community laid claim to the largest and grandest structures in St. John's east and west. They could now claim to have a Cathedral, another large church in the west end, an Episcopal Palace and library, five convents, an orphanage, a college, a seminary and a monastery.

3.3 Financing Church Expansion

Church expansion was costly, and the expense fell on the Catholic community in general who, through collections, fundraisers and private donations, helped the ecclesiastical leadership expand the spiritual and social reach of the church. However, because the great majority of the Catholic population in St. John's were poor fishermen and dependent on the unpredictable fishing industry, the timing and completion of such projects were often uncertain. Despite these financial constraints, the determination of both the community and the Bishop meant that, by the end of the century, the Catholic Church could provide for its flock in every respect in all parts of the city.

The most costly project in the nineteenth century was the Cathedral. Although consecrated in 1855, even in the latter part of the century additions to the interior were

⁴⁵ Patriot, 21 January 1878.

⁴⁶ Higgins, "Right Rev. T.J. Power," 125.

still being made by Bishop Power. Most of the money to finance its construction in the 1830s and 1840s came from the fishermen. During the Consecration Mass, Archbishop Hughes of New York noted in his sermon that the primary reason the Cathedral was truly a monument of the Catholic Faith was because it was built by the bulk of the Catholic people. In particular, Hughes pointed out, it was the poor and industrious fishermen who had "the best right to exalt in the triumphant completion of a great work begun and sustained throughout by the unwavering impulse which is derived from the spirit of faith." While the well-off, Protestant as well as Catholic, had contributed, Hughes stated that their contribution was not as great as that of the fishermen.⁴⁷ The more prosperous Catholics in St. John's conceded that this was true. During a Benevolent Irish Society dinner for the visiting prelates, various speeches by members made reference to "that zeal and charity which so distinguished the humble fishermen of Newfoundland as to inspire them, under the guidance of our late lamented and present distinguished Bishops with a spirit to raise a temple for the worship of the Most High God, probably the greatest that has every sprung in any land from the resources as lowly."⁴⁸

That the Cathedral was built on "resources so lowly" was indeed a triumph for Catholics in St. John's, but the Church's great dependence on the income of fishermen was risky and problematic, something that would become clearer with the building of the next major edifice in the city, St. Patrick's. When the project began in the late 1850s Mullock did not call upon the community for financial assistance. This was partly because the project was begun almost immediately after the Cathedral, but also because

⁴⁷ Mullock, The Cathedral of St. John's Newfoundland, 13-6.

⁴⁸ BIS Minutes, 5 September 1855.

the cost of the Cathedral continued to complicate Mullock's attempts at expansion. For example, by 1860 the Cathedral debt had been reduced by £800, but there was still £1500 due with interest, and Mullock still owed £1438 on its interior ornamentation.⁴⁹ This was also coupled with the fact that Mullock was engaged in several other building projects, which put him further in debt. He now owed £500 on the provisional chapel at Riverhead, plus expenses for new churches built in parts of the Diocese outside St. John's.⁵⁰ Delays and financial constraints were also caused by things beyond Mullock's control. In 1859, he reported that work had to be forestalled due to a scarcity of labourers and tradesmen, and the ensuing high wages.⁵¹ These expenses, coupled with the debt on the Cathedral, were preventing any large-scale expansion.⁵² By 1861, construction on St. Patrick's had still not progressed very far as lack of workmen and their high wages continued to hamper Mullock's efforts.⁵³

In the early 1860s Mullock was becoming increasingly frustrated with the lack of progress on St. Patrick's and decided that he had no choice but to appeal to the Catholic community for assistance. Mullock's pleas were successful, and that very week a large number of citizens began carrying native stone to the site of the new church in Riverhead.⁵⁴ Official construction finally began a few months later.⁵⁵

Financial assistance to build St. Patrick's came from both the wealthy and the poor. Mullock got some much needed support from the Benevolent Irish Society, which

⁴⁹ Patriot, 27 February 1860.

⁵⁰ New churches were built in what are now outlying areas of the city: Blackhead in 1861, and in Kilbride and Torbay in 1863. Singleton, *St. Patrick's Church*, 30-1.

⁵¹ Patriot, 14 March 1859.

⁵² Patriot, 15 February 1858.

⁵³ Patriot, 27 February 1860.

⁵⁴ Patriot, 9 February 1864.

⁵⁵ Patriot, 9 February 1864; Mullock's pastoral letter, 1864, AASJ 104/1/42.

immediately donated £209 in February 1864. There were limits, however, to what they could and were willing to give. Members of the Society pointed out that while it was only fitting that it should "identify itself in some way with the construction of an edifice specifically dedicated to the honour of its Patron Saint," they did not feel that it was feasible to take money from the funds of the Society to do so. Instead, contributions could be made by individual members to be presented to the parish priest at Riverhead during their annual St. Patrick's Day procession.⁵⁶ It did not matter how the money was raised, as Mullock was thankful for their contribution.⁵⁷ The Society's donation was indeed sizable as by March 1867 BIS members had donated over £600.⁵⁸

While BIS members did donate a generous sum, this did not account for the majority of the funding. Cathedral accounts between 1850 and 1863 show that, as with the construction of the Cathedral, the majority of the money came from the pockets of the lower classes that formed the bulk of the Catholic population. Mullock knew the great importance of the contributions of this section of the population, noting that "it is not by large sums from individuals that such works are accomplished in general, but by the contributions of the multitude."⁵⁹ Certainly, the Cathedral was a testament to that.

Such large-scale fundraising was an organized affair, and worked with an efficiency akin to that of Daniel O'Connell's Catholic Associations in Ireland.⁶⁰ Money came from several general sources including door and Sunday collections at the Cathedral, daily town collections, as well as spring and penny-a-week collections, poor

⁵⁶ BIS Minutes, 28 February 1864.

⁵⁷ BIS Minutes, 17 March 1865.

⁵⁸ BIS Minutes, 17 March 1867; Singleton, St. Patrick's Church, 31.

⁵⁹ Mullock's pastoral letter, 1866, AASJ 104/1/42.

⁶⁰ For O'Connell's fundraising tactics see Fergus O'Ferrall, Catholic Emancipation: Daniel O'Connell and the Birth of Irish Democracy, 1820-1830 (Gill & Macmillan, 1985).

boxes, and pew rents.⁶¹ Such a range of options ensured that every class was mobilised, from the poorest who could only donate a penny a week, to those middle and upper classes who could afford to pay a pew rent. As O'Connell had done, Mullock established a system whereby priests would be collectors and guardians of the funds.⁶² Fishermen and sealers either donated money or fish, which could then be sold. The latter occurred on Holy Days such as the Feast of St. Peter and Paul.⁶³

Donations fluctuated from year to year. This was not due to a decreased willingness on the part of the community to give, but because fishery prices and the size of the catch were beyond the fishermen's and sealers' control. For example, in 1854 the value of fish received from St. Peter and Paul Day totalled £1166. The following year the total increased to £1400, but then fell dramatically to £508 in 1856, a decrease of nearly two-thirds. The value of the sealers' donated catch varied as well, from a high of £659 in 1850 to only £290 in 1855. At the lower end of the spectrum, the penny-a-week collection also fluctuated from a high of £164 in 1850, to just £24 in 1856.⁶⁴ In this instance, the decrease might reflect the fact that after five years of donating towards the Cathedral, the funds of the poorer classes were exhausted. Such decreases were also because in some years, such as the mid to late 1860s, successive bad fisheries made such large donations impossible. In early May 1865, Mullock acknowledged this problem, stating that he did not want to place a financial burden on his flock because he knew of the great distress they were currently experiencing. Nevertheless, he still called on Riverhead fishermen to

⁶¹ Cathedral Accounts 1859-63, AASJ 104/2/26.

⁶² Patriot, 7 May 1853; Mullock's pastoral letter, 1853, AASJ 104/1/41.

⁶³ Mullock, The Cathedral of St. John's Newfoundland, 1, 5; Patriot, 7 May 1853; Mullock's pastoral letter, 1853, AASJ 104/1/41.

⁶⁴ Mullock's pastoral letters for 1850, AASJ 104/1/41 and 1854-6, AASJ 104/1/42.

give a day's catch towards the Church either on St. Peter or Paul Day, or the Feast of the Assumption on 15 August, and he also organized a penny-a-week collection.⁶⁵

Such efforts were augmented by smaller-scale forms of fundraising in the second half of the century. As in other parts of the diaspora, bazaars and fairs emerged as a common form of parish fundraising in St. John's in the 1860s and 1870s and are an indication of the increase in size and wealth among the middle class. In fact, bazaars, concerts and social events soon became the primary means of raising larger sums of money for the Church in the city and did in fact yield good results.⁶⁶ Bazaars in particular were profitable, often raising thousands of pounds. The amount from the very first bazaar, which was in aid of St. Patrick's in the fall of 1864, for example, totalled £1350.⁶⁷ Under Bishop Power, bazaars were specifically held to help raise money to liquidate the £4600 debt on the Christian Brothers' residence.⁶⁸ One bazaar held for that purpose in 1881 spanned a six week period, raising the enormous sum of £5000.⁶⁹ Another held in November 1886 in aid of the Catholic orphanage yielded over £3000.⁷⁰

Bequests were another important source of income for the Catholic Church and the Religious Orders, and it was common for members of the clergy to be the executors of these wills.⁷¹ From an examination of Catholic wills, certain general statements can be

⁶⁵ Newfoundlander, 8 May 1865; Singleton, St. Patrick's Church, 30-1; Frederick Holweck, "The Feast of the Assumption," The Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 2 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), <hr/><http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02006b.htm>.

⁶⁶ The role of bazaars will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

⁶⁷ Mullock's pastoral letter, 1865, AASJ 104/1/42.

⁶⁸ Patriot, 5 September and 31 October 1881; Fleming to Maxwell, SP #59, 22 November 1881; Annals of the Christian Brothers, [12].

 ⁶⁹ Newfoundlander, 25 October and 22 November 1881; Annals of the Christian Brothers, [12].
 ⁷⁰ William Des Voeux, My Colonial Service in British Guiana, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Fiji, Australia,

Newfoundland, and Hong Kong, with Interludes, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1903), 161.

⁷¹ The Newfoundland Grand Banks Genealogy Site contains a sample of hundreds of wills indexed online, drawn from the Supreme Court. Of the available online transcriptions, there are a total 722 wills of

made. The majority of Catholics leaving money were men, but of the women, the majority were widows, as seen in Table 3.1. Of those Catholics leaving money to the Church for whom an occupation is given, the majority were from the lower and lower middle class and included fishermen, coopers and shopkeepers, as listed in Appendix D, Table D1. This is in keeping with the fact that Catholics were well represented in these occupations.⁷² Bequests were commensurate with the means of the individual, as well as with the number of dependents and heirs. It was usually individuals without any family who left the bulk of their property and money to the Church. Amounts could range anywhere from small sums of £1, £2 or £5, to larger sums of hundreds of pounds. The most common amounts, however, ranged between £1 and £100 pounds, while only six bequests had amounts between £500 and £1200.

 72 As shown in detail in Chapter 1.

individuals living in St. John's in the period between 1840 and 1886. Of these, 157 could be identified as Catholics leaving money, land or property to the Church. The bequest to the Church was usually the only way to identify their religion, and these individuals form the sample analysed here. The remainder of the transcribed wills were either from non-Catholics, or from individuals for whom religion could not be identified. Supreme Court, Newfoundland Wills from LDS FHC Microfilm 1830-1962, also referred to as *Newfoundland Will Books (NWB*); Newfoundland's Grand Banks Genealogy Site, http://ngb.chebucto.org/index.html>.

Total Individuals	157			
Men	123			
Women	34			
Widows	21			
Monetary Donations				
Amount, in pounds	#			
0-5	17			
6-10	19			
11-25	29			
26-50	22			
51-100	20			
101-500	12			
501-1000	4			
1001-1200	2			

Table 3.1 Catholic Bequests to the Church, 1840-86

Source: Newfoundland Will Books, 1840-86.

There was an increase in the number of individuals leaving money to the Church between 1840 and 1886, but determining whether or not there was an overall increase in the total amount given over time cannot be determined. It appears that the amount slowly increased and peaked in the 1860s and then declined again over the following decades, seen in Table 3.2. However, there is a caveat. For example, in the 1840s the total was £1829, but £1190 was from one bequest.⁷³ The same is true for the 1850s and 1860s when other individual donations, quite considerable in size, increased the overall total.⁷⁴ In addition to set amounts, many individuals also left an unspecified sum, such as a yearly

⁷³ Will of Mary Bulger, NWB, vol.1, 1847, 506.

⁷⁴ For example, in 1858 Patrick Doyle, Justice of the Peace, left £1050, nearly half of the decade total. In the 1860s, three large donations of £600, £700 and £800 account for the majority of that overall total. Will of Patrick Doyle, *NWB*, vol.2, 1858, 290-2' Will of Rev. Kyran Walsh, *NWB*, vol.3, 87-8; Will of John Kelly, *NWB*, vol. 2, 441-8.

donation, or the residue of their estate after debts and funeral expenses. This would increase the totals, but to an unknown extent.

Decade	# Wills	Total Monetary Bequest Amounts, in pounds	# Land or House Bequests	# Bequests to the Catholic Church in Ireland
1840s	23	1829	2	2
1850s	26	2028	6	1
1860s	43	3485	8	3
1870s	40	2286	3	2
1880-6	25	788	3	2
Total	157	10416	22	10

Table 3.2 Bequests by Decade, Catholic Wills, 1840-86

Source: Newfoundland Will Books, 1840-86.

Individuals were usually very specific about the purpose for which the money was to be used. Most commonly, money was left to say Masses for themselves and their relatives, or to aid the completion of the Cathedral and St. Patrick's Church.⁷⁵ Money was also earmarked for the maintenance of churches and convents, or to individual clergymen to use as they saw fit. In some instances, money was provided in aid of the poor.⁷⁶ In most cases, however, the sum was divided between the Church and the Religious and their orphanages. For example, in 1869 Thomas Avery left £25 to the Catholic clergy in

⁷⁵ For example: Elizabeth English bequeathed £5 towards the construction of the Cathedral; Bridget Barry left £10 towards the construction of St. Patrick's Church; Joseph Cullen left £50 for the completion of St. Patrick's; John Curran bequeathed £10 for the project; Michael Gallivan left £10 in aid of the erection of St. Patrick's Church. Will of Elizabeth English, *NWB*, vol. 1, 1850, 583-8; Will of Bridget Barry, *NWB*, vol. 4, 1880, 64-5; Will of Joseph Cullen, *NWB*, vol. 3, 1868, 72-3; Will of John Curran, *NWB*, vol. 3, 1871, 219-20; Will of Michael Gallivan, *NWB*, vol. 3, 1872, 285-6.

⁷⁶ Will of John O'Keefe, NWB, vol. 2, 1858, 322.

St. John's and other areas of the island, but he also left £100 to the Mercy Convent, St. Patrick's Church and the Cathedral.⁷⁷ Anne Anderson bequeathed £50 to St. Michael's Orphanage under the care of the Mercy Sisters and £20 to Reverend Conway.⁷⁸

The wills of some members of the Catholic elite, such as that of John Kent, are conspicuously devoid of bequests to the Church. In other cases, the amount left was very small, as was the case of merchant and MHA, Laurence O'Brien. Even though his estate was quite large, consisting of a farm, a dwelling, a large amount of stock and shares as well as vessels and boats, he only left £50 to be divided between Masses and charitable and church purposes.⁷⁹ Interestingly, however, some members of the Protestant elite left money to the Catholic Church. For example, in 1884 Lewis Tessier, an English-born merchant and St. John's politician, left money to both the Church of England and £250 for St. Patrick's.⁸⁰ The Tessier family were Congregationalists, but had been generous in donating money in the 1860s and 1870s to the Church through bazaars.⁸¹ It is not clear how common this was, but Protestants did assist with the building of the Cathedral and frequented bazaars to help build St. Patrick's.⁸²

Only ten Catholics left money to the Catholic Church in Ireland. There is no correlation between place of birth and willingness to leave money to the Irish Church,

⁷⁷ Will of Thomas Avery, *NWB*, vol. 3, 1869, 122-5.

⁷⁸ Will of Anne Anderson, NWB, vol. 3, 1875, 443-5.

⁷⁹ Will of Laurence O'Brien, NWB, vol. 3, 1870, 143-5.

⁸⁰ Will of Lewis Tessier, NWB, vol.4, 1884, 307-9.

⁸¹ Melvin Baker, "The Government of St. John's Newfoundland" (PhD thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980), appendix II:3; Singleton, St. Patrick's Church, 35.

⁸² Protestants were generally supportive of the building of Catholic infrastructure. In February 1854, for example, Protestants were amongst the individuals who assisted in hauling wood to build the new Mercy Convent. Protestants also made private donations in aid of bazaars, as will be seen in Chapter 5. *Newfoundlander*, 16 February 1854.

however, as these individuals were both Irish and Newfoundland-born. Those who did give to both left a somewhat equal sum to both churches, as can be seen in Appendix D, Table D2. The amounts varied, and again seem to have been based primarily on the means of the individual and personal preference. Typically, the money went to a parish priest, but often to a specific group of Religious.

In addition to money, Catholics also left land and other properties, enough so that by 1890 the Church had acquired substantial landholdings in the city. Often the land contained premises with rent-paying tenants, and the 1850s and 1860s were notable decades for such bequests.⁸³ Clearly, individual Catholics owned large pieces of farmland or other real estate in St. John's. While some were smaller lots in the heart of the city, some of the parcels of land left by farmers were substantial.⁸⁴ In 1861 for example, merchant Philip Duggan, left the Church eight acres of farmland near Waterford Bridge Road.⁸⁵ In another instance in 1880 a farmer left the Church a ten acre piece of land.⁸⁶ Another farmer, John MacGrath, bequeathed all his land, tenements and houses to Bishop Mullock in 1859.⁸⁷ The Mercy and Presentation Order also obtained money, property and land this way. For example, in 1861 Catherine Byrne left Bishop Mullock and the Presentation and Mercy Convents all her lands, houses and properties, as well as any annual balances and profits from these leased properties.⁸⁸ Thomas Cook also left a parcel

⁸³ For example, in 1852 Michael Lahey left his land tenements and premises in Riverhead to Bishop Mullock. Will of Michael Lahey, *NWB*, vol. 2, 1852, 111-4.

⁸⁴ Patrick McGrath left his land on the corner of King's Road and Duckworth Street. Philip Duggan also left four houses and a piece of land in the downtown area to the Church. Will of Patrick McGrath, *NWB*, vol.3, 1874, 357-8; Will of Philip Duggan, *NWB*, vol. 2, 1861, 408-9.

⁸⁵ Will of Philip Duggan, NWB, vol.2, 1861, 408-9.

⁸⁶ Will of Michael Cahill, NWB, vol.4, 1880, 112.

⁸⁷ Will of John MacGrath, NWB, vol.2, 1859, 359-60.

⁸⁸ Will of Catherine Byrne, NWB, vol.2, 1861, 406-7.

of his land, containing several lots with dwellings, to Reverend Margaret O'Shaughnessey, Superioress of the Presentation Convent.⁸⁹ The Sisters of Mercy also attained a piece of property in Riverhead, along with its annual rents and profits.⁹⁰

That the Church came to rely heavily on bequests was evident in the 1880s, when Bishop Power even went so far as to suggest to the Christian Brothers that the cost of their residence could be paid off by the money left to the Church. Brother Holland remarked in June 1880 that "our names are down for something handsome in the shape of legacies," and that Bishop Power was aware of this, and so was in no rush to push for further collections and bazaars. Holland was cautious though, arguing that such sources of money were uncertain, and that it was not a good idea to rely solely on them as Power seemed to be doing.⁹¹ The majority of the bequests that the Brothers received were smaller amounts, as was the general pattern for all bequests to the Church. One notable exception was well-to-do merchant and former St. John's West politician Peter Brennan, who left them £1000 in April 1887.⁹²

Once structures were built, money was still needed to pay for upkeep, particularly those of the Religious Orders. In March 1883 for example, contributions in aid of repairs for the Mercy Convent amounted to a couple of hundred pounds, which met their expenses for painting, plastering and papering with some money left over to repair their

⁸⁹ Will of Thomas Cook, *NWB*, vol.2, 1855, 185-7.

⁹⁰ Will of Mary Ann Cullen, *NWB*, vol.2, 1863, 461-2.

⁹¹ Holland to Maxwell, SP #54, 10 June 1880.

⁹² In 1879, for example, William Hogan bequeathed £10 towards the erection of their residence. In 1883 Edward Maher left £10 to the Brothers. Will of William Hogan, *NWB*, vol. 4, 1879, 18-20; Will of Edward Maher, *NWB*, vol.4, 1883, 248-9. Peter Brennan's bequest is mentioned in *Annals of the Christian Brothers*, [14], AMSFSJ.

community room.⁹³ The Mercy Sisters often had trouble meeting their expenses and were assisted by annual collections at Cathedral Masses that could, in a good year at least, net several hundred pounds.⁹⁴ The amount often fluctuated, however, so other and even less reliable forms of funding had to be sought.⁹⁵ Private donations from more well-to-do Catholics and clergy played a big role in support of their orphanages and convents.⁹⁶ In the 1870s and 1880s charity concerts were also held by Catholic societies to support the Mercy Sisters. In 1884 for example, music and dramatic performances, as well as private donations were staged to assist them with their expenses. Sometimes these events were well patronized, but often they did not yield large amounts of money.⁹⁷

The Christian Brothers also relied heavily on the community to help offset their expenses. Debt on their residence was the primary concern for the Brothers and the annual collections were not always enough.⁹⁸ In 1880 Superior General Brother Richard Maxwell, writing Power from Ireland, admitted that it was a terrible strain to meet the interest on the loan.⁹⁹ Most of their support came from an annual collection held on the first Sunday of Advent in both the Cathedral and St. Patrick's.¹⁰⁰ The timing of the

⁹³ Evening Telegram, 13-15, 20, 22, 26, 30 March 1883.

⁹⁴ In 1865, for example, £305 was collected. Brother McDonnell stated that a collection for the orphanage under the Sisters of Mercy resulted in £241.13.6 being collected. *Newfoundlander*, 16 February 1865; McDonnell to Hoare, *SP* #8, 6 September 1875.

⁹⁵ Fleming to Holland, SP #81, 3 December 1884. In the same letter, Brother Fleming stated that the Mercy Sisters were down £100 in their collection and that their dues were very poor. This was a surprise to them and made them a little jealous of the large amount the Brothers received.

⁹⁶ For example, in 1874 Chief Justice Sir Francis Brady donated £10 to the orphanage at Belvedere and the Mercy Convent, and Bishop Power also made a donation. In 1883 Rev. W Forrestal donated £5 and Rev. J. Walsh in Petty Harbor also donated £5. *Newfoundlander*, 3 February 1874; *Evening Telegram*, 7 April 1883.

⁹⁷ This will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5. *Evening Telegram*, 26 September 1884 and 11 September 1886.

⁹⁸ Holland to McDonnell, SP #42, 12 January 1877.

⁹⁹ Maxwell to Power, SP #56, 31 August 1880.

¹⁰⁰ Annals of the Christian Brothers, 2.

collection was bad because it occurred in the winter when the majority of those involved in the fishery were unemployed. The summer fishery had long since ended, and the seal fishery was still a few months away. In 1877 for example, Brother Holland remarked that the timing of the collection, was the "very worst time when the people have nothing and no business." That year £250 was collected, but Holland argued that if it had been held at a time corresponding to the end of the fishing season, they may have received £100 more.¹⁰¹ However, timing was not always the problem, as in 1883 Brother Fleming wrote that the collection was £70 short as "the fishing is very poor & the price low."¹⁰² The Brothers were conscious of the fact that the amount collected depended not only on timing, but on the success of the cod and seal fisheries.¹⁰³

The Brothers' collections, more than the others, were affected by public sentiment.¹⁰⁴ Public sensibilities were of great concern for them because they had to appeal to the kindness of Catholics to sustain them. If Catholics were disappointed with the Brothers in any way, or felt the slightest offence, it "would undoubtedly prove very embarrassing."¹⁰⁵ There was also a degree of uncertainty about whether or not the Brothers would remain in St. John's. The people in the city were aware that the Brothers of the Christian schools of the De Le Salle Order had left Saint John, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Halifax, Nova Scotia due to a dispute with Archbishop Connolly of Halifax.¹⁰⁶ The BIS, Brother Holland noted, were "quite uneasy."¹⁰⁷ Even

¹⁰¹ Holland to Hoare, SP #43, 7 February 1877.

¹⁰² Fleming to Holland, SP #77, 9 September 1884.

¹⁰³ Holland to Hoare, SP #26, [5?] May 1876.

¹⁰⁴ Holland to Hoare, SP #52, 9 December 1878.

¹⁰⁵ Toland to Maxwell, SP #55, 10 June 1880.

¹⁰⁶ There was dispute between the Archbishop and the Brothers over many issues, including one over property which had to be resolved by a court case. The citizens of St. John's became aware of this dispute

four years after their arrival he found it necessary to reassure citizens "that we are not likely to abandon the place."¹⁰⁸ Anxiety remained. In 1880, a bank manager reportedly told Brother Holland that the collapse of the community of French Brothers in Halifax made him wary of lending money to the Christian Brothers in the city. Those who had invested large sums of money in the Brothers' success were just as fearful.¹⁰⁹

3.4 Church Personnel

One of the ways in which Bishop Fleming created an Irish Church in the 1830s and 1840s was by recruiting Irish-born personnel.¹¹⁰ With Fleming's passing in 1850, so too passed this purely Irish outlook. The impetus for a new direction, however, came not only from institutional changes, but from changes within the Catholic community itself. Bishop Mullock recognized that, by 1850, the Catholic community had undergone generational change, as the community was fast becoming native-born. This marked a transformation not only in the character of the community, but of the purpose of the Church in it. Knowing that the future lay with second and third generation Catholics, Mullock argued that the institution should encompass both the Irish and Newfoundland aspects of their identity.¹¹¹ This guided his actions and decisions, and drove him to ensure that the foundation of a home-grown Church was laid in the second half of the nineteenth century.

through a letter Connolly had published in the Newfoundland papers, defending his position. Holland to McDonnell, SP #25, 3 May 1876; Holland to Hoare, SP #26, 5 (?) May 1876; Holland to McDonnell, SP #28, 17 May 1876.

¹⁰⁷ Holland to McDonnell, SP #28, 17 May 1876.

¹⁰⁸ Holland to Maxwell, SP #54, 10 June 1880; Toland to Maxwell, SP #55, 10 June 1880.

¹⁰⁹ Holland to Maxwell, SP #54, 10 June 1880; Toland to Maxwell, SP #55, 10 June 1880.

¹¹⁰ See FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture."

¹¹¹ Biographical Information, Bishop Mullock, 104/1/1, AASJ.

Mullock's first step in ensuring that native Catholics played an active role in their Faith was to encourage local men and women to join its ranks. Fleming had opposed this, believing that Newfoundland-born men and women were not appropriate candidates for Religious life. Mullock strongly disagreed, arguing that the native-born had the greatest stake in the future success of their Church. He also pointed out that such a policy change made logistical sense based on changing trends in Irish migration, which had come to an end in Newfoundland by the 1850s. Irish migrants, as well as migrants from Newfoundland, were being drawn to the United States by better economic opportunities. Mullock knew that Irish priests would follow their flocks, ultimately leading to a decrease in the availability of priests from Ireland, and the Newfoundland Church would be forced to rely on its own Catholic community to supply priests and Religious.¹¹²

From the beginning of his episcopacy, Mullock actively encouraged native-born men to become priests, stating that "our most ardent wish is to have an indigenous clergy that the children of the soil may embrace the Ecclesiastical State."¹¹³ His first formal step in this direction was taken in 1857 when he established a seminary in St. John's called St. Bonaventure's College.¹¹⁴ He hoped that such an institution would encourage Newfoundland-born men who did not have the means to travel abroad for their religious training. Unfortunately, in its early years the number of students training for the priesthood at St. Bonaventure's remained small because at this time parents still preferred to send their children to Ireland or Rome. Only two local students, John Kinsella and

¹¹² Richard Howley, "Irish Missionary Types, the Old Priests," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 3rd Series, vol. 10, 1889 (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1889), 15, AASJ.

¹¹³ Biographical Information, Bishop Mullock, 104/1/1; Patriot, 26 February 1855; Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, vol. 2, 87.

¹¹⁴ This will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.

William Born, were trained at the College. Several foreign students finished their studies there, including the future Monsignor Scott and Father Thomas Hennebury, both from Ireland, as well as Monsignor Anthony Fyme from Holland.¹¹⁵

With so few students, the move towards a native-born clergy would not be quick, and so in the second half of the century the clergy continued to be dominated by the Irishborn. An examination of the number and origin of priests in the city between 1844 and 1890 shows three things. First, the number of priests at the Cathedral and St. Patrick's parishes was constant, the former numbering either three or four and the latter one or two in the period. Second, out of the 27 priests who served in both parishes in the period, only six were Newfoundland-born, five of whom served after 1868. Third, those from Ireland were drawn from the southeast of Ireland, particularly Kilkenny and Tipperary.¹¹⁶

The same pattern held true for native-born women joining the Religious Orders. With regard to the nuns, Mullock had no fear of lack of future recruits as from the 1850s to 1890 the number of recruits for both the Presentation and Mercy Orders steadily increased.¹¹⁷ By 1888, the Galway Convent of the Presentation Order had sent 31 Irish Sisters to Newfoundland, and the Mercy Sisters also saw a steady flow from Ireland, especially from Limerick and Cork.¹¹⁸ Such reinforcement allowed both Orders to expand

¹¹⁵Brother Joseph B. Darcy, Noble to Our View: The Saga of St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's Newfoundland Canada, The First 150 Years 1856-2006 (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2007), 21-22.

¹¹⁶The Clergy files do not list places of birth for all priests, but at least 6 priests came from Kilkenny and 4 from Tipperary. J. Condon, Richard Aylward, John Ryan, John Clampet, Thomas Byrne, John Conway, Daniel Lynch, George Doyle, R. Dunphy, and E. Cook. *Clergy Files*, AASJ. Other names were found in Fleming *Chronological History*. One Priest, W. Lalor, could not be identified. The names of clergy at serving at both the Cathedral and St. Patrick's between 1844 and 1890 were extracted from the *Newfoundland Almanac*.

¹¹⁷ Patriot, 16 May 1859.

¹¹⁸ Sister Mary Paula Penney, "A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations to the Growth of Education in the Province of Newfoundland" (PhD Thesis, Boston College, 1980), 151.

and establish new convents both inside and outside the city. In 1856, the Presentation Sisters established a branch-house at St. Patrick's, Riverhead, and by 1882 there were thirteen Presentation Convents in Newfoundland with 113 members. ¹¹⁹ The extent of growth is most evident in the expansion of the Mercy Order, which during a fifty year period from 1842 to 1892, had gone from four Sisters and one convent in St. John's to over sixty sisters and ten convents in Newfoundland, three of which were in St. John's.¹²⁰ This was all the more remarkable given that in 1848 only one Mercy Sister remained in St. John's and Bishop Fleming worried that the Order would not be able to continue its work in the city. The remaining Sister, M. Francis Creedon, found herself carrying on alone at both their school and convent. It was almost a year before she would be joined by Agnes Nugent who was later accepted as a postulant.¹²¹

This expansion and increase of Religious in the second half of the nineteenth century was buttressed by a steady rise in the number of Newfoundland-born recruits. The first Newfoundland native to receive the religious veil was Catherine Mullalley, who entered the Presentation Convent on 27 May 1850.¹²² It took a little longer for the Mercy Convent, which began accepting native-born postulants in 1854. The first Newfoundland volunteer, Anastasia Catherine Mary Tarahan, had previously been denied entry by Bishop Fleming. A year later, her sister, Ellen Mary Joseph, also entered as a postulant. In March 1857 another native-born girl, Susana Mary Joseph Cole from Conception Bay,

¹¹⁹ In 1851 at Harbour Grace; Carbonear 1852; Harbour Main and Fermeuse 1853; Ferryland 1858; St. Mary's 1859; Whittle's Bay 1860; Placentia 1864; Torbay 1865; Harbor Breton 1872 and Trepassey 1882. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, vol. 2, 76-8.

¹²⁰ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 95-7, 147.

¹²¹ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 91-3.

¹²² Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, vol. 2, 51. Her name in Religion was Sister Mary Francis.

was professed.¹²³ Nevertheless, the composition of both the Presentation and Mercy Order between 1840 and 1886 remained heavily Irish-born, and did not dramatically change until the 1890s. The change to a completely Newfoundland-born Presentation Order would not occur until well into the twentieth century, but the foundation was laid.

With the arrival of the Christian Brothers in 1876, Newfoundland-born men were also given the opportunity to become members of a Religious Order. Like the Presentation and Mercy communities, their founding community in St. John's drew their staff exclusively from Ireland, which by the end of the century numbered nineteen.¹²⁴ However, in their very first year, the Brothers saw an interest amongst the native born in becoming novices. Their first applicant was William Power, a native of St. John's and an apprentice blacksmith. He had no real family to speak of as his parents were both deceased and his siblings lived in the United States. While he taught Catechism on Sundays, he was otherwise not well educated, but was described by Brother Holland, the Superior of the community in St. John's, as "a young man of a very good character [...] very pious and exemplary."125 Confident that he would succeed, Holland sent him off to Ireland in November 1876 without money for a return passage because he did not believe it would be needed, but offered to cover the cost if it was.¹²⁶ Holland's instincts proved correct. Power was accepted into the Order and began training as a lay Brother at Belvedere in Drumcondra, Dublin. He received his Final Profession on 1 January 1888. Power did not return to St. John's, however, but remained in Ireland teaching different

¹²³ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 100, 104,108.

¹²⁴ Penney, "A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations," 153.

¹²⁵ Holland to McDonnell, SP # 34, 6 September 1876.

¹²⁶ Holland to McDonnell, SP # 36, 2 November 1876.

trades in a workshop at St. Joseph's Industrial School in Tralee. He died in Dublin in October 1929.¹²⁷ Power was soon followed by a steady stream of others, including Patrick Dyer, who left for Ireland in October 1879.¹²⁸

By 1890 there were enough young men interested in joining the Order to prompt the new Superior Brother, Slattery, to request permission to establish a noviciate in St. John's. He argued that this would not only avoid the cost of sending native-born postulants to Ireland, but would secure the foundation for future growth and expansion of the Order in Newfoundland.¹²⁹ The majority of the early novices, however, remained in Ireland. The first native Brother to remain in Newfoundland was Patrick Vincent Strapp, who completed his noviciate at St. Bonaventure's in 1893, and taught there until his death in 1952.¹³⁰

3.5 Irish Identity and Catholicism

While the incorporation of natives as members of Church personnel and the Religious Orders made a start towards creating a more Newfoundland-oriented institution, it was still largely an Irish-staffed church in the late nineteenth century. The tie between Catholicism and Irish identity would remain strong, especially amongst second generation Catholics and, in fact, religion was the strongest tie that later generations had to Ireland. As Thomas Meagher points out, for second generation

¹²⁷ Annals of the Christian Brothers, [7] and biographical insert before that same page. The biographical insert gives as reference Christian Brothers' Educational Record, 1930.

¹²⁸ Annals of the Christian Brothers, [10].

¹²⁹ Several letters refer to four possible candidates along with 3 or four other "possibles." Slattery to Maxwell, *SP* #146, 25 November 1889; Crehan to Maxwell, SP #164, 15 October 1890; Slattery to Maxwell, *SP* #168, 22 November 1890.

¹³⁰ Fleming, *Chronological History*, 91; Penney, "A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations," 153.

Catholics, Catholicism provided a link to their past.¹³¹ Both Bishops and Catholics themselves often commented that they had inherited their Faith, and their devotion to it, from their Irish fathers.

For native-born Catholics this was certainly true, and the symbolic tie that bound them to Ireland was St. Patrick. The Benevolent Irish Society's annual St. Patrick's Day Mass for example, always included a sermon about St. Patrick's life and works and the spread of Catholicism throughout the diaspora. Bishop Henry Carfagnini, Bishop of Harbor Grace, remarked that the Benevolent Irish Society was itself "a sign of the holy religion, which the children of Saint Patrick propagated wherever they have found a home [...] your presence in any country proves that the faith of St. Patrick has flourished therein."¹³² The BIS was sure to emphasize this connection when addressing any member of the Church hierarchy. For instance, when Papal Delegate Reverend Dr. Conroy visited St. John's in June 1878, the BIS address stated that they traced their spiritual descent "through the children of the land of St. Patrick" and they assured him that "the faith planted in our Island home by worthy priests of Ireland has not been inactive or without fruit."¹³³

The use of St. Patrick as a symbolic umbrella under which all generations of Catholics could be bound was not only in the abstract. There was no stronger and more tangible symbol of this connection in the second half of the century than the erection of St. Patrick's Church. From its very inception, Mullock ensured that it would serve more than a functional need within the community. He wanted both the name and the structure

¹³¹ Meagher, Inventing Irish America, 93-4.

¹³² BIS Minutes, 26 October 1870.

¹³³ BIS Minutes, 27 June 1878.

to stand as a physical reminder of their connection to "the apostle of Ireland," not just for the present generation but future ones as well. Even in architectural design it was intended to resemble similar structures in Ireland. Designed by the Irish architect J.J. McCarthy, the building was remarkably similar to St. Mary's Cathedral in Killarney. Mullock admitted that this was intentional as it was meant to be reminiscent of "the Old Abbeys and Monasteries which dot and adorn the hills and valleys of their Fatherland."134 If Bishop Fleming designed the Cathedral to be a symbol of Irish culture, built by Irishmen and made of Irish stone, St. Patrick's was to be a new symbol for second generation Catholics, to be constructed by natives and made of native stone.

Many second generation Catholics, however, would have never set foot in Ireland so its resemblance to Irish churches would have very little meaning. Such steps showed that Mullock took great care to make sure that Irish-born could also take pride in it as well, stating that St. Patrick's was a "grand monument of our Nationality and religion, for we are all children of St. Patrick, no matter on which side of the Atlantic, we first saw the light."¹³⁵ In that sense, the church took on a unifying purpose, bridging the generational divide and showing the "veneration of the Apostle of Newfoundland as well as of Ireland."136 Mullock's connection between an exclusively Irish symbol and a Newfoundland one reflected his desire to ensure that as a symbol it would be seen by Catholics as all-inclusive.

¹³⁴ BIS Minutes, 9 September 1860; Newfoundland Historic Trust, A Gift of Heritage: Historic Architecture of St. John's, Newfoundland, 2nd ed. (St. John's, 1998), 90. ¹³⁵ Newfoundlander, 22 March 1867; BIS Minutes 17 March 1867.

¹³⁶ Singleton, ed., St. Patrick's Church, 31; Mullock's pastoral letter, 1864, 104/1/42, AASJ.

Mullock often reiterated that the future of Catholicism was secure because, despite generational change, Catholics showed a strong commitment to keeping the link between their religion and their ethnic identity:

How consolatory then must it be when he finds that the seed he sows, falls in good ground and that the living spirit of Catholicity manifested by works of Charity like the present flourished as fervently here as in the land of our fathers. The Catholic faith you have brought from Green Erin, the island of Saints, you have handed down pure to your children; they received it with joy and cherished it in their hearts, and we can boldly proclaim that in no region to which the Shamrock has been transplanted, does the faith it typifies, flourish greener than in our beloved native or adopted country Newfoundland.¹³⁷

St. Patrick's not only marked the evolution of Catholic identity, it also marked a shift in the spiritual and social center of the Catholic community. The Cathedral no longer could claim this position. Immediately after its completion in 1881, almost all major religious and social events took place at St. Patrick's. The Benevolent Irish Society's annual St. Patrick's Day Mass, held at the Cathedral for over forty years, moved to St. Patrick's on the very first St. Patrick's Day after its completion.¹³⁸ Apart from St. Patrick's Day, all Feast Day celebrations and processions such as those held on the feast of Corpus Christi also took place at St. Patrick's Church.¹³⁹ Evidence that Catholics were quite attached to the symbolic meaning of the church is clear when one remembers that it was located in an area that was still quite far from the center of the city. Certainly, the west end was expanding, but a large portion of the population still resided in the east end. For example, the BIS Hall was across from the Cathedral, yet every year its members walked quite a

¹³⁷ BIS Minutes, 17 March 1864.

¹³⁸ BIS Minutes, 5 March 1882.

¹³⁹ See for example, Newfoundlander, 9 and 13 June 1882; BIS Minutes, March 5 1882.

distance to attend Mass at St. Patrick's, which even in March in Newfoundland could be quite difficult given the weather. The Society's acknowledgment that the very name was representative of their Irish identity was evident when in 1882 they named their Hall "St. Patrick's." They also procured a large statue of St. Patrick from Ireland, which adorned the front of the school and, like the church, served as a constant and visible reminder of their Irish identity.¹⁴⁰

3.6 The Emergence of a New Devotionalism

The ethnic aspect of Catholic identity was very strong and so too was the commitment to the Faith. In the second half of the century a new devotional Catholicism emerged, what Bishop Mullock termed a reawakening of a "spirit of Faith," both at an institutional and a communal level. At a formal level, it was during Bishop Power's tenure in 1873 that the Diocese of St. John's was dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Several days of devotions in St. John's culminated on 9 December with a Mass and a large procession featuring Catholic societies and members of the community. This was in keeping with other European Dioceses which had done the same the year before and Ireland earlier that same year on Passion Sunday.¹⁴¹

There was also an increase in the number of rituals, observances and devotional practices in St. John's between 1850 and 1886. For example, Catholics attended the Rosary, had rosaries said for loved ones and they bought religious cards, pictures and medals. Catholics began paying new attention to times in the liturgical calendar such as

¹⁴⁰ BIS Minutes, 26 May and 18 August, 1878.

¹⁴¹ Higgins, "Right Rev. T.J. Power, D.D., Bishop of St. John's, 1870-1893," 126.

Lent. Bishop Mullock began printing an annual Lenten Pastoral in the Catholic papers in the 1850s and 1860s, which contained instructions for observances and reminded Catholics of their religious duties during that time. This included holding evening prayers and saying the rosary at home, in addition to attending evening Masses, making the Stations of the Cross and attending Confession. He also reminded Catholics that they were bound to fast for Lent and it was their duty to undertake these observances.¹⁴²

Catholics also began observing specific Feast days such as St. Peter and Paul and St. Joseph.¹⁴³ In fact, the celebration of Feast days became public and elaborate, and sometimes included grand public processions.¹⁴⁴ In particular, the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi from the mid-1850s onwards witnessed thousands of Catholics including societies, school children and ecclesiastical leaders publicly celebrating their religion. One of the earliest descriptions of the celebrations was in 1854. Reportedly attended by thousands, it featured a procession of the Sacrament of the Altar, and another that formed at the Presentation Convent composed of young girls dressed in white. Those in the procession carried religious banners and images such as that of Mary and wore ribbons. As the concourse made a grand entrance into the Cathedral, it was joined by Mullock and other members of the clergy for Mass. At its conclusion, the Cathedral bell rung out, and the procession returned to the Cathedral where the Benediction was repeated.¹⁴⁵ Corpus Christi processions continued to increase in both size and grandeur. In 1861and 1862 it included the children of St. Michael's Orphanage and the students of St.

¹⁴² For example, Mullock's pastoral letters in 1852 and 1854, AASJ 104/1/41; *Newfoundlander*, 4 March 1852 and 27 February 1854.

¹⁴³ Constitution and Bye-Laws of the St. John's Catholic Institute (St. John's: Edward D Shea, 1865); Rules and Constitution of the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute (Printed at the Newfoundlander Office, 1872), AASJ. ¹⁴⁴ Cathedral Accounts 1859-63, 104/2/26, AASJ.

¹⁴⁵ Newfoundlander, 19 June 1854.

Bonaventure's College.¹⁴⁶ The following year, St. Bonaventure's College band played music as they marched back to the College.¹⁴⁷

As in other parts of North America, Catholics in St. John's in the second half of the century also joined a network of Catholic confraternities to encourage and support these devotional practices. These confraternities promoted devotions as part of general worship and reinforced religion as an integral part of members' lives.¹⁴⁸ That is not to say that there were no such societies in existence in the first half of the century. For example, the Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary, commonly called "the Confraternity," was established by Bishop Fleming in 1839. It was only after 1850, however, that there was a great increase in such associations. The majority of these, such as the Society of the Sacred Heart, Society of the Living Rosary, and the Altar Society at both the Cathedral and St. Patrick's Parish, were comprised of women. This was also true of the Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which itself lasted into the latter part of the century. ¹⁴⁹ While the purpose of these confraternities was primarily devotional, some, such as the Altar Society, were also heavily involved in fundraising for the Church, and had a leading and active role in the social life of the Catholic community.¹⁵⁰

Catholic men were also members of confraternities such as the Catholic Institute established in 1864 and the St. Joseph's Society, which eventually merged in 1871 to

¹⁴⁶ Patriot, 3 June 1861; 27 June 1862.

¹⁴⁷ Patriot, 13 June 1863.

¹⁴⁸ For a discussion of confraternities in Toronto see Brian Clarke, *Piety and* Nationalism, 62-3.

¹⁴⁹ Very little information exists on the societies as there are no official records. Many are only mentioned in wills as many Catholics bequeathed money to these societies and some were also members such as Mary Walsh who was a member of the Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Will of Mary Walsh, *NWB*, vol.3, 1874, 377; Will of James Power, *NWB*, vol.3, 1873, 319; Will of Rev. Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, *NWB*, vol.1, 1850, 594-7; Fleming, *Chronological History*, 24.

¹⁵⁰ Newfoundlander 18 and 28 January 1881.

become the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute. A large society, its purpose was to encourage devotional practice, as well as to promote the moral and literary advancement of young men in a social setting. The rules were very strict, and members were obliged to receive the sacraments of Confession and Communion at least four times a year and attend Mass on the various feast days during the year. Failure to do so negated membership.¹⁵¹ Other associations promoted more general involvement in the Catholic community. In St. Patrick's parish, men could join the Christian Doctrine Society, primarily designed to enable them to assist priests in the religious instruction of young Catholic children.¹⁵² It was with these future generations of Catholic children that the future of the Church lay, and as will been seen, there was a concerted effort to ensure that they were provided with a solid religious education. Such an education would ensure that future generations remained devoted to their Faith, and that the Catholic religion in St. John's would remain strong.

3.7 Conclusion

The Catholic Church in St. John's underwent a remarkable transformation between 1840 and 1886. By the 1880s there were two parishes, and an increased number of convents, orphanages and personnel in St. John's. A strengthened and expanded Church infrastructure was matched by an increase in active participation of Catholics in the Faith, particularly evident in a commitment to devotional practices and membership in confraternities. The public celebration of Feast Days indicated that Catholics were proud

¹⁵¹ Constitution and Bye-Laws of the St. John's Catholic Institute, AASJ.

¹⁵² Newfoundland Colonist, 3 February 1891.

of displaying not only their commitment to their religion, but the changing character of the Catholic community in the city. As will be seen with Catholic associationalism, the Church used confraternities, church-run societies and processions to infuse a sense of respectability, self-respect and confidence into a Catholic community that was comprised mainly of the lower class.

As John FitzGerald found in the earlier decades of the century, in St. John's Irish identity continued to be equated with Catholicism and religion became an essential component of ethnic identity, as it had in other parts of the diaspora. While the first steps had been taken by Mullock in the 1850s to transform Bishop Fleming's Irish-centered institution into one that was more home-grown, it still remained essentially Irish in character. Bishops, priests and Religious continued to be drawn primarily from Ireland well into the latter part of the century. Despite the fact that the Catholic community itself was becoming dominated by the native-born, Irish identity and Catholicism remained inextricably linked. If there was one symbol in the second half of the century that epitomized the strength of this tie it was St. Patrick's Church. Like the Cathedral, Mullock built it to stand as a physical reminder of the otherwise implicit and inferential connection between ethnic and religious identity. The name itself reinforced this connection, acting as a unifying symbol to bridge a widening generational divide within the community. It would remind Newfoundland-born Catholics that their Faith was indeed Irish, though many had only known their island home, and not that of their ancestors.

Chapter 4

Education

One aspect of increasing Church strength was its role in Catholic education. As in other parts of the North American Irish Diaspora in the nineteenth century, it was the fervent wish of the Church hierarchy to exert control over education, believing that schools were an extension of the parish and a means to protect the Faith against the threat of Protestant conversion. However, the issue often had to be settled by hard-fought political battles. Such was the case in Upper Canada in the early 1850s, where Bishop Charbonnel and Archbishop Lynch, believing that the public system would lead to the destruction of the Catholic religion, fought to obtain state-funded, church-controlled schools.¹ This also occurred in many places in the United States such as Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago, where in the 1840s and 1850s the issue of separate schools reached a fever pitch.² At the center of the controversy in the United States was not only the fact that education was Protestant-run, but that the King James version of the Bible, a version unacceptable to the Catholic Church, was read daily in school. In Philadelphia, for example, the fact that Catholic children were increasingly attending these largely Protestant-oriented public schools worried Dublin-born Bishop Francis Kendrick, who

¹ The schools system had previously been public and modelled on the Irish system. Brian Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 40.

² Mark Wyman, Immigrants in the Valley: Irish, Germans and Americans in the Upper Mississippi Country, 1830-60 (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1984), 162-70.

declared the reading of the King James Bible in schools attended by Catholics to be improper.³ The controversy over parochial schools was complicated by other specific issues prevalent in the United States at the time such as the growth of an anti-foreign, anti-Catholic sentiment, which was coalescing into a nascent nativist movement.⁴ Places like Philadelphia were volatile and violent, as Irish Catholic immigrants faced suspicion and hostility, accompanied by anti-Catholic publications, the Know-Nothing movement, and Protestant proselytizing. In many American cities the attainment of a separate Catholic school system in the 1850s and 1860s was therefore not only a means to protect Catholicism, but also a means of social adjustment for Irish immigrants in a hostile society.⁵

There were some exceptions to this pattern, however. For example, in San Francisco there was both a public school system and a private parochial system, but there was no Catholic backlash against the former. In fact, by 1873, about forty percent of Catholic children attended public schools, and parents seemed quite happy to have their children attend them, though that is not to say that the Church was pleased. Nevertheless, the question of denominational education in San Francisco "never approached the stage of serious controversy as in some cities in other parts of the Union."⁶ Such was also the case in Savannah, Georgia where Irish Catholic relations with their majority-Protestant

³ Dennis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), 94.

⁴ For the beginnings of nativism and the nativist movement see Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁵ Clark, The Irish in Philadelphia, 94-5.

⁶ R.A. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 163-4, 169-70.

neighbours were so harmonious that, by the 1870s, the city provided funding for separate Catholic schools.⁷

The introduction of the denominational education system in Newfoundland was also surrounded by conflict and controversy. The first Education Act in 1836 established non-denominational school boards, allowing Protestants on school boards with jurisdiction over Catholic schools. Almost immediately after the Act passed there were conflicts over the appointment of board members and over textbooks, specifically the use of the Protestant Bible in classrooms. An 1838 amendment to the Act addressed the latter issue by banning the use of both the King James or Catholic version.⁸ In terms of organized Catholic opposition, however, there was no backlash against the nondenominational 1836 Act. This was most likely because Bishop Fleming knew that any opposition or unwavering stance would jeopardize chances of attaining government financial support.⁹ In 1843, the government passed another Act that introduced a statefunded denominational system. Under this arrangement, Catholic and Protestant Churches assumed full administrative control over their separate schools. Subsequent Education Acts made no attempt to challenge the premise of the system and, in fact, this arrangement would continue well into the twentieth century.¹⁰ Much of the conflict surrounding the denominational system was within the Protestant community. The issue

⁷ David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 88-9.

⁸ John FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture in Irish Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850" (PhD. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), 220-2, 284.

⁹ Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 78.

¹⁰ Frederick Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1952), 83-7.

of the allotment of a sum to all Protestant schools without special division between the Church of England and the Wesleyans split the community.¹¹

The attainment of separate state funding for Catholic schools was, John FitzGerald has argued, "a considerable political achievement" for the community.¹² As in all other parts of the diaspora, the Catholic Bishops in St. John's in the first half of the nineteenth century saw separate schools as a means to protect the Catholic religion from the influence of Protestantism, and to ensure that Catholic children were provided with a sound religious and moral education. With education controlled and directed by the Catholic Church, how did the system evolve? What did this mean in terms of administration, staff, curriculum and the overall development of Catholic schools? Did separate schools only foster the development of a particular sense of religious identity, or was there an attempt by an Irish Church to reinforce an Irish identity as well? Did the ethos of the schools evolve as the nineteenth century progressed?

in Newfoundland, 87-8.

¹¹ The majority of Anglicans and Wesleyans were against a subdivision, the main concern of the latter was that in smaller rural areas, each denomination would be required to build and staff separate schools, and provide religious instruction.¹¹ The campaign for sub-division was led by the Church of England bishop, Edward Feild who, from the 1850s until the 1870s continuously campaigned for a division of the Protestant grant between the Church of England and the Methodists. His argument was based on the fact that since the grant was divided between Catholics and Protestants in proportion to population, half went to Catholics and the other half to the Protestants with no special separate allotment for the Church of England. Feild's opposition was also based on his dislike of Evangelicism and his belief that Methodists were "dangerous heretics." While the Methodists continued to oppose the sub-division of money, in 1874 Feild convinced them to support the policy. An 1874 Act divided the Protestant grant between the Church of England and the Methodists. Frederick Jones, *Edward Feild, Bishop of Newfoundland, 1844-76* (St. John's: Newfoundland Historical Society, 1976), 29-30 and Jones, "Bishop Feild, A Study in Politics and Religion in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland" (University of Cambridge, 1971); Rowe, *The History of Education*

¹² FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 370.

4.1 The Development of the Education System in Newfoundland

In the early nineteenth century, there was no formal education system in Newfoundland and the provision of education fell mostly to missionaries and charity schools run by various private or religious societies.¹³ The first attempt by the Newfoundland legislature to establish an education system came in 1836 with the passing of the first Education Act. Based on its stipulations, the government intended to establish a non-denominational system that was to be district-based, run by thirteen member nondenominational elementary school boards. The existing charity and societal schools were placed under a district board and each board was provided with a government grant. Members of the boards could include senior clergymen from the respective religious bodies, but although clergy were also allowed to visit the schools, no religious instruction was allowed.¹⁴ In some ways, this seemed like a halfway measure and was somewhat similar to the National system of education introduced in Ireland in 1831. This too was a state-controlled secular system intended to be free from church interference but, as in Newfoundland, the church there also had a role to play as clergy from the various denominations were allowed to visit the schools.¹⁵

An Act for the Encouragement of Education in this Colony, 1836 (St. John's: Ryan & Withers, 1836).

¹³ Rowe points out that the contemporary use of the term 'society' or 'society school,' however, is rather ambiguous. The first such societies that were involved in education in the early part of the century were The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, The Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in St. John's, The Benevolent Irish Society and the Newfoundland School Society. Rowe, The History of Education, 25, 32, 72.

¹⁵ For more on the National System see Donald Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

As in Ireland, the system soon turned denominational, except in Newfoundland's case the change would be official.¹⁶ A second Education Act in 1843 was quite different in tone from the first, and provided for denominational rights and government funding of religious schools. Under the Act, separate Catholic and Protestant elementary boards were created in each district and had the authority to establish and administer their separate facilities. The result was a dual system for Catholics and Protestants, each denomination having the right to control the administration of their respective schools. Religious instruction, however, was still forbidden.¹⁷ It was not until 1852 that a new Education Act allowed religious instruction to be provided, unless it was objectionable to the child's parents. This clause would be the basis for all subsequent Acts.¹⁸

The only threat to the denominational arrangement in the nineteenth century occurred in the mid-1860s, when the prospect of Confederation with Canada caused Bishop Mullock to fear that it would be lost, and he urged the clergy to remain vigilant regarding the question.¹⁹ His fear was that education would be subject to a Protestant Canadian system, which he saw as anti-Catholic.²⁰ This argument was tied to claims made by anti-Confederates that Canada was a bastion of Orangeism. Mullock, and Catholics in general, were acutely aware of the sectarian violence in Toronto between Irish Catholics and Protestants, and the Bishop was careful to remind them of the tolerant

¹⁶ In Ireland by the 1860s half of the National Board was Catholic, and by the 1870s half of all Catholic children were attending almost exclusively Catholic schools. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment*, 257.

¹⁷ An Act for the Encouragement of Education in this Colony 1843 (St. John's: Ryan & Withers, 1843); Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 77.

¹⁸ Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 78.

¹⁹ Patriot and Terra Nova Herald (Patriot), 12 March 1867.

²⁰ Mullock's pastoral letter, 1866, Archives of the Archdiocese of St. John's (AASJ) 104/1/42.

society in which they lived. ²¹ In his Pastoral in February 1864 he told parents that, unlike other places in North America, they were very fortunate as they enjoyed "an advantage which you will seek for in vain in many other lands far more advanced, a purely Catholic education without any Government interference."²²

Catholics were fortunate indeed, as the Act also provided each religious board funding from the government, although the government determined which schools fit under each board.²³ This had far-reaching effects. For example, by 1845 the government recognized the Orphan Asylum School, a non-denominational charity school established in 1826 by the BIS, as a Catholic institution based on its exclusively Catholic enrollment.²⁴ As such, it was granted money from Catholic Board funds. The total government grant for St. John's totalled £1250, and was divided between the Protestant and Catholic Boards in proportion to the size of the population of each group. Due to the large Catholic population in St. John's, the vast majority, £930, was allotted to the Catholic Board.²⁵ The legislative grant steadily increased in the second half of the century, and schools in the city would also see a continuous increase in the amount they

²¹ Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 158-9, 185-7.

²² Patriot, 9 February 1864.

²³ Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 78.

²⁴ Prior to 1836, most elementary education was provided by non-denominational charity schools. One such school was the Orphan Asylum School, established by the Benevolent Irish Society in 1826. The school offered Catholic and Protestant boys and girls a free elementary education. However, it can be said to be the first 'Catholic' school in St. John's. Even though the school was not intended to be exclusively Catholic due to the availability of other charity schools in the city for Protestant children, such as the St. John's Charity School, by the 1830s the BIS-run school soon became attended almost exclusively by Catholic children. Despite becoming an unofficial Catholic institution, the BIS still insisted on maintaining the non-denominational principles on which the Society and the school were founded. Rowe, *The History of Education in Newfoundland*, 34-6, 72-4; John FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 64, 66; *Centenary Volume, BIS of St. John's, Newfoundland, 1806-1906* (Cork: Guy & Co. Ltd., 1906), 52-8, 72-4, 78, 81, 122.

²⁵ An Act for the Encouragement of Education in this Colony, 1843; Frederick Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 62-3.

received.²⁶ All of the Catholic elementary schools in the city were Board schools and received different amounts of money from the grant. The one exception was the Mercy Convent School on Military Road, which was fee-based.²⁷

Under the 1843 Education Act, each denomination had district boards of thirteen members. The Bishop was the chairman of the Catholic Board and was joined by one or two clergymen, in addition to other members of the male Catholic elite.²⁸ An examination of Catholic School Board members listed in the Newfoundland Almanac between 1845 and 1884 reveals several things, as shown in Appendix E, Table E3. First, the composition of the Board changed astonishingly little, as there were only nineteen men total who served during the period. Second, the majority were politically active, meaning they were involved and had potential influence beyond the purely educational sphere. Third, the vast majority of these men were also members of the Benevolent Irish Society, with about half holding officer positions. There was also a large overlap between members of the Board and members of the BIS Orphan Asylum School Committee. Those who served on both included Richard Howley, Laurence O'Brien, John Kent, and Patrick Kough.²⁹ This dual membership stands to reason, not only because they were members of the elite, but because as members of the Board they had experience with overseeing the administration and management of a school.

In the interests of saving money, however, the 1843 Act only allowed for one school inspector who was responsible for the whole island, and the work was divided

²⁶ This increase was intended to encourage the establishment of Commercial schools that could offer more in the way of curriculum than the existing elementary schools. Some of the money was also used for teacher training and for better school inspections. Rowe, *The History of Education in Newfoundland*, 64-5.

²⁷ Katherine E. Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry (St. John's, NL: Flanker Press, 2006), 84.

²⁸ Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 77.

²⁹ BIS Minutes, 1845-80; Newfoundland Almanac, 1845-84.

between members from each denomination who would make annual visits in alternating years. The first school inspector was well-known Catholic politician and journalist John Valentine Nugent, appointed in 1844, who was succeeded the following year by an Anglican clergyman, Bertram Jones.³⁰ It was not until 1858 that the government hired two school inspectors, one Catholic and one Protestant. This decision seemed more practical, both in terms of logistics and for ensuring consistency in reports.³¹ Between 1858 and 1879, the Catholic School Inspector was Michael Kelly, born in St. John's, a former MHA for Placentia-St. Mary's, and also former superintendent of the fisheries.³² Kelly was succeeded by another politician, Maurice Fenelon, an Irish-born teacher, bookseller and MHA for St. John's West.³³ School inspectors made detailed annual reports based upon their visits to the schools, chronicling a range of issues such as attendance, supply of books and materials, performance of teachers, and the condition of school facilities. They also made quite lengthy lists of recommendations for any improvements they deemed necessary.³⁴ Teachers were often quite hostile towards them, as their reports contained candid descriptions not only of the often inadequate school conditions, but of poor teacher performance as well. Such monitoring, however, introduced a degree of uniformity of standards and accountability into the system. For

³⁰ Rowe, *The History of Education in Newfoundland*, 121; Elizabeth A. Wells, "Nugent, John Valentine," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB)*, vol. 10.

³¹ Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 122.

³² Barbara J. Eddy, "Kelly, Michael John," DCB, vol. 11.

³³ Robert D. Pitt, "Fenelon, Maurice," *DCB*, vol. 12.

³⁴ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 370.

example, in order to get their share of the legislative grant, each Board had to make an annual report of its finances.³⁵

4.2 The Role of Education in the Catholic Community

The reason for the change to a denominational system in 1843 was primarily because the Catholic and Protestant Churches wanted the freedom to administer their own schools. It was also in the government's interest to allow the churches such power because it would mean less responsibility in terms of administration and management. A Catholic board would be free to manage the finances of its own schools, funding them largely through the Church, or even the community if it wished, which alleviated the overall cost on the government. For example, by the time of the first Act in 1843, Bishop Fleming had already obtained the Presentation and the Mercy Sisters to run two schools in the city, providing them with school facilities and their necessary requirements, all at the Church's expense.³⁶ The fact that Fleming chose Irish teaching orders further decreased the cost of running the schools because they were not paid salaries.

For the Church, however, control over education went beyond administrative and financial concerns. As an ultramontanist, Bishop Fleming believed that education served a larger purpose, viewing it as a means to integrate Catholic children and their parents fully into the religious and social structure of the Church.³⁷ His successor, Bishop Mullock also believed that religion was a necessary part of education and a means to

³⁵ Act for the Encouragement of Education in this Colony, 1858, published in the Royal Gazette, 1 June 1858; Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 122; Eddy, "Kelly, Michael John," DCB, vol. 11.

³⁶ The Presentation Sisters opened their school in 1833 and the Mercy school was opened in 1843.

³⁷ Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 40; Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 75.

foster proper and moral behaviour: "wherever education divorced from religion had been generally adopted, its fruits are a frightful immorality, hatred, ill-will and a contempt for life and property. It can only produce Pagans under the name of Christians."³⁸ Both believed that the best means of instilling Christian values was through staffing schools with members of the Irish teaching orders, who would "pay more attention to that object than could be expected from persons who have only pecuniary interests."³⁹

Acquiring the teaching orders had much to do with Fleming's desire to guide the social development of the Catholic community in St. John's. Specifically, he believed that the orders would help foster a new outlook for a young generation of Catholics in Newfoundland as they had in Ireland. He hoped that they would infuse the Catholic youth with confidence and assertiveness, fostering a successful middle class and instilling the working class with respectability.⁴⁰ The founders of the Presentation and Mercy Orders, as well as of the Christian Brothers, were prosperous well-educated people, who had articulated this new Catholicism in Ireland. Kevin Whelan has argued that the "old turbulent, feckless and rumbustious lumpen proletariat of the port towns withered away spectacularly under the new form of social discipline instilled by the nuns and brothers, often within a couple of generations."⁴¹ Fleming wished the same thing to occur in St. John's, hoping that the provision of such an education would result in a literate, well educated, and disciplined Catholic youth.

³⁸ Patriot, 12 March 1867.

³⁹ "Presentation Convent Schools, for the year ending 31st December, 1859- Diocese of St. John's," *Journal of the House of Assembly (JHA) 1860*, Appendix, 294.

⁴⁰ Kevin Whelan, "The Regional Impact of Irish Catholicism 1700-1850," Common Ground: essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland (Kevin Whelan and William J. Smyth, eds.; Cork: Cork University Press, 1988), 266-8.

⁴¹ Whelan, "The Regional Impact of Irish Catholicism" 268.

In the 1830s and 1840s Fleming was particularly concerned with the state of Catholic girls, which he believed could be improved if they were educated at a convent school. In Ireland, such institutions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries assisted in transforming the religious and social outlook of Catholic girls by improving literacy and instilling moral discipline. Those girls in Ireland taught by the Sisters learned not only to be managers of their children's religious practice, but of their husband as well.⁴² In order to replicate this in Newfoundland, Fleming's first step was to procure a convent of Presentation Sisters in 1833, an order that provided lower class Catholic girls with a free education.⁴³

Fleming, however, was most concerned about providing a proper religious education for middle class girls because it was the neglect of this group, he feared, that posed the greatest risk to the strength of the Catholic religion. Fleming observed that these girls, in trying to win favour with the Protestants, were attending Protestant ceremonies and social events, something which he feared was becoming common practice. In 1844 he wrote that "from the aping after gentility, particularly amongst those who wish to be considered as respectable Catholic young ladies, you would be astonished to behold their eagerness to show themselves off at a Protestant ceremony, or to any little Protestant that may present himself."⁴⁴ The only way to combat this, he believed, was to establish a reputable school, where respectable Catholic girls could receive not only a

⁴² Whelan, "The Regional Impact of Irish Catholicism," 266-8.

⁴³ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 142; Sister Mary Paula Penney, "A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations" (PhD Thesis, Boston College, 1980), 102.

⁴⁴ Letter from Fleming to O'Connell, 19 February 1844, "Letters on the State of Religion in Newfoundland," AASJ 103/2/27.

religious, but a moral education.⁴⁵ He hoped that this would act as a bulwark against such practices and "raise the character of Catholicity, to give it a position in public estimation that it had not before."⁴⁶ Fleming looked to the Order of Mercy, which had filled such a role in Ireland.⁴⁷ The Mercy Sisters arrived in St. John's in 1842, and opened their first school on 1 May 1843.⁴⁸

By the early 1840s all classes of Catholic girls were being educated by Irish Orders, but Catholic boys were still under the instruction of lay teachers at the Orphan Asylum.⁴⁹ Fleming had always expressed a desire to place the school under the management of a teaching order but the BIS refused, wishing to keep the school nondenominational. By the late 1840s, however, the school was suffering from low attendance and its survival was unsure. The BIS feared that it would be closed, and in 1847, the members sought Fleming's advice on the matter. This provided the Bishop with an opportunity to finally place the school under the Church's control, and he told the Society that the school could only succeed under the management of a religious brotherhood.⁵⁰ While at first glance the Society's agreement seemed to signal that they were finally willing to recognize the school as Catholic, it most likely came from the fact that they believed they had no other choice.⁵¹ Fleming wasted no time, obtaining four monks that same year from the Order of St. Francis in Dublin for the school. Fleming's

⁴⁵ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 69-70.

⁴⁶ Letter from Fleming to O'Connell, 19 February 1844, "Letters on the State of Religion in Newfoundland."

⁴⁷ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 35-6.

⁴⁸ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 51, 82, 91.

⁴⁹ Once Fleming had established the Presentation and Mercy schools, girls were taken out of the Orphan Asylum and placed under the Sisters' care. This left the Orphan Asylum as a boys-only school.

⁵⁰ BIS Minutes, 14 March 1847.

⁵¹ Centenary Volume, BIS, 126, 128-32.

plans were dashed quickly, however, as by 1851 two of the Brothers had returned to Ireland and the Society was forced to staff the school with lay teachers. These instructors were placed under the supervision of the two remaining Brothers, but they did not get along, most likely disagreeing over management and control. By 1854 all but one of the monks, Brother Francis Grace, had returned to Ireland. Grace continued teaching at the school for some time, remaining until 1871 when he was forced to resign due to illness.⁵²

It is unknown why the other three Brothers left so quickly, but there are hints that they were displeased with the living arrangements. Soon after their arrival, they complained to the Society that their accommodations were not "suited for their tastes or accommodation," and that they lived too far away from the school and the chapel. They argued that on some days during the winter they found it impossible to be able to attend school on time. To rectify the problem, the BIS allowed them to stay in the unoccupied rooms in the school.⁵³ This was not their only complaint, however. Conditions in the school and payment for their services were other issues that more than likely resulted in their early departure.⁵⁴ Even though Brother Grace remained, he too was not entirely satisfied. In early 1858, he complained to the Society about the inadequacy of his £50 salary and requested that it be raised to £80. The Society granted his request, but he would receive no future increase.⁵⁵

⁵² The common perception is that all four monks had left by the mid-1850s, but this was not the case. See for example, *Centenary Volume, BIS*, 158. On Brother Grace, see *BIS Minutes*, 19 May 1854, 17 February 1857, 17 February 1858, 17 February 1860, and 17 February 1871.

⁵³ There is no clear explanation or indication in Fleming or Mullock's correspondence to indicate why the Brothers left. *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1848, 23 November 1851.

⁵⁴ BIS Minutes, 20 August 1848, 2 August 1870.

⁵⁵ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1858.

Despite the setback, the Church continued to try and procure a teaching Order for the school. In 1863 Bishop John Thomas Mullock wrote to Brother James Patrick Walsh, Superior of the Christian Brothers at the time, asking him to send teachers. Trying to make the strongest case possible, he not only included information about Newfoundland's climate and geography, but assured Walsh that the Catholics in St. John's were "more Irish than the Irish themselves.³⁵⁶ At the time, however, no Brothers could be spared from Ireland. The next attempt was made by his successor, Bishop Power, in the early 1870s. Power also tried to obtain Brothers but, like his predecessor, he ran into difficulties. Persistent, if not somewhat desperate by the mid-1870s, Power wrote that "If Ireland cannot send us help we must reluctantly try Canada or the States. I prefer the article direct."57 Power's determination and the assistance of Michael Rice, grand-nephew of the Order's founder Edmund Rice, got results.⁵⁸ In the fall of 1875, Brother Holland, who would become the Brother Superior in St. John's, and two other Christian Brothers visited the city and finalized arrangements to establish a community of Brothers. The agreement, signed on 9 September 1875, stated that as soon as possible the Order would establish a minimum community of five Brothers in St. John's.⁵⁹ It also ensured that they would be free to exercise their own rules and observances in St. John's, as they did in Ireland, answering only to their own Superior.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Mullock to Walsh, *Slattery Papers (SP)* #1, 16 December 1863, Archives of Mount St. Francis, St. John's (AMSFSJ).

⁵⁷ Power to Grace, SP #5, 5 May 1875. Power stressed his preference by underling the 'I.'

⁵⁸ His branch of the Rice family immigrated to Newfoundland in 1826. Penney, "A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations," 148-9.

⁵⁹ Annals of the Christian Brothers, 1, 4, AMSFSJ.

⁶⁰ Annals of the Christian Brothers, 2, 3-4.

On 20 January 1876 three Christian Brothers arrived in St. John's to a very warm welcome, as Catholics in St. John's were overjoyed at having obtained the Order for the city.⁶¹ The Brothers' primary purpose in St. John's was first and foremost to provide lower class boys with a sound religious education. Bishop Power was of much the same mindset as his predecessors, believing that their main priority was to promote and secure the Catholic religion in the city. In 1884, he remarked that this was badly needed in St. John's: "God knows what would become of our people if the Brothers [sic] had not come so soon. We would have very little religion in a few years." While this was clearly an exaggeration, there were some concerns about the lack of religious instruction of Catholic boys in St. John's. Phillip Francis Little agreed with Power, believing that without the Brothers' presence boys would be growing up without any knowledge of their religion, which could have the long-term effect of decreasing the number of practicing Catholics. The Brothers quickly observed that this was indeed a problem. Brother Fleming, a former director of a school in Monaghan, stated that there were many Catholic children in St. John's who were "growing up in ignorance," a realization that disturbed him greatly.⁶² The Brothers were aghast at the lack of knowledge that some younger children had about their religion. Brother Slattery remarked that when questioned if they had made their First Communion, or been to Confession, some did not know. He recalled one instance in which he asked two boys if they knew the rosary and they answered they did not. He was further shocked when he asked how many Gods there were and they answered "three, -

⁶¹ Annals of the Christian Brothers, 1; Holland to Hoare, SP #18, 27 January 1876.

⁶² Fleming to Maxwell, SP #84, 15 December 1884.

one, no three."⁶³ This particular answer, however, might suggest confusion over the nature of the Trinity.

All of the Religious Orders teaching in St. John's ensured that each individual child made his or her First Communion, attended confession regularly, and was confirmed in the Church. Just as liturgical and Feast Day observances became public affairs in the second half of the century, so too did First Communion and Confirmation ceremonies, which were often recounted in the Catholic press. For example, in May 1853 several hundred girls, boys and adults were confirmed and the ceremony itself consisted of a large procession to the Cathedral with the girls dressed in white and carrying religious banners.⁶⁴ The Christian Brothers also made sure that their students observed devotional and religious practices. In early 1877, for example, 300 of their students went to confession, pleasing many of the priests who had experienced trouble with the students in the past. In previous years, only half of them attended and they did not know how to conduct themselves.⁶⁵ This was also true of their examinations for Confirmation.⁶⁶

The orders also fostered a strong attachment to Catholicism in students through the teaching of Catechism and the knowledge of devotions and practices. Of course, enforcing this beyond school years was impossible, but a solid foundation was certainly laid. In his 1859 report, the Catholic Inspector of Schools saw the benefits of such religious instruction at the convent schools, noting that "from the religious training the future mothers of the operative Catholic population of the country are [at] present

⁶³ Slattery to Maxwell, SP #71, 28 April 1884.

 ⁶⁴ A total of 771 girls, boys and adults were confirmed. Of this total, 487 were girls from the Presentation Convent School, while the boys came from the Orphan Asylum School. *Newfoundlander*, 9 May 1853.
 ⁶⁵ Holland to McDonnell, *SP* #42, 12 January 1877; Holland to McDonnell, *SP* #48, 24 January 1878.

Holland to McDollnein, 57 #42, 12 January 1677, Holland to McDollnein, 57 #46, 24 Januar

⁶⁶ Fleming to Maxwell, SP #59, 22 November 1881.

receiving at these Institutions [...] this training must necessarily imbue their minds with that feeling of obligation imposed upon them by educating their children when opportunities are afforded them of doing so, to which persons not blessed with this early religious training would be strangers to."⁶⁷ Fleming's plan had come to fruition as girls and boys were taught to be the manager of their children's religious practice.

4.3 The Building of New Schools

Since the Church believed schools were an extension of the parish, it was natural that the construction of new Catholic churches, orphanages and convents was matched by the building of educational facilities, as seen in Table 4.1 and in detail in Appendix E, Table E1. In fact, one often entailed the other as schools and convents were often contained in the same building. Before 1850 there were only three Catholic schools in the city: one run by the Presentation Sisters, one by the Mercy Order, and a BIS-run Orphan Asylum School. Coinciding with his construction of church buildings in the early 1850s, Mullock began replacing old and inadequate schools with bigger and grander ones. These were built in the center of the city near the Cathedral. The first was a new convent and school for the Presentation Sisters opened next to the Cathedral in 1853.⁶⁸ Three years later, the Reverend Superioress of the Mercy Convent expressed to Mullock her concerns that their convent and school on Military Road was both too small and in poor repair. She argued that its size prevented any increase in student enrollment, or the possibility of extending their facility. Mullock agreed, and decided to build a larger stone convent with

⁶⁷ "General Observations on Convent Schools," JHA 1860, Appendix, 309.

⁶⁸ Archbishop Michael F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, vol. 2 (Brother Joseph B. Darcy and John F. O'Mara, eds.; St. John's, NL: Terra Nova Publishing, 2005), 64, 76.

a chapel, infirmary, school and reception room on the site of the old one.⁶⁹ The school portion was ready in the summer of 1857, but the convent was not completed until that October.⁷⁰ Both structures, which still stand today, were only meters away from one another, just east of the Cathedral.

Year Established	Name			
1826	Orphan Asylum School			
1833	Presentation Convent School			
1843	Our Lady of Mercy			
1852	Riverhead School			
1856	Presentation Convent School, Riverhead			
1857	St. Bonaventure's College			
1863	St. Bridget's			
1881	St. Patrick's Hall			
1881	Angels Guardian School			
1882?*	St. Peter's			
1883	Littledale			
1884	St. Joseph's			

Table 4.1 St.	John's	Catholic	Schools,	1840-86
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<u>Note</u>: * = the date of St. Peter's founding is unknown, but the first school report for it is dated 1882. <u>Sources</u>: This table is drawn from Appendix E, Table E1: Catholic Schools established in St. John's, 1840-86, for which the complete list of sources is given.

The Reverend Superioress' concerns regarding increasing student enrollment reflected the fact that an increasing Catholic population and the expansion of the eastern and western parts of St. John's meant that more elementary schools were needed to

⁶⁹ Newfoundlander, 6 August 1857.

⁷⁰ The original convent was torn down and the Sisters stayed in the orphanage's infirmary. *Newfoundlander*, 24 July 1856; Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, 108.

accommodate a growing number of children.⁷¹ In 1852, for example, a new board school under the management of lay teachers was opened in the west end at Riverhead.⁷² A steady increase in the number of professed Sisters and the arrival of the Christian Brothers also made it possible for the Religious to establish other schools. In January 1856, Mullock established a Presentation school and convent at Riverhead, so that now the Sisters had a school and convent in each end of the city.⁷³ In the early 1880s, four Mercy Sisters opened another school on the corner of George and Queen's Street, called St. Peter's. However, since St. Patrick's Church was still not completed, the upstairs served as a chapel, also called St. Peter's.⁷⁴ The establishment of Catholic schools in the west end was matched by the establishment of Protestant facilities in the area from the late 1850s onwards.⁷⁵ The reason, however, does not seem to have been because there was a large, or rapidly increasing Protestant population in the area, as there were only around 2500 residing there in 1857. More than likely, it was because there were two Catholic schools in the area and no facility for Protestant children.

Expansion was also evident in the east end of St. John's. In 1858, Mullock turned his attention to the needs of this area, deciding to build a school in a new and very poor neighbourhood known as Hoylestown. Given the socio-economic character of the area,

⁷¹ It is not possible to delineate the exact numerical increase of Catholic children as the Census does not breakdown age brackets by denomination.

⁷² "Report of the Roman Catholic Central Board of Education, for 1852," JHA 1853, Appendix, 119.

⁷³ Penney, "A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations," 48.

⁷⁴ The exact date of its opening is not certain. The first school report was in 1882. These were the same Sisters who would later teach at St. Joseph's. Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, 181-3.

⁷⁵ The first Protestant Board School in the city was Maggoty Cove, opened in 1843 and in 1859 it built another in St. John's West. "Return of the Protestant Elementary Board Schools in Operation During [the] Year Ending 30 June 1865," *JHA 1866*, Appendix, 454.

the purpose of the school was to educate the lower class.⁷⁶ Despite the fact that the Mercy Sisters had been teaching the middle class, Mullock decided that they would be in charge of the school. The decision was most likely a logistical one as the Presentation Sisters were already managing two schools of their own. In October 1858, Mullock bought a piece of land just west of Temperance Street on which to build the new structure, called St. Bridget's.⁷⁷ It was some time before the project was completed, the delay no doubt due to Mullock's focus on other building projects such as the establishment of the new Riverhead parish and the construction of St. Patrick's Church. The school was opened five years later on 1 May 1863, but closed in 1881 because its location was adjacent to a new railway line that was being constructed.⁷⁸ The Mercy Order took charge of education in the east end. In September 1881, the Sisters opened another school in the district to meet the needs of younger boys and girls, called the Angels Guardian School.⁷⁹ Three years later, they established a new school in the same area called St. Joseph's, but like St. Bridget's it too would be forced to close by circumstances beyond the Order's control. It was destroyed in the 1892 fire.⁸⁰

The largest school built in the period was the BIS's St. Patrick's Hall, which opened on 16 August 1880 and was run by the Christian Brothers.⁸¹ Given its age, by the late 1870s, the Orphan Asylum School was in very bad repair and the Brothers felt that

⁷⁶ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 124.

⁷⁷ Originally, it was called the Maggoty Cove School, but the Sisters did not like this name and decided that it should have a religious name, so they called it St. Bridget's. The school inspector, however, continued calling it the Maggoty Cove School in his reports until it closed in 1881. Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, 124.

⁷⁸ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 124-5.

⁷⁹ They taught preschool to grade 5. After grade 5 the boys went to the Christian Brothers School and the girls to the Our Lady of Mercy School. Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, 242.

⁸⁰ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 126-30.

⁸¹ Holland to McDonnell, SP #36, 2 November 1876, Annals of the Christian Brothers, [11].

they required a larger and newer building. They also had particular specifications for their schools.⁸² So, in the summer of 1877 the BIS decided to build another facility not far from the Cathedral, and Bishop Power laid the cornerstone of the new Hall on 22 July.⁸³ While the primary purpose of the building was for educational purposes, the building actually served a three-fold purpose. The top floor was the Society's meeting rooms, the second floor contained four classrooms used by the Brothers, and the first floor housed the industrial department, known as the 'net room' as it produced fishing nets for sale.⁸⁴

Catholic schools in the first half of the century were single sex. In the 1830s and 1840s, Fleming believed strongly that girls and boys should be taught separately, and so he established different schools on this premise. While the convent schools remained so, in some others, boys and girls began attending together in the other schools, though some, such as St. Bridget's, remained single-sex.⁸⁵ Despite the fact that by the 1870s and 1880s Board schools were largely mixed, boys and girls continued to be taught separately and in different rooms. At St. Peter's, for example, boys and girls were taught in separate classrooms, each with two teachers.⁸⁶ When Riverhead opened in 1852 it was split equally between boys and girls, taught in separate rooms with a male teacher for the boys, and a female teacher for the girls. This would change, however, in 1856 when the Presentation Convent School opened. The girls from Riverhead were sent to the Sisters'

⁸² In Ireland, the Brothers' schools were uniformly built with a specific layout. Holland to McDonnell, SP #36, 2 November 1876; Barry M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland: The Christian Brothers and the Development of Irish Nationalism. 1838-1921 (Gill and Macmillan, 1988), 18-9.

⁸³ Patriot, 23 July 1877.

⁸⁴ Annals of the Christian Brothers, [7].

⁸⁵ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 124.

⁸⁶ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 181-3.

facility and the school became all-boys.⁸⁷ The change at Riverhead highlights a couple of things. First, that the desire by the Board to have Catholic children taught by the orders as opposed to lay teachers was strong, and second, that if there were sufficient facilities, boys and girls would be taught in entirely separate schools. However, between the cost of constructing new buildings and the issue of staffing multiple schools, it made more sense to simply build one structure.

4.4 Enrollment and Attendance

There was another issue that had to be considered by the Catholic Board in terms of building new facilities, namely enrollment figures and overcrowding. Every Catholic elementary Board school between 1840 and 1886 had at least 200 children enrolled, as shown in Appendix E, Table E2. The Presentation Convent School on Military Road had the largest enrollment, peaking between 1859 and 1861 at 700-900 girls. The enrollment at their Riverhead school was considerably lower, ranging anywhere between 200 and 300 girls.⁸⁸ The Mercy-run St. Bridget's school also had between 200 and 300 students.⁸⁹ While these numbers seem high at first glance, they only reflect enrollment and not attendance, which for the majority of Catholic elementary schools was chronically low. At St. Bridget's and St. Peter's, actual daily attendance was often less than half the total

⁸⁷ "Report of the Roman Catholic Central Board of Education, for 1852," JHA 1853, Appendix, 119.

⁸⁸ "Presentation Convent Schools for the Year 1858. Diocese of St. John's," *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 347; "Presentation Convent Schools, for the year ending 31st December, 1859 - Diocese of St. John's," *JHA 1860*, *Session One*, Appendix, 294; "Return of Presentation Convent Schools of the Island," *JHA 1860*, *Session Two*, Appendix, 463; "Return of Convent Schools in the Diocese of St. John's," *JHA 1862*, Appendix, 323.

⁸⁹ Return of the Convent Schools, *JHA 1866*, Appendix, 498-9; *JHA 1871*, Appendix, 610-11; *JHA 1877*, Appendix, 350-1.

enrollment.⁹⁰ There were many reasons for this. The first had to do with social class, and the fact that these schools catered to the poorest children. In the summer months, attendance would be at its lowest because many older children would be assisting their families in the fishery or out finding work themselves.⁹¹ For example, in 1873 wages were high so parents chose to send their boys to work as labourers, resulting in a drop in attendance until the end of the season.⁹² There was a demand at certain seasons for juvenile labour, and parents, whose children could receive two and sixpence per day, sent them to work on the wharves rather than to school.⁹³ This was often the case for girls as well. At St. Bridget's girls school, the ledgers would often record girls, some as young as nine or ten, as having left school because they were "needed at home," or because they had "gone into service."⁹⁴

Because the root of the problem was directly correlated to class and had much to do with the social and economic character of Newfoundland, the issue of low attendance was not unique to Catholic schools, but also plagued Protestant ones as well.⁹⁵ Like his Catholic counterpart, Protestant School Inspector John Haddon often complained of chronic absenteeism in schools, also blaming the problem primarily on the fact that children were often required to assist in the cod fishery. In 1858, Haddon reported that the

⁹⁰ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 125, 182-3.

⁹¹ "Report Upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools for the Year 1871," JHA 1870, Appendix, 585; BIS Minutes, 17 February 1875.

⁹² BIS Minutes, 17 February 1874.

⁹³ From a special BIS meeting to consider the reports of the teachers and also the report of the Orphan Asylum School Committee, *BIS Minutes*, 24 January 1875.

⁹⁴ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 125.

⁹⁵ The system for the Protestant Education system encompassed elementary board schools and commercial board schools, which were under the Education Act and under government control. In addition, there were also Newfoundland School Society and denominational schools, both which benefitted from a grant from the government. "Report of the Protestant Central Board of Education for the Years 1852 and 1853," JHA 1855, Appendix, 76; "Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1859," JHA 1860, First Session, Appendix, 225.

Protestant school in the east end of St. John's, called Maggoty Cove, consisted of children who were mostly from the labouring or working class and whose attendance was directly correlated to whether or not they were needed to assist their parents in the fishery.⁹⁶ Protestant children, like the lower class Catholic children, Haddon noted, were taken out of school at a very early age because "the expensiveness of a fishermen's family requires that the children should contribute to the cost of their food and clothing from the earliest period when they are able to do so, most times as young as eight years old. This income was important enough to sacrifice education."⁹⁷ However, in the non-fishing season during the winter months, attendance in both Catholic and Protestant schools suffered as well. A lack of suitable winter clothing kept children home, and this was particularly evident in the years of bad fisheries, which caused acute poverty in all parts of Newfoundland.⁹⁸

Low attendance was also the result of parental choice and attitudes towards education, both of which were also related to class. The annual reports of the Orphan Asylum committee between the 1840s and 1870s repeatedly stated that "the singular apathy of parents generally" was one of the main reasons why attendance at that school was low.⁹⁹ Inspector Kelly denounced "the indifference of the people themselves to

⁹⁶ "Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1858," JHA 1859, Appendix, 276.

⁹⁷ "Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1859," JHA 1860, first session, Appendix, 229.

⁹⁸ See for example *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1846, 1857, 1865 and 19 February 1869; "Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland for 1858 BS 1866, *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 277 and *JHA 1867*, Appendix, 635-6.

⁹⁹ See for example BIS Minutes, 17 February 1857, 18 February 1868, and 17 February 1875.

education."¹⁰⁰ There was no legal way to rectify the situation as education was not compulsory. Again, this was not a uniquely Catholic problem. In 1859, Haddon's report stated that Protestant parents were also indifferent towards education and, again, he argued that it had to do with class. He pointed out that three-quarters of the children in the board schools were children of fishermen, and so parents expected that when they became of age they would be engaged in the same occupation. He contrasted the situation in Newfoundland with other countries:

[Where] one class depends so much upon another for support, education is found of the utmost advantage in the competition for patronage, and parents are prompted by self-interest, or compelled by necessity, to secure its aid for their children, in order to get them out in the world [...] but with the fishermen no such powerful incentive exists; they can draw their supplies direct from nature independent of favour or patronage [...] their sons can be taken out to draw supplies from the same bounteous source without any previous intellectual training.¹⁰¹

While no such direct statement was made by the Catholic Inspector, it stands to reason that the explanation was applicable to the Catholic community in which the majority of its members were lower-class fishermen. Absenteeism was a serious problem in the 1860s. In 1863 Kelly reported that student numbers in St. John's were down from the 1860 totals. Enrollment had dropped from 1524 to 1160 students in the city's Catholic schools, a decrease of 364, with average attendance down by 468 students.¹⁰² In 1864,

¹⁰⁰ Inspection Report of Catholic Schools for 1870 and 1875, JHA 1871, Appendix, 589 and JHA 1876, Appendix, 308. ¹⁰¹ "Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1859," JHA 1860,

first session, Appendix, 228-9. ¹⁰² "Report upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools, for the year 1862," JHA 1863, Appendix, 345, 359.

one teacher felt compelled to resign from his position in the upper school of the Orphan Asylum due to low attendance and his belief that it would not improve in the foreseeable future.¹⁰³ By the mid-1860s Bishop Mullock, recognizing the severity of the situation and its long-term implications, pleaded with parents to take an interest in their children's future, reminding them that they had the benefits of a free religious education and therefore no excuse not to send their children to school.¹⁰⁴ Mullock placed the responsibility squarely on their shoulders, warning that if "education is neglected, then the fault is entirely with yourselves."¹⁰⁵ Fearing that his words would fall on deaf ears, he asked parents that if nothing else, they made sure their children attended Catechism and religious instruction.¹⁰⁶

There were some efforts on the part of the Benevolent Irish Society to combat absenteeism in their school. In 1859, the Society introduced school fees, believing this would motivate parents to make sure their children actually went to class, in other words, to literally get their money's worth. Rather than for everyday expense, the funds were used to purchase prizes for boys, such as books, as a means of rewarding academic achievement and to encourage further progress. The plan appeared to work, as in its first year students attended more regularly, but this improvement only lasted for a year. Given the totals listed in the school reports the amount collected was very small, and there was no way to force parents to pay. In fact, those who could not afford the fee could still have

¹⁰³ Mr. Thomas McGrath's letter of resignation was appended to the annual report of the Orphan Asylum School, *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1865.

¹⁰⁴ Patriot, 9 February 1864.

¹⁰⁵ Mullock's pastoral letter, 1865, AASJ 104/1/42.

¹⁰⁶ Patriot, 9 February 1864.

their children admitted if they provided a note from a member of the clergy excusing them from payment.¹⁰⁷

Such measures, however, did little to address the fundamental class issue and the fact that often parents were acting not out of choice, but necessity, choosing to send their children to work instead of school. In the mid-1860s, Inspector Haddon suggested some possible solutions for Protestant schools that could easily have been applied to their Catholic counterparts. He referred to a report of the Superintendent of Public Schools in Boston noting that employing a truancy officer had yielded positive results. He also pointed out that the State Law of Massachusetts prohibited the employment of children between twelve and fifteen in the manufacturing sector unless they had attended school during the previous year. He suggested that one or both of these might be tried in Newfoundland as a solution.¹⁰⁸ Between 1865 and 1875, however, there was no official move in this direction by either Board and attendance continued to decrease in the majority of Catholic schools.¹⁰⁹ The reports in the late 1880s continued to note the problem and, as Kelly had reported in the earlier decades, the reason was still the result of a mixture of poverty and parent apathy.¹¹⁰ It appeared that a problem so rooted in the larger socio-economic structure of the colony could not be easily overcome.

Three Catholic schools in particular, however, did not reflect the general pattern of low attendance. Between 1850 and 1875, attendance at both Presentation convent

¹⁰⁷ BIS Minutes, 22 May 1859 and 18 February 1861.

 ¹⁰⁸ "Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1865," JHA 1866, Appendix, 429-30.
 ¹⁰⁹ "Inspection Report of Catholic Schools for 1866 and 1875, JHA 1866, Appendix, 469 and JHA 1876,

¹⁰⁹ "Inspection Report of Catholic Schools for 1866 and 1875, JHA 1866, Appendix, 469 and JHA 1876, Appendix, 308, 312.

¹¹⁰ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 181-3.

schools was consistently over fifty percent, as seen in Appendix E, Table E2.¹¹¹ The sudden increase in enrollment and attendance at the Orphan Asylum immediately after the Christian Brothers took over in 1876 suggests that perhaps the problems of class and apathy could be overcome. The Brothers and Sisters both taught poorer children, yet, between 1876 and 1886 their enrollment and attendance were consistently high, even though attendance in the other elementary schools was in steady decline.

The sea-change at the Orphan Asylum School is interesting. The arrival of the Brothers marked a complete reversal for a school that had previously suffered from chronic low attendance and morale. On the eve of the arrival of the Christian Brothers in 1875, the school report stated that attendance "in fact is getting decidedly worse."¹¹² That same year, Brother Holland made his preparatory inspection of the facility, and was informed by the BIS that the average attendance of the school was very low, something he witnessed for himself the day he visited.¹¹³ Yet on the first day the Brothers opened their school one year later, they had to admit 300 children even though they could only accommodate 200, and were forced to turn a further fifty to sixty away because there was simply no room.¹¹⁴ By early 1877, the number enrolled at the Orphan Asylum had increased to 340, and the Brothers were again forced to refuse admission to others because of lack of space.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Catholic Board of Education School Reports, JHA, 1850-75. 1851, Appendix, 85, 87; "Abstract of Education Returns (Roman Catholic Boards)," JHA 1856, Appendix, 142; Returns of the Presentation Convent Schools from JHA 1859, Appendix, 347; JHA 1860, Session One, Appendix, 294; JHA 1860, Session Two, Appendix, 463; JHA 1862, JHA 1865, Appendix, 534-5; JHA 1866, JHA 1867, Appendix, 710-11; JHA 1866, Appendix, 498-9; JHA 1871, Appendix, 610-11; JHA 1877, Appendix, 350-1.

¹¹² BIS Minutes, 17 February 1875.

¹¹³ Annals of the Christian Brothers, [5].

¹¹⁴ Annals of the Christian Brothers, [5]

¹¹⁵ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1877, 1878 and 1879.

Attendance at the Brothers' school remained consistently high and continued to rise in the 1880s.¹¹⁶ In early 1881, the number of students enrolled was about 350, but the school committee stated that with the arrival of another Brother in April, the school could accommodate 100 more. Another class was indeed opened on 2 May, and another 100 students were admitted and placed under the charge of the newly arrived Brother Baptist Flood.¹¹⁷ Despite this addition, by the end of 1882, the Brothers were still finding it difficult to accommodate all of the boys.¹¹⁸ By the mid-1880s, Brother Fleming informed the BIS that the school continued to be well attended and every place was filled, in addition to the usual hundreds of applications for admission.¹¹⁹ By the end of August 1885, Fleming reported that "I have had a good deal of difficulty in trying to pacify parents who were seeking admission for their children."¹²⁰ The reports of the school committee in the 1880s showed a complete turnaround not only in attendance and enrollment, but in the overall character of the school. In 1884, the report stated that "all branches of our institution continue in the same sound and prosperous condition."¹²¹

Why such a sudden change? A hint is provided by the fact that such a complete transformation had also occurred in the late 1840s when monks from the Order of St. Francis began teaching at the school. In the first three months after their arrival, there was a dramatic increase in attendance, which had gone from dismal to an increase of between 500 and 600 boys. In fact, by 1851 the school had become too small to accommodate all

¹¹⁶ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1880.

¹¹⁷ Flood was a native of Dublin. BIS Minutes, 17 February 1881; Annals of the Christian Brothers, [11]

¹¹⁸ BIS Minutes, 19 November 1882.

¹¹⁹ Contained in a letter from Brother Fleming, *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1885.

¹²⁰ Contained in a letter from Brother Fleming, BIS Minutes, 23 August 1885.

¹²¹ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1884 and 17 November 1884.

the students.¹²² This would seem to lend weight to Inspector Kelly's belief that the management of the schools was also directly correlated to attendance rates. It also indicates, as Bishop Fleming suggested in the 1840s, that there was a general perception that an education by the teaching orders was far superior to any other. The Christian Brothers' schools in Ireland, for example, had a reputation for being organized, orderly, and operating under strict discipline.¹²³

Reputation as an explanation, however, should not be pushed too far. There was another possible cause of the increased enrollment and attendance. For the first time, boys from the middle class were enrolled in the Christian Brothers' school, in addition to a small number of Protestant children.¹²⁴ The Brothers did teach children of a higher socioeconomic status in Ireland, but this was not a stated policy and arose out of specific circumstances.¹²⁵ In St. John's, the Brothers would again find themselves teaching Catholic children from respectable families, albeit for completely different reasons. The desire on part of the Catholic elite to have their children educated by the Brothers became evident soon after their arrival in the city. Given the excellent reputation of the other Irish

¹²² Centenary Volume, BIS, 134-6, 158.

¹²³ Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, 19-20, 22.

¹²⁴ By April 1884 five Protestant students were enrolled at the school. Brother Slattery remarked that far from being resented by other Protestant children, they were envied by them. This is most likely an exaggeration, but there is no evidence to suggest that problems arose because Protestant children were attending the Brothers' school. Slattery stated that one Protestant merchant hauled brick for their new school in the west end, even sending his own horse to do so. Slattery to Maxwell, *SP* #71, 28 April 1884; Slattery to Whitty, *SP* #115, 14 April 1889.

¹²⁵ In their desire to control elementary education and fight the government-controlled National School system established in 1831, the Catholic Hierarchy in Ireland began using the Brother's schools in certain towns, to draw students away. Their hope was to eventually replace them. It worked to a certain extent, as in many towns parents chose to send their sons to the Brothers' schools and not the National schools. The Hierarchy tried this with Model Schools as well, which unlike the National Schools were fee-based and educated the wealthier classes. Since the Brothers were competing for these students as well they had no choice but to teach the more affluent Catholics who left the Model schools to attend theirs instead. Coldrey, *Faith and Fatherland*, 37, 39-40, 89.

Orders already in St. John's, coupled with the Brothers' own exceptional repute, all classes in the community saw their school as representing the ideal education for boys. This placed the Brothers in an awkward position as they refused to turn the more affluent boys away, believing that it was not their place to ask about a child's financial background. However, this quickly became problematic. In a letter in May 1876 to Brother McDonnell, assistant to the Superior General, Brother Holland remarked that he noticed growing animosity in the community towards the respectable boys attending their school.¹²⁶ Bishop Power was also becoming concerned about the matter and expressed his opinion to the Brothers, but Brother Holland remarked that the Bishop himself had, at special request, had a respectable boy admitted to the school.¹²⁷ By September 1876, priests began interceding on the parents' behalf in order to secure admission to the Brothers' school. Brother Holland admitted that he was afraid that this would be interpreted as the Order accepting respectable children to the exclusion of the poor. His fear was that the poorer class, for whom the school was intended, would eventually be shut out due to the increasing influx of children from the middle class section of the community.¹²⁸ The result was that they taught both the respectable boys, as well as some of the very poorest.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ Holland to McDonnell, SP #25, 3 May 1876.

¹²⁷ Holland to Hoare, SP #26, 5 May 1876.

¹²⁸ Holland to McDonnell, SP #34, 6 September 1876.

¹²⁹ Slattery to Holland, SP #129, 9 June 1889.

4.5 Instruction

Certainly, popularity had much to do with the quality of instruction as well. Part of the reason why Bishop Fleming and his successors wanted the Irish Orders for their schools was because they were trained teachers. In 1848 Fleming was pleased with the work of the five Monks that were in charge of the Orphan Asylum School and he had already seen an improvement in the children under their care. He remarked that they were competent teachers, "whose lives are devoted to the education of the poor in a moral and religious as well as literary sense."¹³⁰ Similarly, Bishop Mullock praised the quality of instruction of the Presentation and Mercy Sisters, stating that because they were trained in one system of teaching "there is a stability in the Educational system which mistresses not belonging to a community could ever obtain."¹³¹ The Christian Brothers were also formally trained, with an excellent reputation in Ireland for their teaching abilities.¹³²

The various orders could also train lay teachers. In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were very few trained lay teachers in Newfoundland and when needed, the Church was forced to obtain them from the National Board of Education in Ireland.¹³³ Informal teacher training had been present in the Presentation and Mercy schools in the first half of the century, as the Sisters used older students to act as student monitors in classes. In the second half of the century, the Presentation Sisters began formal teacher training for girls, and theirs was one of four training schools for female teachers in Newfoundland in the second half of the century. Between 1858 and 1865 there was a

¹³⁰ "Bishop Fleming's Letter Respecting Presentation Convent School," JHA, 1848, Appendix, 369.

¹³¹ Return of the Presentation Convent School, JHA 1859, Appendix, 348.

¹³² Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, 42, 47.

¹³³ This was specifically for the Orphan Asylum School. BIS Minutes, 17 February 1855.

great increase in the number of native-born lay teachers who were trained by the Sisters. There were only eight formally trained female teachers in 1858, but by 1865 there were 40 schools in various parts of Newfoundland under the administration of female teachers trained by the Sisters.¹³⁴ In 1884, the Mercy Sisters also began similar teacher-training.¹³⁵ Young boys were also prepared as teachers at St. Bonaventure's College, and some were already instructors in schools.¹³⁶ By 1865, five were already conducting schools, with a total of ten schools in Newfoundland under the direction of teachers trained at the College.¹³⁷

Proper teacher training resulted in a great improvement in the general quality of instruction in Catholic elementary schools. In his first report in 1858, Inspector Kelly complained that the majority of teachers in Catholic elementary schools were not properly trained and were simply unfit for the job.¹³⁸ Mullock also recognized this as a problem, noting in 1859 that he believed that the Catholic schools would be greatly improved if the girls who were being trained by the Sisters replaced "incompetent Masters, who only receive a small salary."¹³⁹ This did seem to occur, Kelly reporting in 1865 that much improvement had been made in the quality of instruction in the schools. It was not just the level of instruction that improved, but the overall character of the institutions as well,

 ¹³⁴ General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools, *JHA 1862*, Appendix, 297; "Report Upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1865," *JHA 1866*, Appendix, 472.
 ¹³⁵ Penney, *A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations*, 215.

¹³⁶ In 1861 there were six pupils training as teachers, in addition to five others who were teaching in schools. "General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools," *JHA 1862*, Appendix, 297.

 ¹³⁷ "Report Upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1865," JHA 1866,
 Appendix, 470, 472.
 ¹³⁸ "General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools," JHA 1862, Appendix, 297; "Report Upon

 ¹³⁰ "General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools," *JHA 1862*, Appendix, 297; "Report Upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1865," *JHA 1866*, Appendix, 472.
 ¹³⁹ "Presentation Convent Schools, for the year ending 31st December, 1859 - Diocese of St. John's," *JHA 1860*, Appendix, 294.

which were now well organized and under proper guidance. For example, previous problems such as the lack of school registers were eradicated, Kelly reporting that they were now being kept carefully and regularly by teachers.¹⁴⁰ This improvement was also seen in the Protestant schools where, by 1858, there was an improvement in the administration and the teachers were better qualified.¹⁴¹

The improvement in the quality of instruction was matched by a general increase in the number of literate Catholic children. Kelly stated that over that seven year period, there had been an increase of eighty percent in the number of children who were reading, 78 percent in the number who were writing, and 100 percent in the number studying arithmetic.¹⁴² In terms of the schools in St. John's, Kelly also expressed satisfaction in his 1866 report, noting in particular the great progress of the boys at the Orphan Asylum School. He observed that the majority of the boys were well advanced in arithmetic and their reading and knowledge of geography was good. He had similar praise for the Riverhead school, stating that there was improvement in the students' performance in reading and spelling.¹⁴³

The reports in the 1850s and 1860s often noted that the convent schools surpassed the others in terms of learning, and that the students "excelled, particularly in their current style of reading, beautiful penmanship, and knowledge of grammar and geography."¹⁴⁴ Kelly boasted that these schools provided as good an education as that of boarding

 ¹⁴⁰ "Report Upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1865," JHA 1866,
 Appendix, 472.
 ¹⁴¹ "General Observations, Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year

¹⁴¹ "General Observations, Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1858," *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 298.

¹⁴² "Catholic School Returns," JHA 1866, Appendix, 473.

¹⁴³ "General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools," JHA 1867, Appendix, 687.

¹⁴⁴ "Report Upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools for the Year 1865," JHA 1866, Appendix, 469.

schools in Ireland or England, noting that the reason was due to the efforts of the Sisters: "the proficiency attained by the pupils in every thing taught in these Schools evinced the very great care and trouble taken in their tuition."¹⁴⁵

Part of the reason for a seemingly better education in the convent schools was due to the fact that the Sisters had higher academic standards. The Catholic Board's standard for learning in the nineteenth century was very low, with no system of uniform grading or testing. In the Catholic elementary schools, the highest standards amounted simply to 'reading with ease and fluency,' writing dictation and learning the basic rules of grammar.¹⁴⁶ At the convent schools, however, student achievement was held to a very high standard and was showcased publicly. Annual displays, for example, reinforced the capability of the teachers in the public mind. The Presentation Convent presented its first public Exhibition in June 1857, displaying the students' fancy work including such items as flowers, baskets, gloves, cushions, lace, crochet and embroidery work.¹⁴⁷ Academic achievements also formed part of the exhibition, displaying works of writing and ciphering.¹⁴⁸

Catholic schools run by the teaching orders also held public examinations, which were attended by members of the clergy, parents and members of the public. This practice began in the late 1840s with the monks at the Orphan Asylum. In March 1849, for example, the monks held oral public exams for about six hundred students of various ages

¹⁴⁵ "General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools," *JHA 1865*, Appendix, 536; "Return of Convent Schools in the Diocese of St. John's," *JHA 1862*, Appendix, 323.

¹⁴⁶ Phillip McCann, Schooling in a Fishing Society, Education and Economic Conditions in Newfoundland and Labrador 1836-1986 (St. John's: Institute for Economic and Social Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1994), 117.

¹⁴⁷ Patriot, 29 June 1857.

¹⁴⁸ Patriot, 12 December 1859.

on a variety of subjects ranging from reading and writing to navigation.¹⁴⁹ Students received prizes for the high grades in geography, grammar, English history, writing and dictation.¹⁵⁰ In the 1880s, the Christian Brothers also held public examinations once or twice a year, during which students were questioned by the Brothers and distinguished guests.¹⁵¹

What effect better instruction had in terms of an overall improvement in literacy, however, must be qualified. Reports only reflected the performance of children attending school, which was still low. In 1875, Inspector Maurice Fenelon recounted a visit to a lower class neighbourhood in the city where he inquired of families with children who had arrived at "the age of maturity" how many could read and write. In nine cases out of ten, he reported, the answer was "some of us can read a little, but none can write." Fenelon pointed out that this was due to low attendance and the carelessness of parents, who placed no value on education.¹⁵² A large number of Catholic children, then, remained below an acceptable level of literacy.

4.6 Curriculum

For most of the nineteenth century there was no standard curriculum set for Newfoundland board schools. The Education Acts did attempt to formalize the curriculum and standardize achievements in elementary education, but this was not strictly enforced, and some Boards tailored these guidelines or simply chose to ignore

¹⁴⁹ Newfoundlander, 5 April 1849.

¹⁵⁰ Newfoundlander, 6 August 1857.

¹⁵¹ Coldrey, *Faith and Fatherland*, 22. These examinations were usually attended by the Governor and members of the public. Slattery to Holland, *SP* #129, 9 June 1889.

¹⁵² From a special BIS meeting to consider the reports of the teachers and also the report of the Orphan Asylum School Committee, *BIS Minutes*, 24 January 1875.

them.¹⁵³ The 1858 Education Act was the first to make an attempt at some form of regulation, stating that a uniform course of instruction in the Schools would be established. Under the new provisions, all elementary schools were required to teach 'the three R's' as well as English Grammar. In addition, if they wished, schools could also offer geography, history and navigation.¹⁵⁴ A 1876 Act expanded the curriculum, basing it on that of English elementary schools. Now, geography, grammar, history and navigation were required subjects. The Act also introduced a formal and uniform system of grading, also based on standards in English elementary schools. Superintendents of Education formally classified each school according to the achievement of their students based on a stipulated "Standards for the Grading of Schools."¹⁵⁵

Formal changes did nothing much to alter the curriculum of the majority of the schools in St. John's under the management of the Religious, which had already offered these "extra" subjects since their establishment. Between 1840 and the 1860s, the curriculum of the Presentation Convent schools included history, natural history, geography, globes and drawing.¹⁵⁶ By the 1860s new subjects were added including book keeping, geometry and algebra.¹⁵⁷ In the 1840s and 1850s, the younger boys at the Orphan Asylum learned the three R's as well as basic geography. There, the lower school was intended to prepare students for the middle class in which they were taught "the higher branches of an English education," including algebra, trigonometry, navigation

¹⁵³ McCann, Schooling in a Fishing Society, 316-7; Frederick Rowe, Education and Culture in Newfoundland (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1976), 21.

¹⁵⁴ The Act was passed on 10 May and was enforced beginning on 30 June 1858. It was published as a supplement to the local newspaper, *Royal Gazette* on 1 June 1858.

¹⁵⁵ McCann, Schooling in a Fishing Society, 316-7.

¹⁵⁶ "Bishop Fleming's Letter Respecting Presentation Convent School," JHA 1848, Appendix, 369.

¹⁵⁷ Presentation Archives, St. John's (PASJ), 6/102/6.

and surveying.¹⁵⁸ This was also the case with the Board schools under the supervision of the Mercy Sisters. As in the Presentation schools, students could take history, globes and drawing.¹⁵⁹ The Christian Brothers offered much the same as the convent schools.¹⁶⁰ In the first, or primary, school students were taught the alphabet. In the second they learned to read and write, and in the third they were taught the three R's. The most senior students studied navigation, geometry and drawing, as well as history and geography. Other subjects included book keeping, geometry, navigation, algebra, drawing and vocal music.¹⁶¹

The orders designed their curriculum to meet the daily needs of specific classes in St. John's. Middle class girls at Mercy Convent School on Military Road, for example, studied subjects found in the other convent schools, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography and the use of globes. The Sisters also taught needlework to provide them with the basic skills needed to be good wives and mothers. The program, however, was meant to go beyond practicality by providing a proper 'lady's' education, so girls could also take French, Italian and music.¹⁶²

While the Presentation Sisters' curriculum also aimed to prepare girls to be future wives and mothers as well, it emphasized the practical skills that lower, working class girls required for everyday life. In addition to the main core of subjects, the Sisters focused on teaching needlework, spinning, cooking, knitting and weaving. This actually surpassed what was offered in their Irish convent schools, as fancy work and embroidery

¹⁵⁸ "General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools, JHA 1859, Appendix, 342-3.

¹⁵⁹ Return of the Convent Schools, JHA 1866, Appendix, 498-9 and JHA 1867, Appendix, 710-11.

¹⁶⁰ By 1898 further additions had been made with courses in French, electricity and magnetism, chemistry and physics. Penney, "A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations," 120.

¹⁶¹ Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, 22.

¹⁶² Newfoundland Indicator, 30 March 1844.

were not usually taught in Ireland.¹⁶³ In the 1840s, the Presentation Sisters even established their own industrial school where girls were taught knitting, needle work and spinning.¹⁶⁴ The school had its very own loom, which the children learned to use to become proficient in weaving. Bishop Mullock was impressed with the benefits of these classes, stating that in fact "many of the poorer children are entirely clothed in their own work."¹⁶⁵ The vast majority of girls took advantage of the practical instruction offered by the Presentation Sisters. In the 1870s for example, nearly all the girls in their schools were taking needlework. At the main convent school in 1870, the average attendance was 350, 300 of whom were doing needlework.¹⁶⁶ This was also the case at the Riverhead school where, in 1875, 200 out of 300 girls were learning this skill.¹⁶⁷

That lower class girls, and perhaps their parents as well, saw practical skills as the most important aspect of their education is shown by the fact that only a small number of girls at the Presentation-run schools studied history and drawing. At the main school in 1861 only 36 out of 700 students were studying history, and only thirty learning drawing. In 1864, the number studying history and drawing decreased to thirty girls.¹⁶⁸ A year later, the number increased to fifty students studying history, but only seventeen were taking drawing.¹⁶⁹ This was also the pattern at the Mercy-run St. Bridget's school, also catering to the lower class. Out of a total of 338 enrolled in 1865, no girls were studying

¹⁶³ "Return of Presentation Convent School for the Year 1858. Diocese of St. John's," *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 347.

¹⁶⁴ "Bishop Fleming's Letter Respecting Presentation Convent School," JHA 1848, Appendix, 369.

¹⁶⁵ "Report of Roman Catholic Board of Education," JHA 1851, Appendix, 85.

¹⁶⁶ Return of the Convent Schools, JHA, 1871, Appendix, 610-11.

¹⁶⁷ Return of the Convent Schools, JHA, 1875, Appendix, 350-1.

¹⁶⁸ Return of the Convent Schools, JHA 1862, Appendix, 323 and JHA 1865, Appendix, 534-5.

¹⁶⁹ Return of the Convent Schools, JHA 1866, Appendix, 498-9.

history or drawing, and the following year only 30 students took history.¹⁷⁰ This increased a little in 1870, as 150 out of 300 were studying history, but by 1875 the numbers had again declined to only 31.¹⁷¹

In a desire to provide a practical education, aspects of the curriculum of the Board schools were specifically tailored to meet the needs of Newfoundland's economy and society. For example, girls at the Mercy and Presentation schools were taught navigation and the use of globes. The Sisters viewed this as an essential component of the education of a country which depended upon the sea. This addition seemed to reflect the desire to create well-rounded young women who had an education equal to that of the boys.¹⁷² This, however, would hardly be a practical skill that a young girl from any class would require, because a woman would never become a sea captain, or seafarer. That girls obviously saw it as impractical is evidenced by the fact that only a very small number in the Sister's schools in the 1860s and 1870s actually learned globes.¹⁷³ In fact, in many years none took it at all.¹⁷⁴

Such skills, however, were practical for boys who were likely to become involved in some way in the cod or seal fisheries. Students at the Orphan Asylum School, for example, studied the basics of navigation, and the school had a separate industrial department where they learned how to mend and make nets. This was quite useful knowledge in a place where children had a supporting role to play in their family's

¹⁷⁰ Return of the Convent Schools, JHA 1866, Appendix, 498-9 and JHA 1867, Appendix, 710-11.

¹⁷¹ Return of the Convent Schools JHA 1871, Appendix, 610-11 and JHA 1876, Appendix, 350-1.

¹⁷² Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 115-6; Newfoundlander, 13 June 1861.

¹⁷³ Return of the Convent Schools, JHA 1866, Appendix, 498-9 and JHA 1867, Appendix, 710-11.

¹⁷⁴ Return of the Convent Schools JHA 1862, Appendix, 323; JHA 1865, Appendix, 534-5; JHA 1866,

Appendix, 498-9; JHA 1867, Appendix, 710-11; JHA 1871, Appendix, 610-11; JHA, 1876, Appendix, 350-1.

involvement in the fishing industry, and often missed school in the summer months to do so.¹⁷⁵ The BIS believed that attendance in the Net Room was very important, not only because it taught them a skill "so useful and so necessary in the business of the country," but because it fostered "industrious habits."¹⁷⁶ In contrast to the girls, these skills had indeed proven useful as some of these boys went on to become navigators in the seal fishery and masters of trading vessels.¹⁷⁷

The objectives of the Christian Brothers were much like those of the Presentation Order because they both educated the poorer class. In fact, it was the example of the Presentation Order in Ireland that inspired Edmund Rice to do similar work for poor boys in Ireland in the first decade of the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁸ The stated objective of the Brothers was to provide Catholic children who had poor economic prospects with the appropriate skills to obtain employment, instilling them with self-respect and making them aware of their potentially useful role in society.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the Brothers changed the prospects for many poor Catholic boys in St. John's and, by the 1880s, parents had tangible proof of the benefits of sending their children to the school. In 1884, Brother Holland reported that many of the pupils were indeed finding employment: "you will be glad to hear that the demand for our boys in the Several Establishments of the City is on the increase. I trust soon to have them in every Establishment from the railway Office to Riverhead. I have received promises from some of our Merchants who have not given

¹⁷⁵ BIS Minutes, 17 February, 1857.

¹⁷⁶ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1859.

¹⁷⁷ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1845 and 1846.

¹⁷⁸ Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, 15.

¹⁷⁹ Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, 21, 39-40, 89.

places."¹⁸⁰ Word soon spread through the city that boys educated by the Brothers were excellent employees.¹⁸¹

The boys themselves felt that they had greatly benefited from the Brothers' instruction. Reflecting on his time at St. Patrick's, politician and journalist P.T. McGrath¹⁸² remarked that before the Brothers arrived, education was backward, and "the opportunity for Catholic boys of obtaining a sufficiency to fit them for anything above the class of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' were very limited." McGrath noted that the arrival of the Brothers meant that Catholics could receive an excellent education for free, which would place them "on an equality with those of other sections of the country."¹⁸³ Such instruction opened up new opportunities for these students both at home and abroad, as evidenced by the fact that so many ex-pupils of the Brothers went on to become successful leaders in all aspects of society in Newfoundland and abroad. McGrath himself became very successful and many other students were to be found amongst the leading and commercial men of the city as well as members of the Municipal and Legislative Government. In this way, Mullock's desire to have an educated Catholic youth that would take a lead role in the future of the country was indeed fulfilled.

¹⁸⁰ Contained in a letter from Brother Fleming, *BIS Minutes*, 17 November 1884.

¹⁸¹ Fleming to Holland, SP #81, 3 December 1884.

¹⁸² P.T. McGrath (1868-1929) was educated by the Christian Brothers and found great success in journalism. He served as editor of the *Evening Herald*, in addition to being the Newfoundland correspondent for the London *Times* and writing for numerous other publications. He later founded the *Evening Chronicle*, but soon merged it with the *Herald* of which he had become proprietor. McGrath also became involved in politics, ultimately becoming President of the Legislative Council. His archival research was a critical part of Newfoundland's case in the Labrador boundary dispute with Canada, and he was knighted for his contributions to the war effort in 1918, which included chairmanship of the Food Control Board. Melvin Baker, "McGrath, Sir Patrick Thomas," *DCB*, vol. 15.

¹⁸³ Congregation of the Christian Brothers, *Christian Brothers' Jubilee [in Newfoundland] 1876-1926* (St. John's: Robinson & Co., 1926), 74.

There was, however, a limit to available opportunities. Upon a visit to the Brothers' school in October 1886, Governor William Des Voeux remarked that the provision of a sound, free education was resulting in a glut of highly trained young men who could not find enough jobs in the city. He noted that there were too many clerks already, and as a result many would be forced to engage in manual labour, and "be dissatisfied for the rest of their lives."¹⁸⁴ What he did not say, however, was that this was also likely to result in emigration, which was indeed occurring at the time he wrote.

Nevertheless, the Brothers' instruction did offer many lower class boys a chance at social and economic advancement. This was echoed long into the twentieth century, and noted in a poem written by "D.C." which appeared in the Christian Brothers' centenary volume in 1976. He wrote: "Now is the "Brothers' boy" of Newfoundland/ Foremost among her statesmen and compeers/With leaders of all ranks whose works outstand; Bringers of honour to her through the years/Erect he walks oppressed no more with fears; Of backwardness, that Old Man of the Sea,/Who held us long enthralled and brought the jeers/ Upon our heads of incapacity/While talent hid in wait of brighter days to be [...] Made poor mens' sons heirs to their country's dower/Of honours high to win, in seats of fame and power."¹⁸⁵ No longer would fishermens' sons be resigned to follow their fathers' path and some were not choosing to do so.

¹⁸⁴ William Des Voeux, My Colonial Service in British Guiana, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Fiji, Australia, Newfoundland, and Hong Kong, with Interludes, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1903), 158-9.

¹⁸⁵ Christian Brothers Jubilee, 122-3.

4.7 Textbooks

There was no uniform set of books used in the Catholic elementary schools, which were often forced to use whatever texts they could obtain.¹⁸⁶ An inadequate supply of textbooks was a problem that would continue to plague Catholic boards for many years.¹⁸⁷ There was no local book repository or bookstore to hold and distribute books to the various schools in the city, and this was a major stumbling block in terms of acquiring books regularly and quickly.¹⁸⁸ In 1861 for example, Kelly reported that not only was he forced to send to Halifax for textbooks, but even then only half of the number requested could be obtained.¹⁸⁹ Such a practice also increased their price. In the mid-1840s Bishop Fleming, Chairman of the Catholic School Board at the time, complained that the high cost of books meant that the Board could only purchase a small number, but not enough to distribute to all the schools.¹⁹⁰ In 1859, Kelly reported that many of the schools were only "tolerably supplied with books" and many only had spelling and arithmetic texts.¹⁹¹ Any improvement by the 1870s and 1880s was small-scale and even in the late 1880s some schools in St. John's were scantily provided with books.¹⁹² However, even when

¹⁸⁶ "Report of Rev. Kyran Walsh on Catholic Schools in Placentia," *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 353-4; "Report Upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1861," *JHA 1862*, Appendix, 293-4; "General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools," *JHA 1863*, Appendix, 346.

¹⁸⁶ "General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools," JHA 1864, Appendix, 513.

¹⁸⁷ Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 62.

¹⁸⁸ Kelly remarked in his 1862 report that the government was taking the initiative in establishing a book depository for Catholic and Protestant schools, pointed out that it had ignored this major problem for a long time. "General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools," *JHA 1863*, Appendix, 346.

¹⁸⁹ "Report Upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1861," *JHA 1862*, Appendix, 293-4.
¹⁹⁰ "Report of Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, Chairman of the Catholic Board of Education," *JHA*

¹⁹⁰ "Report of Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, Chairman of the Catholic Board of Education," *JHA 1846*, Appendix, 84-5.

¹⁹¹ "School Return filled by the teacher and certified by the Board for transmission to the Colonial Secretary through the Inspector of Schools," *JHA 1860*, Appendix, 291.

¹⁹² This was the case at St. Peter's School in the west end of the city. Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, 183.

availability became a little easier, parents often would not buy them, most likely because of cost.¹⁹³ It was often the schools that the poorer classes attended, such as St. Peter's and St. Joseph's, that were badly supplied.¹⁹⁴

The government did provide a total of £150 annually to be divided amongst the various boards to purchase those textbooks used in the Irish National Schools.¹⁹⁵ The choice does seem to have been due to price as they were cheap, despite the fact that they had to be imported.¹⁹⁶ However, more importantly, the decision was based on the contents of the books. Education Acts before 1852 stipulated that no books could be used in the elementary schools without the consent of the respective Boards. The Acts also stated that any books that taught the particular doctrines of one sect to the exclusion of another could not be used.¹⁹⁷ While the Irish National School textbooks served this purpose as they were not denomination-specific, that is not to say that they were devoid of religious material and themes. The textbooks "were sufficiently religious to be adaptable to denominational purposes while being sufficiently neutral dogmatically to offend almost no one." In Ireland, Catholics and Presbyterians voiced no opposition to the use of these books in the schools, and they were used by the Catholic orders.¹⁹⁸ Such was the case in Newfoundland, where the books were used by both the Catholic and the Protestant

¹⁹³ "Report Upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1875," JHA 1876, Appendix, 308.

Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 129, 183.

¹⁹⁵ Rowe. The History of Education in Newfoundland, 77.

¹⁹⁶ The texts became the preferred books used in Ireland not only because of their content, but because they were offered to schools at reduced prices. It was for both these reasons that they also became the preferred standard text in England as well, becoming the most popular and widely used by 1861. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, 228-30, 239.

¹⁹⁷ An Act for the Encouragement of Education in this Colony 1836 and An Act for the Encouragement of Education in this Colony, 1843.

¹⁹⁸ Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, 235, 237; Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, 27.

Boards.¹⁹⁹ There was no overall change in texts in the second half of the century. Reading, Arithmetic, English Grammar and Geography books from the National Board in Ireland were considered to be "as good as any published, and by far the cheapest that can be procured." In addition, they were already widely used in the Board schools.²⁰⁰

The primary purpose of these books was to ensure literacy and encourage some proficiency in the areas of mathematics, science and literature. They did little to inform students about Ireland and contained few references to Irish geography, history or culture. In fact, the primary reason that the British government liked the texts was because they avoided controversy, particularly with respect to certain contentious events in Irish history.²⁰¹ However, as with the issue of religion, this also ensured that the texts could reach the widest possible audience, especially given that they were used in schools in England as well. Presumably, teachers could include any extra material they wished, but this is difficult to quantify. There are some indications that the orders in St. John's tried to make their students aware of things "Irish," but given that the majority of Sisters were Irish-born this stands to reason. At the Presentation school for example, some of the

¹⁹⁹ These books were used in several schools in St. John's and various areas of Newfoundland, and are documented in the annual Reports of the various Protestant School Boards. See for example "Report of the Protestant Central Board of Education for the Years 1852 and 1853, General Instruction" *JHA 1855*, Appendix, 80; "Report of Schools in the District of Burgeo," *JHA 1858*, Appendix, 574-5 and "Report of the Carbonear Church School, Harbor Grace and St. John's," *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 265-6, 278; "Report of the Protestant Central Board of Education for the Years 1852 and 1853," *JHA 1855*, Appendix, 80; "Report of the Protestant Central Board of Education for the Years 1852 and 1853," *JHA 1855*, Appendix, 80; "Report of the Protestant Central Board of Education for the Years 1852 and 1853," *JHA 1855*, Appendix, 80; "Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year Ending 30 June 1862," *JHA 1863*, Appendix, 309.

 ²⁰⁰ These books were used in St. John's schools. "Report of the Protestant Central Board of Education for the Years 1852 and 1853," *JHA 1855*, Appendix, 80; "Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1858," *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 277; "Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year Ending 30 June 1862," *JHA 1863*, Appendix, 309.
 ²⁰¹ Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment*, 228-30, 239.

embroidery work included such symbols as the Irish Harp.²⁰² Such evidence, however, is scattered and fragmentary.

The Christian Brothers were unique, however, in that they used their own textbooks, which were quite different from those of the National Board. The Brothers' books had already been in limited use mostly in a few Catholic schools outside St. John's.²⁰³ In the 1860s, the Orphan Asylum also used a few of their more advanced books along with other texts.²⁰⁴ The difference was not so much in the texts themselves, but in the general philosophy that underpinned the instruction at the Brothers' schools, which differed fundamentally from that of the National Board. While the National Schools and their books implicitly promoted the assimilation of Ireland within the United Kingdom, the Christian Brothers emphasized the distinctiveness of Catholic Ireland.²⁰⁵ Quite controversial in Ireland, the texts were written by a small group of Brothers and asserted a strong Irish identity with two common themes: a pro-Catholic view that could be anti-English, and a concerted effort to inject ideas of a Catholic nature.²⁰⁶ This tone was reflective of a time of reform and reinvigoration of the Catholic Church under Archbishop Paul Cullen.²⁰⁷ The Brothers were quite different from other teachers in Ireland in the

²⁰² Patriot, 29 June 1857.

²⁰³ There is a reference to their use in Placentia in 1858. Rev. Kyran Walsh, Chairman of the Catholic Board in the area, reported that "the books used are the Christian Brothers' Class Books, and none others are permitted to be used in the school." "Report of Rev. Kyran Walsh on Catholic Schools in Placentia," *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 353-4; "Report Upon the Inspection of Catholic Schools in Newfoundland, for the Year 1861," *JHA 1862*, Appendix, 293-4; "General Observations of the Inspector of Catholic Schools," *JHA 1863*, Appendix, 346.

²⁰⁴ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1863.

²⁰⁵ Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, 66.

²⁰⁶ Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, 57, 60, 62.

²⁰⁷ Cullen had an anti-English and anti-Protestant outlook. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, 47, 50, 53.

nineteenth century simply because they taught Irish history, the Irish language and promoted aspects of Ireland's culture such as songs and ballads.²⁰⁸

In 1876, large numbers of young Newfoundland boys were suddenly exposed to this very assertive Irish and nationalist material and instruction, which must have been quite a change from their previous lessons. They now read works by Irish poets and literary figures such as Thomas Moore.²⁰⁹ Their *Historical Class-Book* outlined general world history along with Irish and British history, and related this material to the history of Catholicism in Ireland and its proliferation throughout the world by Irish migrants. The lesson was to foster attachment and fidelity to Catholicism, "which a glorious ancestry has, through revolving centuries, transmitted to us pure and inviolate."²¹⁰

Later texts used by the Brothers were even more explicitly nationalist in tone.²¹¹ Students in St. John's were taught the central Irish nationalist argument that had existed since Grattan and Tone: "[that] Irishmen, claiming the right to make their own laws, should never rest until their native Parliament is restored."²¹² The primary purpose of a later *Irish History Reader* was to chronicle the "chief events in the history of our [Irish] country, grouped for the most part around the names of great Irishmen." However, the

²⁰⁸ Many of the Brothers spoke Irish, but there is no evidence that it was taught in their schools in Ireland before 1878, and an Irish language textbook did not appear until the 1890s. After 1878, however, in the context of the Irish language revival, some Brothers began to teach Irish. This decision was spurred by the establishment of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language established in Ireland in 1876, a society that emphasized the role of the Irish language within the education system. The Brothers were both involved and supportive of the Society. At this time, the Brothers were the only teachers or religious order in Ireland who undertook language instruction. Coldrey, *Faith and Fatherland*, 154, 156, 159, 198, 207. ²⁰⁹ Coldrey, *Faith and Fatherland*, 140, 145.

²¹⁰ Christian Brothers' Historical Class-Book Comprising an Abridgement of Fredet's Ancient and Modern History and Outlines of English and Modern History, 3rd ed. (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1884), iii-iv, AMSFSJ.

²¹¹ For the contributions of the Brothers to Irish militant nationalist thought see Michael Flanagan, For the Triumph of the Patriot Arms: the Christian Brothers, Our Boys, and Militant Nationalism in Irish popular culture, 1914-1922 (Ft. Lauderdale, FL: Nova Southeastern University, 2001).

²¹² From the Christian Brothers' Irish History Reader (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1906), vii, AMSFSJ.

text also included poetry by Irish poets intended to "keep brightly burning the torch of the love of country kindled at the hearth of every Irish home." The stated teaching philosophy was to be much broader, noting that the teacher should impart his own knowledge of Ireland and Irish History to the students, and "dwell with pride, and in glowing words on Ireland's glorious past, her great men and their deeds; her devotion through all the centuries to the Faith brought to her by her National Apostle."²¹³

The extent to which this material had an impact on St. John's students perhaps depended on how interested they were in the material. Brother Slattery reported in 1899 that the native-born did indeed have an interest in Ireland, and that "the old Irish here notice the great change wrought in this matter by the [Brothers]. I think reading books have done it all, but whatever the cause our boys are as Irish as any by the Shannon or the Lee."²¹⁴ This might be an exaggeration, but that the Brothers raised an awareness of, and perhaps interest in, Ireland through their teaching seems likely. This did not mean, though, that the Brothers intended to replace a Newfoundland identity with an Irish one. There is no evidence that the Brothers tried to do so. Much depended on the context. In Ireland, the Brothers' texts and schools were a means to fight against what they, and other nationalists, believed to be a concerted effort on the part of the British government at the political, social and cultural assimilation of Ireland into the United Kingdom. Their books and the philosophy behind their teachings must be seen in that particular Irish political context. Outside of Ireland, such efforts to instil an Irish, or even nationalist, identity would have had less immediacy and took on a different meaning. In fact, in some

²¹³ Irish History Reader, v-vi, AMSFSJ.
²¹⁴ Slattery to Holland, SP #132, 24 June 1889.

respects, it seemed as if the Brothers were being integrated into Newfoundland society. A student of St. Patrick's Hall noted of Brother Kennedy, a native of Limerick who taught from 1883 to 1916, that while Kennedy had strong ties to Ireland, he claimed that he soon adopted Newfoundland as his home and developed a deep affection for it.²¹⁵ If the boys were influenced by the "Irishness" of the Brothers, then the Brothers were influenced by the "Newfoundlandness" of their new home.

4.8 Secondary Education

While a practical elementary education provided poorer Catholics with the means of social and economic mobility, middle class Catholics were provided with the same opportunity through the attainment of a secondary education. In the 1830s and early 1840s, Catholics and Protestants had to go abroad to obtain a secondary education.²¹⁶ In 1844, however, the government established a nondenominational academy, but neither Bishop Fleming nor Anglican Bishop Edward Feild supported it. Specifically, Fleming did not agree with the provision that he would not have any administrative control. Due to the opposition of both the Catholic and Anglican bishops, the government decided that the Academy would be divided into three denominational branches, each with its own board and master.²¹⁷ In addition to charging high fees, the separate academies received large grants from the government.²¹⁸ The Catholic Academy was opened in 1850 by John Valentine Nugent at his home. While it seemed popular in the beginning with an initial

²¹⁵ Reminiscences by "S.R," Christian Brothers Jubilee, 79.

²¹⁶ Brother Joseph B. Darcy, Noble to Our View: The Saga of St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's Newfoundland Canada, The First 150 Years 1856-2006 (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2007), 1.

²¹⁷ Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 79.

²¹⁸ Rowe, Education and Culture in Newfoundland, 20; Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland, 79.

enrollment of 47 pupils, its existence was short, closing in July 1856. Although its closure was primarily due to the fact that Nugent accepted the position of High Sheriff and did not wish to continue running it, low enrollment was another factor.²¹⁹

The opening of these academies, and a new focus on higher education, coincided with the beginning of Mullock's episcopacy in 1850. Mullock believed that the closure of Nugent's school created an opportunity for him to open a College where young boys could be given a classical education and be "prepared by a solid, a refined, and a Catholic Education for any situation in life." He even hoped that someday this would lead to the establishment of a Catholic University.²²⁰ The main thrust behind Mullock's plan had much to do with his broader belief that education was central to Newfoundland's development and, more specifically, of native Catholics in it. He, like many nineteenth century Newfoundland nationalists, believed that Newfoundland was destined to greatness based on its natural resources and technological advances. The coming generations of Newfoundland Catholics, he argued, would be instrumental in leading the country and so they would need a proper education. The furthering of education, in Mullock's eyes, was an act of nation-building. To this end, Mullock changed the function of St. Bonaventure's College, which had been a seminary, into a college to provide young men with a classical education.

Mullock realized that getting large-scale support for secondary education would not be easy because there was a general perception in Newfoundland that secondary education was not necessary, due to the limited economic opportunities available in the

²¹⁹ Darcy, Noble to Our View, 3, 7, 9-10.

²²⁰ Patriot, 23 February 1857.

colony. In his pastoral in February 1864, he reminded Catholics that education was the only means for native Catholics to advance in their own country: "if the rising Catholic youth be left without the means of a refined education, they must sink in their own land [...] native Catholics will be confined to the humblest occupations, excluded in a great measure, from the learned professions, from every high and honourable position."²²¹ He reminded them that the benefits of the College would not be immediate stating "the great benefit of the Institution will not be apparent for several years, when the generation now obtaining a high education will become active members of society."222 It was education, along with sobriety and industry, he argued, that could elevate Catholics in Newfoundland because "an uneducated people will be always poor and oppressed."²²³

St. Bonaventure's College was divided between day students and boarders from outside the city, the latter living in dormitories. The curriculum was quite impressive and required a varied and knowledgeable staff of teachers.²²⁴ Students were given a commercial education, but the core of the curriculum was geared towards more of a classical education. Students studied Church history, English grammar, spelling and composition, geography, English History, Latin, Greek algebra, geometry, navigation, astronomy as well as music.²²⁵ The curriculum was similar to the College's Protestant counterparts whose object was to provide a literary and scientific education rather than one exclusively for the learned professions. The Protestant Academies also provided a

²²¹ Mullock's pastoral letter, 1864, AASJ 104/1/42.

²²² "Academy, St. John's (Roman Catholic Branch) for the year ending 31st December, 1859," JHA 1860, Appendix, 293.

Patriot, 9 February 1864.

²²⁴ "St. John's Academy, Roman Catholic Branch, For the Year ending 31st December, 1860," *JHA 1860*, Session Two, Appendix, 460.

²²⁵ "Academy, St. John's (Roman Catholic Branch) for the year ending 31st December, 1859," JHA 1860, Appendix, 293.

classical education that included subjects such as classical literature, history and foreign languages.²²⁶

Mullock, however, overestimated the response towards such an institution. Those wishing to attend had to pay, and since the Catholic middle class was small, the majority of parents simply could not afford it. In addition, there would have been only a small number who saw any practicality in such an education. This drastically lowered the number of boys who could benefit from the College, which was reflected in its low enrollment figures. ²²⁷ By 1876, only 27 students were enrolled at St. Bonaventure's and the number continued to decline into the late 1880s.²²⁸ One reason was that some members of the Catholic elite, such as Dr. Edward Shea, continued to send their boys to Ireland to receive a secondary education, despite the fact that it was much more expensive. Shea complained that it cost him around £150 a year to do so.²²⁹ The difference in cost is striking given that at the College in the late 1870s and early 1880s, boarders only paid £35, and day-boys even less.²³⁰

The reason why Shea and others chose to send their sons abroad was probably due to the perception that an education provided in Ireland and England was superior to that at home, as well as the importance of attending a prestigious and reputable institution. St. Bonaventure's College had not yet earned such a prestigious reputation. In fact, it was

²²⁶ The report of the Church of England Academy for 1851 showed that there was an average of 19 students, 13 of which were in the upper or classical classes, the rest younger. Students learned English, Latin, Greek, French, Geometry and Algebra, as well as Scriptures. "Report of the Church of England Academy for 1851," *JHA 1852*, Appendix, 89-90.

²²⁶ "Copy of the Report of the Directors of the General Protestant Academy," *JHA 1853*, Appendix, 110-11. ²²⁷ *Patriot*, 15 February 1858.

²²⁸ Darcy, Noble to Our View, 14-8.

²²⁹ Fleming to Holland, SP #123, 8 May 1889.

²³⁰ In 1851, for example, fees amounted to £82. "Report of Roman Catholic Academy, St. John's, for 1851," *JHA 1852*, Appendix, 91; Darcy, *Noble to Our View*, 28, 41-2.

just the opposite. There were many problems with the College, much of it having to do with its administration. Deans and presidents came and went, creating an atmosphere of instability. The greatest blow came in 1869 when Mullock passed away. Bishop Power did not do much to improve the College or provide guidance, instead focusing his energies on obtaining the Christian Brothers.²³¹ In addition, there were tangible reasons why parents would not want to send their children to the College. The building was in very poor condition due to a lack of proper maintenance and care. Slattery complained that there was no supervision or management of the dormitories or refectory, and that the priests let the building "mind itself." The rooms were full of dirt and dust, broken pieces of crockery, and a lack of bedding that was sure to result in illness and there was an "untidy appearance of all things around." Once parents learned of its terrible condition it was no wonder that they refused to send their boys there.²³²

All of this was compounded by the fact that the College was overshadowed by the Brothers' school after 1876. Only two years later, the College began losing students to the Brothers' school, and even those who could pay opted to have their children educated by the Brothers. Brother Holland remarked that their school continued to be patronized by 'respectables' and the rich, while the College was being deserted. Bishop Power was so upset, Holland reported, that "he primes his priests to tell the people, even from the pulpit, the College is for those who can pay." This had no effect, Holland noting that as long as the Brothers were willing to accept the pupils, parents would send them. He was in a precarious situation as he had to deal with the parents: "I have battled for the past

²³¹ Darcy, Noble to Our View, 23-5.

²³² Slattery to Holland, SP #129, 9 June 1889; Slattery to Maxwell, SP #138, 3 September 1889.

twelve months" with the parents of children in the College. Holland noted that the priests had taken a hand in the commotion: "The priests have made a raid on the private schools, dispersed their scholars so that the poor children have no place to go, we will not receive any more."²³³ The co-existence of the College and St. Patrick's Hall sparked a competition for students. Writing in March 1884, Holland stated that the College was about to be remodelled and an addition added in what he believed was an obvious ploy to get more students: "they will stop at nothing to catch boys."²³⁴

In 1889, losing students and having given up hope that things could be turned around, Bishop Power and those on the College Board unanimously agreed that the best solution would be to transfer the management of St. Bonaventure's to the Brothers. The Board of Directors consisted of Power, the priests and teachers of the College, and members of the Catholic elite including Joseph Little, Thomas Talbot and William P. Walsh.²³⁵ On 9 October 1889, the Christian Brothers assumed formal control.²³⁶ Bishop Power offered the College to the Brothers unconditionally, and the Brothers took care to ensure that the buildings and land be legally signed over to them.²³⁷ The decision meant

²³³ Holland to McDonnell, SP #48, 24 January 1878.

²³⁴ Fleming to Holland, SP #63, 1 March 1884.

²³⁵ A list of Board Members is given in the *Newfoundland Almanac* for the years between 1880 and 1890. Many of the staff were in support of the decision because of low enrollment and the fact that the College was severely in debt. Power to Fleming, *SP* #116, 15 April 1889; Flood to Holland, *SP* #114, 14 April 1889.

 ²³⁶ James M. Fleming Sr., Chronological History of the Irish Catholic Church in Newfoundland and Labrador: the Important Church Events of the Parishes, Bishops, Priests and Religious on the Island (Newfoundland: Transcontinental, 2006), 48; Darcy, Noble to Our View, 29-30.
 ²³⁷ Fleming noted that this combined with the Holy Cross school in Riverhead, which opened in 1889,

²³⁷ Fleming noted that this combined with the Holy Cross school in Riverhead, which opened in 1889, would "give you property worth \$60 000, all registered and secured." Fleming to Maxwell, *SP* #117, 16 April 1889; Flood to Holland, *SP* #114, 14 April 1889.

that the Brothers would have a great deal of influence over the education of all classes of boys in the city. By the 1890s, they were teaching approximately 1000 boys of all ages.²³⁸

Brother Slattery suggested that it was "the people" who wanted the Brothers to take over St. Bonaventure's, arguing that the Bishop and the Board were simply voicing the wishes of the community.²³⁹ Certainly, members of the Catholic elite like Shea, who most stood to benefit, were strongly behind the decision. In fact, Shea, a very good friend and supporter of the Brothers, openly voiced his approval of the arrangement.²⁴⁰ The majority of the Catholic community probably would not have cared much since they could not afford to send their boys to the College. The Brothers were confident that they could make a good start of it, and had no doubt that a College under their direction would be a success.²⁴¹ The only hitch with the arrangement was that that their mission was to provide an elementary, not secondary, education. It was for that reason that Brother Maxwell, the Superior in Ireland at the time, was somewhat reticent. In addition, he was concerned that such an undertaking would be a tax upon the resources of the Order as it would require more Brothers to staff the school. He acquiesced because the Brothers in St. John's assured him that there was solid support for the move.²⁴²

There was some opposition to the takeover. Initially, a small number of the priests and staff of the College were humiliated and angry over the decision.²⁴³ One priest in particular, Father Michael Morris, was incensed. Morris was native-born and the son of

²³⁸ This was the combined total of students at St. Patrick's Hall, Holy Cross and the College. Power to Fleming, *SP* #164, 15 April 1889; Crehan to Maxwell, *SP* #164, 15 October 1890; Slattery to Maxwell, *SP* #170, 6 January 1891.

²³⁹ Fleming to Holland, SP #118, 16 April 1889.

²⁴⁰ Fleming to Holland, SP #123, 8 May 1889.

²⁴¹ Slattery to Holland, SP #119, 17 April 1889.

²⁴² Maxwell to Fleming, SP #125, 13 May 1889.

²⁴³ Slattery to Holland, SP #122, 30 April 1889.

prominent politician and businessman Edward Morris.²⁴⁴ Brother Flood reported that Morris was the most bitter over the decision, accusing Bishop Power of doing everything in his power to ruin the College.²⁴⁵ Morris was also upset that Bishop Power and the Board did not consult those priests not on the Board before they made their decision. The real reason was, however, that Morris wanted charge of the College himself and was upset that he did not get it.²⁴⁶

By May 1889, after the initial shock subsided, only Morris and a few nuns continued to lobby against the decision.²⁴⁷ When Power and Governor T.N. O'Brien visited the Brothers early that month, Morris made sure he accompanied them along with another priest, Father Scott. When the conversation eventually steered towards the issue of handing over the College, Morris could not restrain his indignation remarking "Your Excellency, he [Power] will soon give them the [Episcopal] Palace." To which Brother Fleming replied "When you do, My Lord, I said, "I will give you a good room."²⁴⁸ The comment also seems to imply that Morris was jealous of the Brothers' general popularity and, in particular, Power's and the elite's unwavering support of them. Slattery was quite aware that Morris, who wanted charge of the College himself, would not rest until he had it, characterizing him as "a most formidable and persevering opponent."²⁴⁹

Slattery was correct: Morris did not give up. By the end of May 1889 he started a campaign that pitted native priests against the Irish-born Brothers. The core of his argument was that the decision was designed to malign native priests who, he argued,

²⁴⁴ James K. Hiller, "Morris, Edward," DCB, vol. 11.

²⁴⁵ Flood to Holland, SP #121, 30 April 1889.

²⁴⁶ Slattery to Holland, SP #122, 30 April 1889; Slattery to Holland, SP #124, 8 May 1889.

²⁴⁷ Fleming to Holland, SP #123, 8 May 1889; Slattery to Holland, SP #124, 8 May 1889.

²⁴⁸ Fleming to Holland, SP #123, 8 May 1889.

²⁴⁹ Slattery to Holland, SP #124, 8 May 1889.

Irish-born Bishop Power never wanted. This failed to resonate with his fellow clerics or the Catholic community, who were strong supporters of the Brothers and the plan.²⁵⁰ It had in fact the opposite effect, even turning his friends against him, one pointing out that "if native Priests meant persons so troublesome as he, better not have them."²⁵¹ There was no clear native-versus-Irish divide to exploit and, by June, even the one or two native priests who had supported Morris left his side because of his "outlandish egotism."²⁵²

Morris, however, would not relent, even attempting to embarrass some of the Brothers' students in front of the Governor at their public examinations. His behaviour was so objectionable that he was reprimanded by Archdeacon Forristal. Morris denied it of course, but it was obvious to Power and Forristal, who were also in attendance, what his true intentions were.²⁵³ His last ditch attempt was to question the legality of the hand over, arguing that since the College was built by the people, Bishop Power had no real legal title to the building, only the property.²⁵⁴ He had some support on this matter from a few native priests in other parts of Newfoundland and from Rev. Howley, then Perfect Apostolic of St. George's. Once again, it seemed as if there was a hint of native versus Irish but, again, it was only a fringe few who probably did not like Power. Still, the threat was real enough. Slattery now worried that Howley, clearly in line to be the next Bishop, could in future very easily take the College away from them, if he so chose.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ Slattery to Holland, SP #132, 24 June 1889.

²⁵¹ Fleming to Holland, SP #127, 27 May 1889.

²⁵² Slattery to Holland, SP #129, 9 June 1889.

 $^{^{253}}$ These examinations were usually attended by the Governor and members of the public. Slattery to Holland, *SP* #129, 9 June 1889.

²⁵⁴ Fleming to Maxwell, SP #131, 12 June 1889.

²⁵⁵ Slattery to Holland, SP #132, 24 June 1889.

In early September 1889, some of the Brothers moved into St. Bonaventure's. There was no more opposition as the previous month Father Morris died of Typhoid fever.²⁵⁶ In fact, Slattery was surprised at how helpful the priests were in helping them once they took over the College.²⁵⁷ They even continued to walk on the grounds as they had before.²⁵⁸

By mid-October 1890, only a year after assuming control, the Brothers indeed turned the College around. This was evident in a new discipline and tighter administrative control, but was most evident in terms of enrollment numbers. The number of students, which had been very poor before, reached one hundred by 1891. By 1897 there were twelve boarders and 125 day-boys. This is striking when compared to the twelve day scholars and six boarders enrolled in September 1876.²⁵⁹ This was not a result of a change in fees, as they continued to remain low.²⁶⁰ Rather, the increase was due to a number of factors. As with their other school, some members of the Protestant elite also sent their boys to St. Bonaventure's. Slattery expected that there would be several applications from Protestant parents, pointing out that part of the problem was lack of room at Protestant Academies. For example, the Wesleyan Academy only had room for a handful of boarders.²⁶¹ The Brothers did admit some Protestants boarders and were supported by Power in the matter, Slattery pointing out that at some of the convents in Canada more than half the students were Protestants. Slattery records that they had no problems from

²⁵⁶ Fleming to Holland, *SP* #135, 20 August 1889.

²⁵⁷ Slattery to Maxwell, SP #145, 14 November 1889.

²⁵⁸ Slattery to Maxwell, SP #146, 25 November 1889.

²⁵⁹ Holland to McDonnell, SP #34, 6 September 1876; Darcy, Noble to Our View, 66.

²⁶⁰ When the College reopened in 1889, boarders paid \$160 and day-boys between \$12 and \$18 based on their class. At that time about \$5 was equal to £1. Darcy, *Noble to Our View*, 29 fn. 27, 41-2.

²⁶¹ Slattery to Holland, SP #129, 9 June 1889.

Protestant boys, and even those attending Protestant schools saluted the Brothers on the streets, while the Protestant merchants were some of their best friends.²⁶² One boy was the son of Robert J. Pinsent, Judge of the Supreme Court, and an active and prominent member of the Church of England in Newfoundland, sitting on the church synod and executive for many years.²⁶³ However, his wife was Catholic, and two of their daughters were Catholics, one of whom was a nun.²⁶⁴

The main reason for Protestant attendance was because the College quickly became known for academic excellence. Beginning in 1890, boys could study for the London University Matriculation Examination. While the Protestant Academies had already been doing so, boys at St. Bonaventure's had not. By the fall of that year, six of the Brothers' students were preparing for these exams. In 1892, all four St. Bonaventure's candidates passed the exams and one of them, Francis Connolly, was awarded the Jubilee Scholarship, established by the Newfoundland government for study at the London University.²⁶⁵ While the boys at the College had been successful, the three candidates from the Wesleyan Academy all failed. Such academic achievement was a great boon for the reputation of the College, and in the years that followed there emerged a friendly competition between the Catholic and Protestant Academies for the top honours.²⁶⁶

²⁶² Slattery to Holland, SP #122, 30 April 1889.

²⁶³ In fact, for his devoted services, he received official recognition from the Archbishop of Canterbury.David J. Davis, "Pinsent, Sir Robert John," *DCB*, vol. 12.

²⁶⁴ Slattery to Maxwell, SP #138, 3 September 1889.

²⁶⁵ Darcy, Noble to Our View, 54.

²⁶⁶ For a detailed description of the exams see Darcy, *Noble to Our View*, 57. Darcy makes the point that the heads of the Catholic, Wesleyan and Anglican Colleges worked together to secure government funding for prizes and supervised each other's exams. There was fairplay and openness, as all Colleges participated. He does acknowledge that feelings ran high at times and that when one College did better than the other there was great disappointment. He characterized this more as competitive spirit rather than anti-religious feeling. Darcy, *Noble to Our View*, 54, 57-9

St. Bonaventure's College could now claim to provide as good an education as the Protestant Academies in the city, and members of the elite were happy to send their sons there. For example, Irish-born teacher and politician Maurice Fenelon and St. John's MHA Henry Renouf both sent their sons there. In fact, John Fenelon would go on to pass the Matriculation exams and win a scholarship in 1897.²⁶⁷ The list of graduates from the College includes some of the most prominent men in Newfoundland in both the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Amongst the names are three premiers, and several Newfoundland Archbishops and Bishops, such as Archbishop Michael Francis Howley (1904-14) and E.P. Roche (1915-50).²⁶⁸

Catholic girls were also given the opportunity to receive a secondary education in the second half of the century. In the early 1880s, with several elementary schools, the Mercy Sisters decided to expand their work to include secondary education. The Sisters purchased a country estate on the western edge of the city formerly owned by Philip Francis Little, called Littledale. It was then renovated to fit the requirements of a school, with the addition a schoolroom and a small dormitory for boarders. In November 1883, Littledale was officially opened and became a boarding school for young girls from all parts of Newfoundland. While it was primarily intended to be a secondary school, elementary students were also admitted.²⁶⁹ The fee for board and tuition was £36 a year, which was about what it was at the College. As with their private school on Military Road, subjects such as music, painting and drawing cost extra. The school had a slow

²⁶⁷ He won the Diamond Jubilee Scholarship from the Newfoundland government, valued at \$600. Darcy, *Noble to Our View*, 68.

²⁶⁸ The premiers included Daniel J. Greene, Sir Edward Patrick Morris and Sir Michael Cashin. Darcy, Noble to Our View, 66, 168-9.

²⁶⁹ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 192, 200.

start. Enrollment was very low and averaged only about twenty students in the first ten years of its existence.²⁷⁰ Again, the small size of the middle class probably kept the number low. Like St. Bonaventure's, Littledale did achieve a good reputation, in particular for teacher training, but this did not occur until the twentieth century.

4.9 Funding Schools

Since most Board schools in St. John's were geared towards providing the lower classes with a free education, fees were not a large source of income for Catholic institutions. The only fee-based elementary school was the Mercy Convent School on Military Road. The largest source of funding came from the legislative grant, from which the Catholic School Board was awarded money annually. The Board provided each Catholic school under its jurisdiction with an annual sum, mostly to cover the costs of the day to day administration. For example, the Presentation Sisters' schools in the city received a total of £300, divided between their main school and the one at Riverhead, while the Orphan Asylum was awarded £150.²⁷¹ Despite being fee-based, Catholic secondary institutions also received assistance in terms of a government grant. St. Bonaventure's, for example, received £600 annually in 1860s and £700 in the 1870s and 1880s.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, 191-2, 198-200; Penney, "A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations" 215.

 ²⁷¹ £200 went to the main school and £100 for the Riverhead school. Rowe, *The History of Education in Newfoundland*, 62-3; "Presentation Convent School for the Year 1858. Diocese of St. John's," *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 347; "Presentation Convent Schools for the year ending 31st December, 1860," *JHA 1860*, *Session Two*, Appendix, 461.

²⁷² Despite this extra infusion of money, the College was still £300 in debt. "St. John's Academy, Roman Catholic Branch, For the Year ending 31st December, 1860," *JHA 1860, Session Two*, Appendix, 460; Darcy, *Noble to Our View*, 26-7.

The grant money, although helpful, was often not sufficient to cover costs. This meant that other sources of money had to be found, but this varied from school to school. The Presentation Order, for example, paid for the majority of their expenses themselves: "the entire expenses of the Schools are borne by the private property of the Nuns, assisted by the government grant. The fortunes and properties of the Nuns form a common fund, and the educational expenses are always paid out of it."²⁷³ They also relied on voluntary donations, including some from the Governor, special fund-raising events and community collections to purchase such things as new loom reels, wheel materials, fuel and money.²⁷⁴ The Mercy Sisters followed a similar path. In order to raise funds for St. Bridget's, for example, they held Christmas tree exhibitions, concerts and bazaars.²⁷⁵

While the orders also relied on bequests as another source of funding, how much money went specifically to schools is difficult to say. In some instances, Catholics would specify an amount to be left to a school. For example, in 1880 Patrick Murphy left £5 per annum towards the maintenance of the Brothers' school.²⁷⁶ Money was also left in aid of St. Bonaventure's College.²⁷⁷ Most of the money left by Catholics was generally left to the Orders in a lump sum, presumably to divide as they saw fit. In terms of land left to the Orders, there is no indication that any of the schools built between 1840 and 1886 were built on land bequeathed to them, or the Catholic Church.

²⁷³ Reports of the Presentation Convent Schools, *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 347 and *JHA 1860*, Appendix, 294.
²⁷⁴ In 1850 Governor John Le Marchant donated £5. "Return of Roman Catholic Schools for the District of St. John's, for the year 1850," *JHA 1851*, Appendix, 87.

²⁷⁵ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 289-90.

²⁷⁶ Will of William Hogan, Supreme Court, Newfoundland Wills from LDS FHC Microfilm 1830-1962, also referred to as *Newfoundland Will Books* (*NWB*), vol. 4, 1879, 18-20; will of Patrick Murphy, *NWB*, vol. 4, 1880, 103-4.

²¹⁷ In 1861 John Kelly bequeathed a sum of £50 to St. Bonaventure's College. Will of John Kelly, *NWB*, vol. 2, 1861, 441-8.

The cost of running and maintaining the Orphan Asylum School, however, came primarily from the funds of the Benevolent Irish Society, which set aside a portion of its annual funds for education purposes, as seen in Appendix F, Table F5. Although both the total expenses and the total amount spent on the school are only recorded for 1848, 1852 and 1853, it was clearly where the bulk of the BIS's funds were channelled. In these years the amount ranged from 67 percent to 89 percent of total expenditure, and amounts spent on the school in other years are consistently in the hundreds of pounds, totalling £197 in 1843. In addition, the BIS also relied on public collections in the 1840s and 1850s, although they appear to have been discontinued in the 1860s.

While the amount the BIS expended on the school varied annually based on need, it was a constant drain on the Society's resources and, in many years, they struggled to break even. Between 1826 and 1845, the BIS spent over £4000 on administering the facility, not including the cost of constructing and maintaining the building, or equipping the school.²⁷⁸ After 1849, the Society used the vast majority of its total funds to improve and equip the school, £200 of which was granted annually to the monks to manage and run it.²⁷⁹ The maintenance of the school became burdensome by the late 1860s, given its age and dilapidated state, and the Society found itself only able to afford to keep the building water-tight. The wood in some places was so decayed that it could not be repaired.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ The report stated that nautical instruments for the industrial room cost £120. *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1845.

²⁷⁹ Centenary Volume, BIS, 158.

²⁸⁰ BIS Minutes, 19 February 1869.

After the BIS secured the Christian Brothers to manage their school in 1876, the issue of money became thorny and complicated. The BIS gave the Brothers £240 annually, but the majority of that amount was the £150 portion of the legislative grant, to which the society added £90. A larger amount, £500 or so, came from the Brothers' annual collections and from donations given by the Catholic community.²⁸¹ Even before their arrival, there were certain conditions agreed upon between Bishop Power and the Order in Ireland concerning the issue of their funding. Part of the problem arose from the fact that the Brothers' schools in Ireland were not under the jurisdiction of the National System, and so did not receive any financial support from the Board of Education. They preferred to keep their schools autonomous.²⁸² As a result, the Brothers did not want to deal with the Society directly with regard to money, and so Bishop Power acted as a middleman, managing and disbursing the funds. Power, however, did not have any authority over the BIS, their property, or their money. This arrangement was far from ideal, and problems quickly arose with respect to finances, not so much because Power was the middleman, but because the Brothers felt that he did not seem to have a head for financial matters. In 1876, Brother Holland complained that while Power was affable in nature, he was "very slow in money matters."283 The following year, Holland still grumbled that "the Bishop is a very nice man as far as nice words go but in a business way he is far from satisfactory."²⁸⁴ The Brothers believed themselves to be in a very

²⁸¹ The amount of the collection varied year to year, but Slattery stated that by the end of the 1880s it averaged around £500. Slattery to Holland, SP # 104, 4 March 1888.

²⁸² In one instance in the Fall of 1876, the Inspector asked if the Brothers were going to submit a return and Brother Holland refused. *Annals of the Christian Brothers*, 2, 3-4; Coldrey, *Faith and Fatherland*, 27, 84; Holland to McDonnell, *SP* #36, 2 November 1876.

²⁸³ Holland to McDonnell, SP #25, 3 May 1876.

²⁸⁴ Holland to McDonnell, SP #42, 12 January 1877.

awkward situation, having no real control over the amount, or when they received funds.²⁸⁵

Although the administration of schools was expensive, relatively little went towards teacher salaries. School Inspector Kelly stated that the cost of educating children at the schools run by the Orders was half that of the public schools because the Religious were not paid a normal lay teacher's salary.²⁸⁶ The salary for each of the three Mercy nuns at St. Bridget's, for example, was only £50.²⁸⁷ At the Orphan Asylum School in the 1850s, Brother Francis Grace was being paid much less that his fellow lay teachers.²⁸⁸ He only received £80 annually compared to two of his fellow teachers, Mr. McGrath and Michael O'Donnell, who received £120.²⁸⁹ The annual cost of lay teachers' salaries at the school was very expensive. In 1859, for example, salaries amounted to nearly £400 for four lay teachers.²⁹⁰

At St. Bonaventure's College the cost of salaries was a constant burden because, although the teaching staff was a mix of lay professors and priests, the former were the majority. The cost was due to the specialized nature of the subjects taught such as Latin. Qualified teachers could not be recruited from Newfoundland and had to be brought in from Britain and Ireland. In 1859, for example, salaries amounted to a little over £622,

²⁸⁵ Holland to McDonnell, SP #25, 3 May 1876; Holland to McDonnell, SP #28, 17 May 1876; Holland to McDonnell, SP #47, 26 March 1877.

²⁸⁶ "Return of Presentation Convent Schools of the Island," JHA 1860, Session Two, Appendix, 464.

²⁸⁷ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 123.

²⁸⁸ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1858.

 ²⁸⁹ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1858; "School Return filled by the teacher and certified by the Board for transmission to the Colonial Secretary through the Inspector of Schools," JHA 1860, Appendix, 291; "Report of Catholic Elementary Board Schools for the Year 1866," JHA 1867, Appendix, 698-9.
 ²⁹⁰ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1859.

which was more than the grant total.²⁹¹ The cost became so burdensome that, in 1879, the lay teachers were dismissed, leaving the teaching duties only to a few priests.²⁹² Even though the College continued to receive £700 a year, plus fees, the school continued to be plagued by debt in the 1880s due to the cost of teacher salaries.²⁹³ When the Brothers assumed control in 1889, this problem was eradicated as they were not paid a salary.

In addition to paying for the cost of day to day administration and salaries, large sums had to be found to construct new schools. The means to fund these projects depended on the size and architectural design of the buildings. Money for smaller, less expensive wooden structures could usually be paid for out of the legislative grant. Such was the case with the £340 cost of the construction of St. Bridget's in 1858.²⁹⁴ In 1865, the report of the Catholic School Board stated that its total cost was just over £502, both to build and furnish the school.²⁹⁵ Larger and more elaborate structures required additional funds, usually from the Catholic community. The new stone Mercy Convent and school built in 1857, for example, were largely paid for by middle class Catholics. A general collection was started for the project in July 1856, and in only three days £700 was raised amongst the Catholic community.²⁹⁶ By 1857 about one-third of the expense had been paid by subscribers.²⁹⁷ Presumably, this was made easier by the fact that many

²⁹¹ There were five professors and five other teachers. "Academy, St. John's (Roman Catholic Branch) for the year ending 31st December, 1859," *JHA 1860*, Appendix, 293.

²⁹² Darcy, Noble to Our View, 29.

²⁹³ Holland to McDonnell, SP #34, 6 September 1876; Holland to McDonnell, SP #47, 26 March 1877.

²⁹⁴ Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry, 123.

²⁹⁵ When the school was closed in 1881, the government awarded Bishop Power £500 for the building and £250 for the land. Bellamy, *Weavers of the Tapestry*, 125, 127.

²⁹⁶ Newfoundlander, 24 July 1856.

²⁹⁷ Newfoundlander, 6 August 1857.

of these donors would have been the middle class parents of children attending and could afford to donate large sums.

The two most expensive institutions built in the second half of the century were St. Bonaventure's College and St. Patrick's Hall School. Both were very large stone buildings, the former costing £8000 and the latter £6000.²⁹⁸ The financing of each differed because the initiative for the former came from Bishop Mullock, while the latter came from the lay community. The College building itself, not counting the land or furnishings, cost over £3000. Realizing the enormity of the expense, in early 1857 Mullock petitioned the House of Assembly for financial assistance. The legislature awarded him £1500 to help offset the expense.²⁹⁹ Although a great help, this was only less than a third of the total cost, and so Mullock had to rely on both his own funds and on subscriptions from the community to make up the difference.³⁰⁰

The building of St. Patrick's Hall in the 1870s, in contrast, was an exclusively BIS-driven project. For a society that could barely pay for the repairs to the old building, the expense of such an undertaking was enormous. Nevertheless, the BIS had many sources of money at its disposal. It could draw on their own building fund of £1500, the £150 from the annual government school grant, and the £600 a year from members' fees.³⁰¹ It did not get any help from the sale of the Orphan Asylum building that, due to its

²⁹⁸ Brother Holland stated that the Hall would cost this much, but in the Annals of the Brothers it stated that it would cost £8000. Holland to McDonnell, SP #36, 2 November 1876; Annals of the Christian Brothers, [7]; Academy, St. John's (Roman Catholic Branch) for the year ending 31st December, 1859," JHA 1860, Appendix, 293. ²⁹⁹ "Petition from Bishop Mullock, laid before the House of Assembly on 11 February 1857," JHA 1857,

^{27-8;} Newfoundlander, 30 April 1857.

³⁰⁰ "Academy, St. John's (Roman Catholic Branch) for the year ending 31st December, 1859," JHA 1860, Appendix, 293. ³⁰¹ Holland to McDonnell, SP #45, 25 February 1877.

dilapidated state, sold for a measly £35 at auction.³⁰² The majority of the money came from individual members. Instead of donations, however, the Society opened a building fund share list in January 1877, and members of the Society could buy shares of £5. The BIS figured that this would account for about £3000, or about half of the cost. Each share was repayable without interest, with the guarantee that all shareholders would be repaid within fifteen years. There was no problem getting members to buy shares, and 212 were bought the first day.³⁰³ By early February, £2700 worth of shares had been purchased, and in the end totalled £2800.³⁰⁴ The majority of the shares were bought by Bishop Power and members of the elite such as Ambrose and E.D. Shea, and Robert J. Kent.³⁰⁵

This avenue, however, only exploited the resources of the small number of middle and upper class people associated with the BIS and, while it had proven fruitful, it was still not enough to offset the enormous expense. The Society decided to appeal to the Catholic community in general for help, emphasizing that everyone had a stake in education. Using arguments similar to those Mullock had used in the 1850s and 1860s to reinforce the importance of education, the Society argued that Catholics should support the school because a sound Catholic education was essential to the community's future prosperity:

Hundreds of our children are debarred from availing of the blessings of a Sound religious and practical Education, merely from the want of enlarged and suitable School Rooms. There is therefore, a Serious responsibility resting on the catholic community, as well as on the Society. As the

³⁰² BIS Minutes, 23 May 1880.

³⁰³ BIS Minutes, 21 January 1877.

³⁰⁴ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1877; Holland to McDonnell, SP #45, 25 February 1877.

³⁰⁵ The list included Bishop Power, £200; Ambrose Shea, £100, J. Boggan Sr., £210; M. Stafford, £200; J. Elliot, £200; J. McLoughlin, £20; F. St. John, £150; Thomas Mitchell, £100; Charles Loughnan, £100; M. Fenelon, £20; J.J. Dearin, £20; Robert J. Kent, £30; James Fox, £50 and E.D Shea, £15. Newfoundlander, 31 July 1877.

Building funds of the Society at present at their disposal, are insufficient to enable them to proceed at once with the erection of the Hall of Building, it is proposed to place their position before the public, so that each and every Catholic, having the future wellbeing of his co-religionist at heart, will be enabled to aid the Society in their endeavour to secure for the Catholic youth that education which is indispensable to their independence, prosperity and happiness.³⁰⁶

Their appeal was not successful, however. President Joseph Little remarked in 1880 that "unaided by the Public with the trifling exception of about £250" the BIS had assumed the entire expense.³⁰⁷ In the end, the BIS was forced to borrow £2000.³⁰⁸ The construction of the Hall left the Society £4000 in debt, plus the interest that was accruing on the loan. The Society was in such financial straits that, by March 1888, they were unable to pay their yearly expenses and the Hall was threatened with seizure by the bank.³⁰⁹ This, however, did not occur.

There is no evidence as to why the Catholic community did not give large sums of money towards the school.³¹⁰ There could be a couple of possible reasons. First, the construction of the Hall, the Brothers' residence and St. Patrick's Church all occurred simultaneously, and there was simply not enough money to go around. Bishop Power admitted that he did not know how the residence and school could be constructed at the same time, and even suggested that the residence should wait until after the school was completed. Brother Holland also admitted that it was difficult calling on the people to subscribe so much money at the same time for such expensive projects.³¹¹ Second, the

³⁰⁶ BIS Minutes, 21 January 1877.

³⁰⁷ Annals of the Christian Brothers, [7]; BIS Minutes, 15 August 1880.

³⁰⁸ Holland to McDonnell, SP #45, 25 February 1877.

³⁰⁹ Slattery to Holland, SP #104, 4 March 1888.

³¹⁰ There is no mention of the reason provided in either the BIS Minutes or the Christian Brothers' letters.

³¹¹ Holland to McDonnell, SP #45, 25 February 1877.

Catholic community was already giving money directly in aid of education via the Brothers' annual collection, which was several hundred pounds.³¹² It may be that in the community's mind this was a more direct way to support education than giving money to the BIS for a building that had other purposes other than that of a school. The whole top floor, after all, was intended to be the Society's meeting room.

4.10 Conclusion

The primary purpose of Church-controlled Catholic education in St. John's between 1840 and 1886 was to ensure that Catholic children were provided with a sound, moral and religious education. Each Irish teaching order and school in St. John's met the needs of different classes in St. John's, providing them with practical and necessary skills to be productive members of Newfoundland society. Education was a means to improve their socio-economic status and make them active members of Newfoundland society. The main thrust of Catholic education had much to do with Fleming and Mullock's vision of Newfoundland's future and the role of native Catholics within it. In the 1830s and 1840s, Fleming believed that a good education would create a future generation of literate, well educated, and disciplined Catholic middle class. Mullock's perception of the role of education was that it was an act of nation-building. Like his fellow Newfoundland nationalists, he believed that the colony was destined for economic greatness based on its available natural resources and technological advances. Future generations of

³¹² Slattery to Holland, SP #104, 4 March 1888.

Newfoundland Catholics, he argued, would be instrumental in leading the country and so they would need a proper education.

The type of education that Catholics received was designed to provide them with the confidence and the ability to attain any position they wished, at home or abroad. Two developments heralded a dramatic change in this regard: the availability of secondary education and the arrival of the Christian Brothers in the mid-1870s. Both gave boys and girls the opportunity to acquire the skills to help them advance economically and socially in St. John's. Both St. Bonaventure's College and Littledale attained excellent reputations, and the latter would become a teacher-training facility for female Catholic teachers in the early twentieth century.

While the economic and social advancement of all classes of the Catholic community and the strengthening of the Catholic religion were the main objectives of education, the reinforcement of Irish identity did not seem to be important. Certainly, the Church was still an Irish institution in the second half of the century, and the staffing of schools with Irish Orders injected some sense of "Irishness" into the schools. However, it does not appear that the Church chose the Orders to reinforce an Irish identity. The use of Irish National Board school texts and a curriculum based on the British system did not reflect an Irish ethos in the schools. It was only with the arrival of the Christian Brothers in 1876 that the issue of Irish identity became apparent, as their textbooks and the general philosophy that underpinned their instruction brought the issue to the forefront. While the Brothers' emphasis on all things "Irish" introduced a heightened knowledge of Ireland, interest and learning did not necessarily signify a shift, or change in identity. Native-born Catholics taught by the Brothers were mostly lower class, and their chances for social and

economic advancement were often few. Their future success depended solely on the quality of education they received, and this is where the importance of the Brothers' education lay. The Brothers' acknowledged that their primary task was to ensure that their boys had the skills to enter into the expanding Catholic lower middle class in the 1870s and 1880s.

Chapter 5

Associational Life

Catholic associational life in St. John's was not a defence against a hostile host society as was the case in some parts of the diaspora.¹ Unlike many urban areas in the United States and Canada, there was no proliferation of Irish ethnic societies in St. John's. Part of the reason lay in the fact that such associations acted as a bulwark against a hostile host society.² The manifestation of Irish ethnic societies was often a result of a feeling of alienation, especially in the United States where Irish Catholics confronted American Protestant nativism.³ Irish Catholics banded together in such associations as a means to assist in adjusting to their new, often harsh, lives.⁴ However, societies also served other, more general, purposes including meeting political and leisure needs.⁵ Irish ethnic societies also helped forge a stronger Irish and religious identity, often strengthening the community's bond to the Catholic Church. The Church in turn used them to encourage

¹ As argued by Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 328.

² Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Ethnic-Identity Retention," *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City* (Raymond Breton, ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 34-7; Kathleen Neils Conzen et al, "The Invention of Ethnicity: a Perspective from the USA," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12:1 (Fall 1992), 5-6.

³ Lawrence McCaffrey, *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1976), 139.

⁴ Matthew Jude Barker, "The Irish Community and Irish Organizations of Nineteenth Century Portland, Maine," *They Change Their Sky: The Irish in Maine* (Michael C. Connolly, ed.; Maine: University of Maine Press, 2004), 139.

⁵ David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 55; McCaffrey, *The Irish Catholic Diaspora*, 139; Barker, "The Irish Community and Irish Organizations," 139.

moral and respectable behaviour through such things as temperance.⁶ Catholic societies in Wales, for example, had four key ideals: "rationality, respectability, self-reliance and self-improvement."⁷ Irish Catholics in St. John's in the second half of the nineteenth century, however, were not a mass of recent immigrants banded together by fear and unfamiliarity with their surroundings who would look to such societies for camaraderie and support. So then what was the primary function of Catholic societies? Did it change over time? Who established and ran them? What role did the Church play? Were they class or ethnically based?

5.1 The Establishment and Growth of Catholic Societies

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, there were only a handful of societies or associations of any kind in St. John's. The city's population was small and the vast majority were poor fishermen. There did not yet exist a Catholic elite to establish and maintain a large number of associations.⁸ That small elite, however, did still establish an associational network. These societies were primarily ethnically based but, because of the large number of poor in St. John's, they were also based on benevolent and charitable principles. These included the British and the St. Andrew's Societies, both established in

⁶ Barker, "The Irish Community and Irish Organizations," 139.

⁷ Paul O'Leary, *Immigration and Integration: the Irish in Wales, 1798-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 186.

⁸ Many ethnic studies argue that it is the elite of an ethnic group which assumes social and economic control in the community, and one aspect of this is the establishment of associations. For example, John E. Zucchi's work on the Italian community in Toronto in the late nineteenth century shows that the development of a community elite between 1885 and 1914 resulted in a consolidation of the wider Italian community. This group played a leading role in developing patriotism and Italian ethnicity through the establishment of institutions, developing a market for goods and services, and by asserting their control over politics and the social life of the community. John E. Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto, Development of a National Identity 1875-1935* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 9.

1837 and the Newfoundland Natives Society established in 1840 by the Newfoundlandborn.⁹

Irishmen in the city could join the BIS, established in 1806. It was, and would remain, the first and only Irish ethnic fraternal society in St. John's. Although founded by a small group of Irish Protestants, a handful of members of the Catholic elite at the time, such as Henry Shea and Thomas Meagher, were amongst the original members. Meagher and Shea held officer positions, the latter as the first treasurer of the Society and member of the Committee of Charity. He was re-appointed to the latter position the following year and also assumed the role of secretary. Meagher was also a member of the Committee of Charity in 1806, and he too was re-appointed to that committee.¹⁰ The BIS was a nondenominational and non-political organization, and the discussion of religious and political matters was not permitted at meetings. The founders were aware of the great need for charitable work in the city at the time, and so envisioned its role as a philanthropic organization. In that spirit, its objects were formed upon principles of

⁹ There has been no detailed study of these societies or their role in the social life of the city. The British Society was established by English Protestants of various denominations, and by 1852 it had 210 members. The St. Andrew's society was established by Presbyterians and was for those born in Scotland and their descendants. While it was a benevolent society, it was also designed to promote Scottish culture. The Newfoundland Natives Society was also founded on benevolent principles, but as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, its development and purpose did not reflect adherence to these principles. *Newfoundland Express*, 13 January 1852; Wayne C. Stockwood, "British Society, Newfoundland," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL)*, vol.1, 267; Elizabeth Graham, "St. Andrew's Society," *ENL*, vol. 5, 7; Phillip McCann, "Culture, State Formation and the Invention of Tradition: Newfoundland 1832-1855," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 23 (Spring/Summer 1988): 86-103.

¹⁰ Rules and Constitution of the Benevolent Irish Society (St. John's: John Ryan & Son, 1807) 13-4; A Report of the Members Names, &c. Belonging to the Benevolent Irish Society, with the Names and Donors and Their Donations, Statement of the Treasurers Account With the Society, Statements of the Treasurers to the Committee of Charity's Account, The Names of the Objects relieved, and what they have received From the 3ed of March, 1806, to the 12th October, 1807. Also, Shewing the Gross Amount of Tickets Sold for a Play performed in 1806, for the Benefit of the above Institution, and how the net proceeds thereof has been applied (St. John's: John Ryan & Son, 1807), 9 and Appendix to the Report, 8.

benevolence and philanthropy, to provide "permanent relief to the wretched and distressed."¹¹

Catholics dominated another society established in March 1827 called the Mechanics' Society and, in contrast to the elite-run BIS, was founded and comprised of tradesmen. Essentially, it was a fraternal and benefit organization that provided compensation to the families of deceased or injured members. The founders and many of its earliest members of the Mechanics' Society were Catholics because that denomination dominated the lower class: For example, two of its founders and first presidents, carpenter Patrick Kough and cooper Laurence Barron, would become active in Catholic politics. Like the BIS, it was a non-political organization and members were not permitted to discuss matters of a political or religious nature.¹²

Three things occurred in the second half of the century that resulted in the proliferation of Catholic societies.¹³ First, the population increased and became more socially and economically stratified.¹⁴ Second, the Catholic community itself developed a larger, established and powerful elite. Third, an institutionally strengthened Church could assume control over all aspects of the community's social life. In a more general context,

¹¹ Rules and Constitution of the Benevolent Irish Society, 3.

¹² John FitzGerald, "Irish Fraternities in 19th Century St. John's: The Mechanics' Society," Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Website, 2001; updated February 2003;

<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/society/irish_mechanics.html>.

¹³ Unfortunately not many societal records have survived, apart from the minutes of the BIS and the Catholic Institute. The lack of sources for the other societies can be compensated for in part by the use of newspaper reports. One of the biggest lacunae is the lack of membership rolls, with the exception of a few partial lists. This prevents a sketch of occupational profile of members or membership correlations with other societies. Executive members, however, can be gleaned from the *Newfoundland Almanac* prior to 1874,

¹⁴ Protestants also formed associations, including Temperance and fishermen's societies. There is no secondary literature on societal life in the city, but there is evidence of an active Protestant associational life that requires further study. Some of these include the Sons of Temperance Society, Society of United Fishermen, as well as the Freemasons.

what occurred was similar to what was happening elsewhere in Ireland and North America: a largely lower class Catholic community was striving for, or being driven towards, respectability. As such, this impulse was not always so much a choice, as something that was enforced by the Church's own perception of how the community should be defined. Nevertheless, the predominantly lower-class secret societies and faction fights in St. John's in the early part of the nineteenth century were supplanted by mostly middle class Catholic associations that emphasized temperance, propriety and self-reliance.¹⁵ They are listed in Table 5.1:

Founding Year	Name	Туре	Membership	Established by
1806	Benevolent Irish Society (BIS)	Fraternal	Irish men and women, and descendants; officially non- denominational	Lay
1827	Mechanics' Society	Fraternal, Benefit	Tradesmen	Lay
1852	St. Vincent de Paul Society	Charitable	Men	Church
1858	Total Abstinence and Benefit Society	Benefit	Men - mainly tradesmen, mechanics, fishermen	Lay
1858	Newfoundland Fishermen's Society	Benefit	Fishermen	Lay
1864	Catholic Institute	Religious	Men	Lay and Church
1869	Ladies' St. Vincent de Paul Society	Charitable	Women	Church

Table 5.1 Prominent Catholic Societies in St. John's, 1840-86

¹⁵ See John FitzGerald's discussion of the impact of the United Irish Rebellion in 1800 in St. Johns and the development of Irish secret societies. John FitzGerald, "The United Irish Rebellion in Newfoundland, 1799-1800" (1998) and "Conflict and Culture in Irish Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850" (PhD. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), 459.

Founding Year	Name	Туре	Membership	Established by
1871	Star of the Sea	Fraternal, Benefit	Fishermen	Church
1872	St. Joseph's Catholic Institute	Religious	Men	Lay and Church

Sources: This table is based on the information presented throughout the chapter.

The drive towards working class respectability was evident in those societies established in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Although a benefit society established in 1827, the secondary purpose of the Mechanics Society was to improve the moral and social status of tradesmen in the city.¹⁶ The BIS also sought to improve the moral status of its members. Although it was led by members of the Protestant and Catholic elite, its rank and file contained men from the skilled working class such as the Mechanics' Society's Patrick Kough and Laurence Barron.¹⁷ As an ethnic society that cut across class lines, the BIS too served as a means to advance the social position of many of its members, and "became an important instrument of upward social mobility."¹⁸ Membership would carry a certain amount of prestige and allowed those members, albeit unofficially, to become part of this associational 'elite' and form potential political alliances.

The early drive towards respectability was most explicit in the establishment of a temperance movement in Newfoundland in the late 1830s. Catholics in Newfoundland, just like their counterparts in Ireland other parts of the diaspora, became actively involved

¹⁶ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 21 January 1846.

¹⁷ Holland to Hoare, *Slattery Papers (SP)*, #24, 25 March 1876, Archives of Mount St. Francis, St. John's (AMSFSJ).

¹⁸ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 46-7.

in the temperance movement begun in Ireland by Father Theobald Mathew in 1838.¹⁹ By 1842 five million persons in Ireland had taken the temperance pledge, and with the support of both the urban middle class and the mass of poor rural Catholics, it remained strong until after the Famine.²⁰ Key to the movement's success was the fact that it had the full support of the Catholic Hierarchy. The temperance movement reflected the Catholic Church's desire to create a more 'modern' Ireland, stressing sobriety, moral restraint and Catholic spiritual values.²¹ In the diaspora, the movement also encompassed these principles, but was specifically geared towards the working class, and became a means for the Church to create a "culture of respectable labour and a working-class culture based on sobriety and respectability."²²

As in Ireland, the impetus for the temperance movement in Newfoundland came from the Catholic Church. Father Kyran Walsh, a native of Ireland, had been inspired by Father Mathew's crusade and decided to spread his message in Newfoundland. He was supported in this endeavour by Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, who established a Temperance Society in early October 1841 and began taking pledges from Catholics who wished to adhere to temperance principles. He imported several thousand temperance medals and several hundred took the pledge on the first day.²³ The number pledged

¹⁹ Gleeson, The Irish in the South, 61-2; Timothy J. Meagher, Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class, and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880-1928 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 162.

 ²⁰ See Paul Townend, Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2002).
 ²¹ Kevin Whelan, "The Regional Impact of Irish Catholicism 1700-1850" in Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland (Kevin Whelan and William J. Smyth, eds.; Cork: Cork University Press, 1988), 266.

²² O'Leary, *Immigration and Integration*, 202, 204. One sees this in the Irish Temperance societies in Worchester, Massachusetts as well, which were "first and foremost 'Catholic societies," organized and run by clergy and included regular religious devotions. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America*, 166.

²³ Philip Tocque, Wandering Thoughts (London: Thomas Richardson and Son, 1846), 178, 180.

steadily increased in the early years. In less than two months, over 3000 people in the colony had taken the pledge, and by the end of 1843 this had tripled to 9000. The following year, the number increased to 10,000.²⁴ While this might seem to be substantial, it was actually less than a quarter of the total Catholic population of Newfoundland.²⁵ Nevertheless, the Temperance Society in St. John's was popular and its first procession took place in January 1843, along with similar processions in outport areas. It featured a concourse of people, led by the Bishop and clergy, carrying banners and flags.²⁶

In the 1850s and 1860s, however, the temperance movement came under the lay direction of the Catholic working class, and led to the creation of a new temperance organization in 1858 called the Catholic Total Abstinence and Benefit Society (TAB). The initial impetus for the TAB came from a handful of Catholic men in the city, but was particularly due to the efforts of William McGrath, a tradesman, member of the Mechanics' Society executive, and a recently-admitted member of the BIS. He was the archetypal member as most were drawn mostly from the working classes and included mechanics, laborers and fishermen.²⁷ The TAB was, in part, the lay successor to the former Temperance Society as its object was to promote sobriety and temperance

²⁵ The 1845 Newfoundland Census stated that there were 46, 946 Catholics and 49, 538 Protestants of all denominations in Newfoundland. There were 16,000 Catholics in St. John's. A contemporary account by Philip Tocque, a Newfoundland-born writer, teacher and Anglican clergyman, argues that there were around 20 000 Catholic "teetotallers," but a much smaller number, 2000, Protestants. *Times and General Commercial Gazette*, 11 October 1845; Marjorie M. Doyle and Patrick O'Flaherty, "Tocque, Philip" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB)*, vol. 12; Tocque, *Wandering Thoughts*, 178, 180.

²⁴ St. John's Total Abstinence and Benefit Society (TAB), Jubilee Volume, 1858-1908 ([St. John's]: Chronicle Print, [1908]), 5-7 and 9-10.

 ²⁶ The first Temperance procession took place on New Year's Day 1842 in Harbour Grace, and in 1843, 1200 people in Harbour Main and Brigus also marched with banners and music; TAB, *Jubilee Volume*, 7-8.
 ²⁷ McGrath consulted with John Sullivan, Charles Kickham, James Donnelly, John Myrick, John Sheehan, Patrick Reardon, Philip Hally, Thomas O'Brien, William Vinnicombe and Henry Hewitt. TAB, *Jubilee Volume*, 9-10.

specifically amongst this section of the community, elevating "their individual characters as men and Christians."²⁸ However, it was also a benefit society for mechanics and laborers, affording relief to members in sickness and death, which no doubt increased its mass appeal.²⁹

In 1858 another working class benefit society was also established under lay initiative. The Newfoundland Fishermen's Society was non-denominational and acted primarily as a benefit association, but was not specifically focussed on sobriety or morality.³⁰ In 1871, Bishop Power and one of his priests, Rev. T.W. Lynch, decided that the Church should take retake the initiative and establish a benefit society for fishermen. This would do two things: keep Catholic fishermen under Church control and infuse sobriety and respectability into the group. That year, he established the Fishermen's Star of the Sea Association (SOS).³¹ Although the SOS was established by the Church, its executive was dominated by the elite leaders of the industry, including famous sealing captains such as William Jackman, William Ryan, and Edward Cummins.³²

The SOS and the Fishermen's Society coexisted in the 1870s, but were very different in character. The SOS was a denominational association, and only Catholic fishermen could be admitted as members.³³ The impetus behind the founding of the society was Lynch's belief that fishermen, despite their hard and dangerous work, were

²⁸ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 25.

²⁹ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 13.

³⁰ The former was 10 shillings and the latter 5 shillings, "Rules and Regulations of the Newfoundland's Fishermen's Association," *Newfoundlander*, 8 February 1858.

³¹ Rules and Bye-Laws of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Star of the Sea Association (St. John's: Devine & O'Mara, 1898), 7-8.

³² Jackman was the first president from 1871-78, followed by Ryan who served from 1878-80 and Cummins from 1880-84. Newfoundland Fisherman's Star of the Sea Association, 100 Years, 1871-1971. Souvenir of Centennial Year Celebration. October 14-17 1971, 1, 4.

³³ Rules and Bye-Laws of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Star of the Sea Association, 7-8.

not independent and respectable members of society. He believed that while the fishermen worked the hardest, they were among the poorest in the colony, Lynch describing them as "being little better than slaves in the land that gave them birth."³⁴ Having acknowledged fishermen as being "the bone and sinew of the country [...] his only object was to instill them with pride and independence," the SOS being the means to improve their lives through temperance and moral virtue.³⁵

The rules of the SOS echoed some of the same principles as the TAB, such as adherence to sobriety and morality, and members were required to live "pious and edifying lives." Nobody could be admitted unless he led "a sober, moral and industrious life." If members did not control their drinking habits, they faced expulsion.³⁶ The religious nature of the SOS was made quite explicit in its strict rules. For example, individual members were required to attend Confession and Communion three times a year.³⁷ Even its emblem, Mary, the Mother of God and the Star of the Sea, reinforced the SOS' Catholic character.³⁸

Middle class Catholics also established associations, but rather than emphasizing sobriety, theirs stressed religious devotion. In 1864, the Catholic Institute was established by members of the elite including Robert Kent, Edward Morris and Maurice Fenelon. Its purpose was to promote "the religious, moral, and literary advancement of the young men of St. John's in connection with the Catholic Church."³⁹ The association was modeled

³⁴ Patriot and Terra Nova Herald (Patriot), 6 March 1871.

³⁵ Patriot, 6 February and 12 November 1872.

³⁶ Rules and Bye-Laws of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Star of the Sea Association, 7-8, 12.

³⁷ Rules and Bye-Laws of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Star of the Sea Association, 7.

³⁸ Patriot, 6 March 1871.

³⁹ The specific reference to young men, however, did not denote exclusivity, as many of the members were from the older, established elite group. There is no indication in the constitution that this was the case.

after Catholic organizations elsewhere: "the example of so many Catholic communities of our day, each having its Catholics Institute, is of itself a pledge of the usefulness of such establishments, and of their connection with the object and interests of religion."⁴⁰ The society had strict rules in this regard. Membership was confined to regular churchgoers and any member who did not attend regular confession or communion was removed from the roll.⁴¹ A similar association was founded in January 1871, called the St. Joseph's Catholic Association. This was not really a new society, however, as its members were predominantly from the Catholic Institute, and the rules and regulations were the same. In addition to the promotion of "morality and the obligations of religion," was added sobriety. Due to their similar purpose, the two societies were amalgamated within the next year, becoming the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute in May 1872.⁴²

Apart from infusing the principles of morality and spirituality, both working and middle class societies promoted the self-education of their members. In 1846, for example, the Mechanics' Society established a library and reading room.⁴³ The TAB did the same, and in addition to books, also contained foreign newspapers and magazines.⁴⁴ The St. Joseph's Catholic Institute also had a news room with local and foreign journals. Its library contained some 200 volumes of work concerning history, geography and philosophy.⁴⁵

Constitution and Bye-Laws of the St. John's Catholic Institute (St. John's: Edward D Shea, 1865), n.p., Archives of the Archdiocese of St. John's (AASJ).

⁴⁰ Constitution and Bye-Laws of the St. John's Catholic Institute, n.p.

⁴¹ Constitution and Bye-Laws of the St. John's Catholic Institute, n.p.

⁴² Rules and Constitution of the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute (Printed at the Newfoundlander Office, 1872), AASJ.

⁴³ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 21 January 1846.

⁴⁴ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 28.

⁴⁵ Newfoundlander, 11 May 1865.

Catholic associations were also social clubs. This not only provided recreation, but attracted members. St. Joseph's and the TAB, for example, had a billiard room, although members had to pay to use it.⁴⁶ Billiards proved so popular amongst TAB members, that the Society began holding matches.⁴⁷ The TAB, in particular, placed strong emphasis on recreation.⁴⁸ In 1873, the Society established a literary club, which later became a literary and dramatic club.⁴⁹ The TAB also had two bands, one of which was a fife and drum band.⁵⁰ In the 1880s, the association expanded its recreational activities beyond its members and began to take a leading role in city-wide sports events, establishing a cricket club in 1880 which held annual matches, and a boat club in 1883 which rowed in the various regattas in the city.⁵¹ Such an evolution was in line with other temperance societies in North America. In Worcester, Massachusetts, for example, sports teams and competitions were a way to make temperance "manly" and eventually resulted in the use of military uniforms, drills and rifles. However, this did not occur in St. John's.⁵²

5.2 Charitable Societies

In St. John's, where the vast majority of the city were poor and where poverty often abounded due to the failure of the fisheries, there was a great demand for poor relief. While the BIS expended much of its resources in this area, as seen in Appendix F,

⁴⁶ Constitution and Bye-Laws of the St. John's Catholic Institute, n.p.; TAB, Jubilee Volume, 28.

⁴⁷ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 28.

⁴⁸ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 43.

⁴⁹ This was renamed the Avalon Club. TAB, Jubilee Volume, 57.

⁵⁰ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 11-13, 69-71.

⁵¹ The Annual St. John's Royal Regatta is still held today. TAB, Jubilee Volume, 123, 129.

⁵² Meagher, *Inventing Irish America*, 166-7. This was in direct contrast to Protestant Temperance Associations in that area.

Table F5, its resources were often insufficient to meet the demand.⁵³ In an effort to increase assistance to the poor, regardless of denomination, the Catholic Church took the initiative and in 1852 Bishop Mullock established a branch of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.⁵⁴ The society was middle class and its executive was drawn from the Catholic middle class. Between 1854 and 1871, the Presidency was dominated by John and Joseph Little, two well-known lawyers and politicians.⁵⁵

Like its sister societies in other parts of North America, the St. Vincent de Paul Society defined itself not only as a charitable association, but also as one that would provide spiritual benefits to those who joined in its good works. Its stated aim was "the improvement of the poor – the improvement of its members."⁵⁶ In 1854, Bishop Mullock commended the good work of the Society in his Pastoral on the observance of Lent. He urged those who had anything to spare to give to the Society to relieve all those in a state

⁵³ The majority of BIS funds was spent on their school and charity. The amount spent on charity varied from year to year and was based both on need and their own financial situation. Of the 26 years when the amounts voted for charity were recorded, in over half did the BIS distribute over £100, with the largest single amount spent being £240 in 1840. For the remainder of the years, the amount was usually between £50 and £100.

⁵⁴ There is no record of the exact date of its establishment as all its books and records were lost in the Fire of 1892. A letter from Bishop Fleming to the Pope on 4 June 1837 asks that he be allowed to establish an "institute of Sodality for the protection and care of the sick and the poor, under the name of St. Vincent de Paul, and that the Vicar Apostolic may select some rules for its government from the Constitutions of St. Vincent de Paul or others." It is likely that Fleming's request would have been granted, but there are no surviving documents to support this. The first copy of the *Rules and Regulations* are for 1852 and the cover it states "Establishment in St. John's, Newfoundland, in the Month of February, A.D., 1852." If the Society did exist in the late 1830s, then it is the oldest in North America as the Society crossed the Atlantic to Mexico and the United States in 1844. The first Canadian Conference at Notre Dame in Quebec was not until 1846. However, it seems that the Society was formed in 1852 as the Catholic papers in 1854 remark that it was in its infancy. There is no mention of the Society or a reprinting of its annual Report in the press before the 1850s. *Rules and Regulations of St. Vincent de Paul Society* (St. John's: Devine & O'Mara, 1897); *Newfoundlander*, 21 December 1854, 1 January and 31 December 1875; *Patriot*, 5 August 1854. ⁵⁵ Newfoundland Almanac, 1854-71; J.K. Hiller, "Little, Sir Joseph Ignatius," *DCB*, vol. 13.

⁵⁶ These were the general aims of the Society in other parts of the Irish Diaspora such as in Toronto. See for example Mark McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922* (Montreal and Kingston; McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 156; *Newfoundlander*, 31 July 1854.

of destitution, added that by doing so they would "become participants in their works of mercy."⁵⁷ This was the general perception in the Catholic press as well. The editor of the *Patriot*, for example, called the Society "the most valuable Institution," not only due to its objects of charity, but because it encouraged moral and social improvement.⁵⁸

After 1856, the society expanded its work beyond charity and became a source of employment for able-bodied poor women and children, the majority of whom were widows and orphans.⁵⁹ As in the convent schools, the women were taught practical skills. In particular, female children were taught the art of net making so they could learn "a branch of industry so well calculated to afford the means of supporting themselves and their families in after life."⁶⁰ By 1859 25 girls were employed in the making of nets.⁶¹ More than functional, the members of the St. Vincent de Paul Society believed that such work had a higher purpose, breeding "habits of industry and self-reliance."⁶²

In addition to net making, work also included knitting, sewing and quilting. In 1858 for example, there were about 26 persons employed in this manner and the Society reported that "all the articles thus manufactured have been all disposed of to advantage."⁶³ In order to increase the number employed, the following year St. Vincent de Paul decided to expand the articles made and began importing raw materials to make cane shavings, mattresses and quilts.⁶⁴ However, this idea fell flat both because of the high prices for raw

⁵⁷ Newfoundlander, 27 February 1854.

⁵⁸ Patriot, 23 December 1854.

⁵⁹ Newfoundlander, 11 December 1856; Patriot, 22 December 1863.

⁶⁰ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, *Patriot*, 19 December 1859.

⁶¹ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Patriot, 17 December 1859.

⁶² Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Patriot, 2 January 1871.

⁶³ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, *Patriot*, 17 December 1859.

⁶⁴ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Patriot, 17 December 1859.

material and the limited demand for the articles.⁶⁵ In 1867 the society again tried to expand its base of employment and branch out into weaving, an endeavour made possible by a loom donated by the Agricultural Society.⁶⁶ This plan also failed because the women did not know how to use the looms.⁶⁷ Despite this setback, employment figures in the other areas remained the same the following year, and all articles made were sold.⁶⁸

Distress not only increased the need for funds, but affected donations. In 1852, the Society assisted 300 families in need, or about 1300 individuals. In 1855 the number of families relieved remained the same, but that year St. Vincent de Paul had a difficult time raising money. An ad appeared in a local paper asking that contributions be made to aid the Society's funds, which were almost exhausted.⁶⁹ In 1860, the number of families relieved was 350, almost double what it had been the previous year due to a poor fishery.⁷⁰ 1870 was as bad as the early 1850s, and the society assisted 1300 distressed persons. The report stated that "whole families were found naked and famishing without any means whatever of supplying their wants."⁷¹

Such was the increasing demand for relief in St. John's that Bishop Mullock established a Ladies' St. Vincent de Paul Society in 1869.⁷² The officers were the wives

⁶⁵ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Patriot, 22 December 1863.

⁶⁶ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Patriot, 23 December 1867.

⁶⁷ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Patriot, 26 December 1868.

⁶⁸ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Patriot, 2 January 1871, 10 January 1874.

⁶⁹ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Patriot, 9 April 1855. J. Little was an officer, as well as J.J Dearin, T.S Dwyer and Valentine Merchant.

⁷⁰ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Patriot, 17 December 1860. The Society was down £35 that year. ⁷¹ Report of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, Patriot, 2 January 1871.

⁷² In the report for 1876 the Society stated that it was its 7th annual report, which would mean that it was established in 1869. Patriot, 2 November 1876; Report of the Ladies' Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Newfoundlander, 26 October 1875.

and relations of members of the Catholic elite, as shown in Table 5.2.⁷³ While their husbands were heavily involved as members and officers of other Catholic associations, the men were not themselves members of St. Vincent de Paul.⁷⁴ Their wives' involvement with the society, therefore, can best be explained in the general context of increased women's involvement in charitable pursuits in the nineteenth century. In England, for example, middle class women, having both money and time, became more involved in charitable pursuits. Philanthropic pursuits were considered "the leisured woman's most obvious outlet for self-expression."⁷⁵

Position	Name / Married Name	Name before Marriage	Years	
Spiritual Director	Scott, Rev. John	n/a	1874-6, 1880, 1882	
President	Fox, Mrs. James	Isabelle Langrishe LeGallais	1874-6, 1880, 1882	
Vice-President	Keough, Miss Kate	n/a	1874-6, 1880, 1882	
	Hearn, Mrs. P.	unknown	1874-75	
Treasurer	Greene, Mrs. Randal	unknown	1876	
	Gleeson, Mrs. James	unknown	1880, 1882	
0	Kitchin, Miss	n/a	1874-6	
Secretary	Fenelon, Mrs. Maurice	Ellen Kitchen	1880, 1882	

Table 5.2 Officers of the Ladies' St. Vincent de Paul, 1874-82

⁷³ The executive changed very little in the period. Even in 1892 the executive still included Mrs. James Fox, Miss Kate Keough and Mrs. Maurice Fenelon. There were two new officers, Mrs. D. Joseph Greene and Mrs. Margaret Vincent P. Burke. There are no surviving records from before the Fire of 1892. There do not, however, seem to be any minute books for the women's Society even after the fire either, only references to their Society in the records of their male counterpart. File on the Society and *Minute Books of the St. Vincent de Paul Society*, 1893-1901, AASJ.

⁷⁴ For example, Fenelon was BIS President; Fox was an officer of the BIS and served on its Orphan Asylum School Committee, as did James Gleeson; William Kitchin served on it as well and was treasurer of St. Vincent de Paul between 1860 and 1875 and Randal Greene was also a secretary of the Orphan Asylum Committee and an officer in the Catholic Institute. Lists of officers of the various societies are provided in the *Newfoundland Almanac* between 1840 and 1874. Members of the BIS School Committee are given in the *BIS Minutes* between 1840 and 1885.

⁷⁵ F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 5.

<u>Notes</u>: Mrs. James Fox / Isabelle Langrishe LeGallais lost her husband in 1899; she later married Edward Patrick Morris. Despite the variant spelling of the surname, Kate Keough may have been one of Patrick Kough's six daughters. Mrs. James Gleeson's husband owned the largest hardware store in Newfoundland, named Porto Bello House. Miss Kitchin may have been the daughter of William Kitchin, and may have become Mrs. Maurice Fenelon, despite the variant spelling.

Sources: Robert D. Pitt, "Fenelon, Maurice," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB)*, vol. 12; Fabian O'Dea, "Kough, Patrick," *DCB*, vol. 9; B. Wade Colbourne, "Morris, Edward Patrick," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL)*, vol. 3, 622-4; Bertram G. Riggs, "Fox, James P.," *ENL*, vol. 2, 360-1; Robert H. Cuff, "Gleeson, James," *ENL*, vol. 2, 532.

In conducting their charitable work, the women met with the same obstacles as the men, namely limited resources, which were often heavily taxed. Such was the case in 1876 owing to the partial failure of the fisheries, and again in 1880 as the summer shore fishery had failed. Their task was compounded by the fact that not only did they have to meet the needs of the poor in St. John's, but many families were migrating to the city "as a last refuge from starvation."⁷⁶ While the men employed the able-bodied poor, the women distributed clothing, boots, sheets and blankets.⁷⁷ This reflected a more traditional role of employer. In addition to money, the women accepted donated clothing that advertisements and supportive newspaper editorials would solicit. An editorial in February 1856 stated that "there are many poor families in Town at this inclement season, in the greatest distress for want of Bed Clothing, and wearing apparel. The smallest contribution in this respect, will therefore be of the greatest service to them."⁷⁸

Based on published reports and subscription lists between 1874 and 1882 for both the male and female branches of the St. Vincent de Paul societies, a comparison can be

⁷⁶ Report of the Ladies' Society of St. Vincent de Paul, *Newfoundlander*, 27 October 1876 and 2 November 1880.

⁷⁷ Reports of the Ladies' Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Newfoundlander, 2 November 1880 and Evening *Telegram*, 2 April 1886.

⁷⁸ Newfoundlander, 18 February 1856.

made of how much money they each raised, and the sources of their funds. In that period, the men raised between £422 and £767. In contrast, the women raised between £217 and £379, or only about half as much, as seen in Appendix F, Tables F1.1 and F1.2. The only source of guaranteed income for both was from an annual government grant, but with a significant difference: the men received £115, while the women only received £50, later raised to £57. The reason may have been due to the fact that the men were running a factory and paying wages. The men then sold the manufactured goods made in their factory, which brought in large sums despite fluctuation. The larger grant and the proceeds from sales of goods are what accounts for the fact that the male branch's total income was so much more than that of the women's. The women raised most of their money by holding annual concerts, which was often their second largest source of support, totaling between £46 and £61. The men's branch also placed Poor Boxes in shops, but this did not generate a large sum of money.⁷⁹ Both branches were also left bequests, varying in size.⁸⁰

Both branches of St. Vincent de Paul held annual collections. Hundreds of citizens made donations each year, with an average donation for both Societies of between two to five shillings. An examination of donors, shown in Tables 5.3 and 5.4, reveals that both received the support of the Bishop and the clergy, firms such as Baine Johnston and

⁷⁹ Report of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, *Newfoundlander*, 31 July 1854. In the report for this year, it showed that only just over £1 was collected in this manner.

⁸⁰ On such occasions the papers would carry thank you notices from the Society, as was the case in April 1876 when John Hogan, a Halifax shop-keeper, bequeathed £200 to the Society; *Newfoundlander*, 11 April 1876. In April 1879 a donation of £50 was made by Mrs. Thomas Butler; *Patriot*, 28 April 1879. Two bequests were made to the Society in 1876: one from Mrs. St. John for £50 and from Mrs. P. Hearne leaving £10. It is interesting that both are from women. It was also noted that just over £26 was donated "by those gentlemen who charitably organized entertainments for the benefit of the poor, last winter." *Newfoundlander*, 27 October 1876 and *Patriot*, 2 November 1876.

private clubs such as the Terra Nova Skating Club. The Christian Brothers, however, only donated to the men's society, and a general pattern for all donors is in evidence: men gave mostly to the men, and women to the women. Among the women that gave to both, the vast majority were married. Such a divide seems logical as each sex would solicit donations primarily from their friends and associates.

	Tetal				J	Donors			
Year	ar Total	M	en		Women		Classon	0	
	Donors	#	%	#	Married	Single	Clergy	Organizations	
1874	318	232	73	51	46	5	6	29	
1875	292	217	74	38	30	8	8	29	
1876	234	155	66	34	30	4	8	37	
1879	439	318	72	79	62	17	9	33	
1882	426	349	82	44	40	4	9	24	

Table 5.3 St. Vincent de Paul Society Subscription Lists, 1874-82

Notes: some entries are illegible. Each list also had entries such as "friends" or "small amounts" for donations for which no donor was recorded.

Sources: St. Vincent de Paul Society Annual Reports, printed in the Newfoundlander, 1 January 1875, 31 December 1875, 12 January 1877, 9 January 1880, and 15 January 1883.

Table 5.4 Ladi	es' St.	vincent de	Paul Society	Subscription	LISTS, 18/4-82

			Donors									
Year	Total Donors		ļ	Vomen		Clergy	Men	Organizations	Events			
		#	%	Married	Single							
1874	455	273	60	243	30	12	156	14	none			
1875	400	259	65	236	23	13	109	18	1			
1876	471	275	58	248	27	10	163	22	1			
1880	422	250	59	227	23	9	133	28	2			
1882	384	<282	<73	<264	18+	9+	75+	17+	1+			

<u>Notes</u>: some entries are illegible, particularly for 1882; for that year, "Total Donors" is correct but the remainder of the entries are based on what was legible. Each list also had entries such as "friends" or "small amounts" for donations for which no donor was recorded, as well as an entry for the government grant. <u>Sources</u>: Ladies' St. Vincent de Paul Society Annual Reports, printed in the Newfoundlander, 27 November 1874, 26 October 1875, 27 October 1876, 2 November 1880, and 24 October 1882.

5.3 Leadership and Membership

Apart from the Ladies' Branch of St. Vincent de Paul, the leadership and membership of Catholic societies were exclusively male. However, not all organizations banned women from joining. In fact, the original rules of the BIS stated that the only qualification of membership was that a person had to be a native of Ireland, "Sons of Irishmen, or Women descendants of any present or future Member of this Society."⁸¹ However, no women joined in the nineteenth century, and it would not be until well into the twentieth century that they would do so. Official rules and the perception of what was proper female behaviour in the public sphere were two different things.⁸²

Several things can be said about the leadership of Catholic associations. All were led by an "elite" of some kind, but this did not necessarily mean elite in a strictly middle class sense. Amongst working class associations it was based on an internal hierarchy, related to status and education. For example, ship captains were the leaders within the fishing industry and were also social leaders, dominating the executives of both the Star

⁸¹ Rules and Constitution of the Benevolent Irish Society, 4.

⁸² Such arguments about the role of women in society appeared in the 1890s and early decades of the twentieth century with the advent of the suffragette movement in Newfoundland. William Whiteway was opposed to the movement partly because he argued that the suffragettes were entering into the 'male' world of politics and behaviour. This did not conform to his upper middle class Victorian view of women and was shared by others in the Legislature at the time. See Margot I. Duley, *Where Once Our Mothers Stood We Stand: Women's Suffrage in Newfoundland, 1890-1925* (Charlottetown, P.E.I.: Gynergy, 1993), 22, 33.

of the Sea and the Fishermen's Society. This was also true of the working class TAB, whose first President, Charles Kickham, was no average tradesman: he was an architect.

There was an overlap between the executives of middle class societies such as the BIS and the St. Joseph's Institute, and that of working class associations such as the Mechanics and the Total Abstinence and Benefit Societies. There was no relationship, however, between the fishermen's societies, which drew their leaders exclusively from that industry's elite, and the others. The BIS executive, in particular, consistently included some of the most powerful and influential members of the St. John's political elite. Presidents and vice-presidents included Patrick Morris, John and Robert Kent, Lawrence O'Brien, John V. Nugent, Edward Morris and Philip Little. In the 1840s, Presidents were merchants but, from the late 1850s onwards, they were all engaged in the professions. This reflected the general trend in the Catholic community, which saw the expansion of the professional class in the second half of the century, particularly that of lawyers. The vast majority of the BIS executive were political leaders, as all but two served as MHAs. In fact, Philip Little served as Premier of the colony and President of the Society concurrently.

Despite the fact that the native-born outweighed the Irish-born after 1857, BIS Presidents tended to be the latter. As shown in Appendix F, Table F2, of the ten BIS Presidents between 1840 and 1885, seven were Irish-born, three were born in the neighbouring Maritime colonies, while none were Newfoundland-born. The reason why is unknown, and there is no evidence that the society did not want a native-born President. Perhaps it might be fairer to say that, while there were still educated and respected Irishmen who could assume the position, they were perhaps the preferred choice. In addition, Presidents tended to serve for long periods of time. Patrick Morris became the first Catholic President in 1824, serving for many years between then and his last term in 1844. Laurence O'Brien was President eleven times after 1838, and was made vice-patron in 1859. The longest serving President was Edward Morris, whose sixteen-year period of consecutive terms from 1859 and 1874 is all the more remarkable as, unlike O'Brien and Morris, it was unbroken.⁸³

BIS officers were mostly middle class, but birthplace and occupation cannot be profiled as there are too many unknowns, as shown in Table 5.5 and in detail in Appendix F, Table F4. Twenty-three, or a little over 32 percent, served as MHAs, including Premiers Philip Little and John Kent.

1	fotal BIS	S Officers: 72	
Birthplace	#	Occupations	#
St. John's	8	Merchant	12
Other NL	2	Lawyer	9
Ireland	15	Grocer	3
Other	4	Builder	2
unknown	43	Bookstore owner	2
a and a marked		Teacher	2
		Baker	1
	200	Cooper	1
		Farmer	1
		Cashier	1
La water		unknown	40

Table 5.5 Birthplace and Occupation of Benevolent Irish Society Officers, 1840-85

⁸³ BIS Minutes, 1840-85; John Mannion, "Morris, Patrick," DCB, vol. 7; David J. Davis, "O'Brien, Laurence," DCB, vol. 9.

Sources: this table is drawn from Appendix F, Table 4: BIS Officers, 1840-85, for which a complete list of sources is given.

BIS officers also took leading roles in other Catholic societies, tending to be officers rather than members, as shown in Tables 5.6.1 to 5.6.6.⁸⁴ The strongest relationship was between its executive and that of both the Catholic Institute and St. Vincent de Paul. For example, the President of the Catholic Institute between 1872 and 1874 was BIS officer Robert J. Kent, while other officers such as William P. Walsh and Richard Raftus also served on the BIS executive.⁸⁵ Of the 47 members of the Catholic Institute between 1865 and 1874, nearly three-quarters were either BIS officers or members. Given that the charitable pursuits of St. Vincent de Paul were in line with those of the BIS, it is not surprising that between 1854 and 1875 all thirteen BIS officers were also officers or members of the former.

<u>Table 5.6.1</u> Relationship between the Benevolent Irish Society Officers, 1840-85 and other Catholic Societies

Total Benevolent Irish Society Officers: 72										
Position	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS					
Officers	16	7	4	5	0					
Members	3	0	4	0	0					

⁸⁴ The executives of the St. Vincent de Paul, Catholic Institute, Mechanics Society, BIS, Newfoundland Fishermen's Society and Cathedral Fire Brigade are found in the *Newfoundland Almanac*. These names were compared to the *BIS Minutes* between 1830 and 1885 to determine correlations. The minutes of the Catholic Institute and St. Joseph's Catholic Institute contain executives for 1864-5, as well as a membership roll for 1872, which was also consulted. The TAB membership roll for 1858 was also used, as well as the officer list covering 1858 to 1886 in their Jubilee volume.

⁸⁵ Minutes of St. Joseph's Catholic Institute, 2 March 1872-74; Newfoundland Almanac, 1846-74.

Total Catholic Society Officers: 47									
Position	BIS	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS				
Officers	15	5	3	2	1				
Members	19	0	2	0	0				

<u>Table 5.6.2</u> Relationship between the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute Officers, 1865-74 and other Catholic Societies

Note: Between 1865 and 1871, the society was called the Catholic Institute. After 1872, it was renamed St. Joseph's Catholic Institute.

<u>Table 5.6.3</u> Relationship between the St. Vincent de Paul Officers, 1854-75 and other Catholic Societies

Total S	St. Vincent	de Paul S	ociety Of	ficers: 1	3
Position	BIS	SJCI	TAB	MS	NFS
Officers	7	5	2	1	1
Members	6	0	1	0	0

<u>Table 5.6.4</u> Relationship between the Total Abstinence and Benefit Society Officers, 1860-1875 and other Catholic Societies

Total Total	Abstinen	ce and Be	enefit Societ	y Office	ers: 29
Position	BIS	SJCI	St.VdP	MS	NFS
Officers	3	3	2	2	0
Members	0	0	0	0	0

<u>Table 5.6.5</u> Relationship between the Mechanics' Society Officers, 1845-75 and other Catholic Societies

Total Mechanics' Society Officers: 46									
Position	BIS	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	NFS				
Officers	1	2	0	3	0				
Members	19	2	0	2	0				

Total Newf	oundland	d Fishern	nen's Societ	y Officer	s: 26
Position	BIS	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS
Officers	0	0	1	0	0
Members	9	0	0	6	0

<u>Table 5.6.6</u> Relationship between the Newfoundland Fishermen's Society Officers, 1858-74 and other Catholic Societies

<u>Common Abbreviations</u>: BIS = Benevolent Irish Society, SJCI = St. Joseph's Catholic Institute, St.VdP = St. Vincent de Paul Society, TAB = Total Abstinence and Benefit Society, Mechanics = Mechanics' Society, NFS = Newfoundland Fishermen's Society.

<u>Common Sources</u>: BIS Minutes, 1840-1885; Newfoundland Almanac, 1840-1874; the appendices "List of Members" and "List of Officers, 1860-1908," St. John's Total Abstinence and Benefit Society, Jubilee Volume, 1858-1908 ([St. John's]: Chronicle Print, [1908]); the first meeting of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Society with members list, Newfoundlander, 8 February 1858; Minutes of St. Joseph's Catholic Institute, 2 March 1874.

In terms of working class leadership, officers of the TAB were well represented on the Mechanics Society executive and that of the Cathedral Fire Brigade. The connection between the latter two was particularly strong. The Brigade, established by Bishop Mullock in 1860, was one of two main volunteer fire companies in the city, the other being the Phoenix Fire Brigade, which was established earlier in 1847. They were not professional or paid organizations, as St. John's would not get a professional fire department until the turn of the century. The reason why there was such a correlation between the brigades and the Mechanics' Society was due to the fact that both fire companies drew their members from mechanics and tradesmen.⁸⁶ Two out of the first

⁸⁶ Because St. John's did not have municipal government until 1888, issues concerning organizing and funding such a service was a problem. Even after 1888 it remained a thorny issue. See Melvin Baker, "The Government of St. John's Newfoundland, 1800-1921" (PhD Thesis, U. of Western Ontario, 1980), 195-6.

three executive members of the Cathedral Brigade, William McGrath and John Donnelly, were also officers in the Mechanics Society. McGrath, also active in many other societies such as TAB and the BIS, was one of the Company's directors until the mid-1870s.⁸⁷ In the 1860s, he became an executive member the Mechanics' Society, serving as treasurer between 1863 and 1871.⁸⁸ McGrath would also become active in the Cathedral Fire Brigade in 1861.⁸⁹

Class lines were not totally clear cut, however, as evident in the overlap between the TAB and BIS executives. For example, TAB President Charles Kickham was a BIS officer and longtime member and also served as an officer on other middle class societies such as St. Vincent de Paul. Another TAB President, Michael J. O'Mara, was a lawyer and MHA and also served on the executives of the BIS and the Catholic Institute.⁹⁰ So too was the case with Richard Raftus, who was an officer of the TAB, the BIS, the Catholic Institute and the St. Joseph's Institute.⁹¹ The common denominator seems to be that all these men were educated and active in associational life in general. In addition, the TAB and the BIS were based on temperance and benevolence, broad principles that would appeal to members of all classes. Such instances seem to have been exceptions rather than the rule, however, as consistent overlap between TAB and BIS executives was not strong.

⁸⁷ Newfoundland Almanac, 1861.

⁸⁸ McGrath joined the BIS on 9 March 1851 and is first listed as an officer of the Mechanics Society in the *Newfoundland Almanac* for 1863. He is last listed as a Mechanics' officer in 1871. *BIS Minutes*, 9 March 1851; *Newfoundland Almanac*, 1863 to 1871.

⁸⁹ He was one of the directors of the Brigade between 1861 and 1874. *Newfoundland Almanac*, 1861 to 1874.

 ⁹⁰ O'Mara was President between 1880 and 1882 and was MHA for St. John's East at the same time. He represented the district between 1878 and 1882, and 1885 to 1889. *Evening Telegram*, 29 December 1892; TAB, *Jubilee Volume*, 11-13; Baker, "The Government of St. John's Newfoundland," Appendix II, 3.
 ⁹¹ "List of Officers – 1860-1908," Appendix, *TAB Jubilee Volume*; *Newfoundland Almanac*, 1864 to 1874.

Determining the class composition in terms of memberships is difficult due to a lack of membership lists for all societies. What can be said is that, given the explicitly religious purpose of some of the associations, it is clear that religion largely determined membership. While some societies such as the BIS and the TAB were officially non-denominational, they both became de facto Catholic societies and publically identified themselves as such. The only society to officially state in its rules that only Catholics could become members was the Star of the Sea Society.⁹²

In addition to religion, occupation and class were also determinants of membership. For example, the SOS and the Fishermen's Society membership was drawn exclusively from the fishing community. The Mechanics' Society was comprised of mechanics and tradesmen and the TAB also drew its members largely from the working class. However, as with the executives, class lines were sometimes blurred due to the broader principles and objects of some of the societies. For example, there was some overlap between BIS membership and other organizations such as the TAB. For example, many BIS members, such as P.J. O'Neill, Charles Kickham, and John Carroll, were also members of the TAB and the Mechanics Society. There was also an overlap between the TAB and the SOS.⁹³

Due to the fact that the working and lower classes comprised the majority of the Catholic community, their associations boasted the largest membership rolls. For example, because the most numerous group was Catholic fishermen, the largest society was the Star of the Sea Association. After its founding in 1871, the SOS quickly had the

⁹² Rules and Bye-Laws of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Star of the Sea Association, 7-8.

⁹³ At a meeting of TAB in 1880 the attendance was small because many of the members were taking part in the SOS procession. *Evening Telegram*, 1 March 1880.

largest membership of any in the city.⁹⁴ By 1875 it had 1350 members, 140 having been enrolled that year.⁹⁵ The following year, the number of new members admitted increased to 149.⁹⁶ At its peak in 1877, the SOS membership totaled 2000 and, thereafter, they maintained the largest membership roll in the city.⁹⁷

The next largest association, the TAB, also drew its membership primarily from the working class, although its membership was less than half that of the SOS. The original list of TAB members in 1858 totaled 321, but by 1881 this had increased to 720.⁹⁸ Due to the small size of the middle class, their associations were much smaller. Even though BIS membership cut across class lines, it was much lower. The membership roll in 1877, for example, only listed 221 individuals, which was about one-third of TAB and one-tenth of the SOS.⁹⁹ The St. Joseph's Catholic Institute was almost on par with the BIS, listing 184 members in March 1873 and 200 by 1876.¹⁰⁰ The latter number is impressive, however, given that its members were drawn from a comparatively small Catholic middle class. The smallest society in St. John's appears to have been St. Vincent de Paul. While there are no membership lists available prior to 1892, their minute books after that date show that between 1893 and 1900, the membership roll numbered between fifteen and twenty.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ Patriot, 14 December 1874.

⁹⁵ Report of the Star of the Sea Association, Newfoundlander, 19 March 1875.

⁹⁶ Report of the Star of the Sea Association, Newfoundlander, 7 March 1876.

⁹⁷ Newfoundland Fisherman's Star of the Sea Association, 100 Years, [4].

⁹⁸ Unfortunately, there are no subsequent lists in existence. "List of Officers – 1860-1908," TAB, Jubilee Volume; Evening Telegram, 29 December 1892; TAB, Jubilee Volume, 11-13.

⁹⁹ The only comprehensive list provided is in the BIS Minutes, 22 July 1877.

¹⁰⁰ There was a steady increase in members. In March 1874, there were 193 members. *Minutes of St. Joseph's Catholic Institute*, 2 March 1873 and 1874, 14 March 1876.
¹⁰¹ The men's Society opened new rooms on 22 February 1893 in the New Factory Building about 200

¹⁰¹ The men's Society opened new rooms on 22 February 1893 in the New Factory Building about 200 yards west of the old site on Harvey Road, just west of the Cathedral. File on the Society and *Minute Books* of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, 1893-1901, AASJ.

Membership also depended on what the society could offer members. The largest associations such as SOS and TAB were benefit societies, the latter also acting as a social club, which also attracted potential members. Maintaining and increasing the size of membership was difficult for some of the Catholic societies, partly due to fees. All charged entrance and membership fees. For example, the BIS charged entrance and membership fees and there were numerous occasions when members were in arrears.¹⁰² The fees of the St. Joseph's Institute, which had a high number of BIS members, were fairly high.¹⁰³ In addition, members had to pay for certain privileges such as the use of billiard tables. Benefit societies such as the SOS and the Fishermen's Society also charged entrance and annual fees, though the members received them back in the very benefits they were founded for.¹⁰⁴ While the increased number of societies meant more choice, perhaps in some cases, it meant competition for members.

It might have been due to the overlap between BIS membership and many of the other societies that it was hit hard by declining membership. By the late 1870s, the executive complained of a decline in numbers. In 1877, the minutes stated that "we would take this opportunity of impressing upon each member of the Society the desirability of his doing his utmost to induce those of his friends who are qualified to be members of this Society, to do so, so that the good work of that Society may be strengthened and

¹⁰² There is no clear statement in the Minutes as to how much membership and entrance fees were, however. There are only two membership totals given in the Minutes between 1840 and 1886, both under £160. However, there are numerous instances when members were in arrears, and the President instructed them they must pay or risk being denied participation in Society affairs and struck off the roll. There are no recorded cases of the latter, however. The severity of the problem was evident in 1864. That year, £126 in fees was collected, but arrears totaled £223. *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1864.

¹⁰³ All members, except clergy, paid an entrance fee of 5 shillings and an annual fee of 10 shillings Constitution and Bye-Laws of the St. John's Catholic Institute, n.p.

¹⁰⁴ "Rules and Regulations of the Newfoundland's Fishermen's Association," Newfoundlander, 8 February 1858; Rules and Bye-Laws of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Star of the Sea Association, 7.

extended.¹⁰⁵ Attendance at meetings was so low that, in 1878, President Maurice Fenelon made a point of chastising members in general for their lack of attendance, and not being punctual when they did show up.¹⁰⁶

One way for societies to offset declining numbers was to establish a juvenile branch, something the BIS decided to do in 1886. However, even prior to this, they had admitted young children as members.¹⁰⁷ For working class associations declining membership was due to hard economic times as there was little money for societal life, especially for fishermen. In 1865, for example, the number of new members admitted into the TAB declined due to the economic distress caused by the poor fishery.¹⁰⁸ To offset the decline, the Society established a Juvenile Branch, believing this would provide a recruiting ground for the parent society.¹⁰⁹ In the midst of renewed large-scale migration of Catholic skilled tradesmen from St. John's to Boston in the 1880s, the Mechanics' Society was also suffering from low membership. In the 1880s, only between ten and fifteen members were admitted annually.¹¹⁰ The Mechanics' Society was probably not only failing to attract new members, but losing the ones it already had.¹¹¹ In 1886 it too established a juvenile branch, consisting of apprentices, in order to bolster membership.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ BIS Minutes, 17 March 1877.

¹⁰⁶ BIS Minutes, 26 May 1878.

¹⁰⁷ BIS Minutes, 17 March 1877. The children in question were John Patrick Kent, 7 years old, son of Vice President R.J Kent and Timothy Mitchell, 6 years old, son of Thomas Mitchell, Secretary of the Orphan Asylum School.

¹⁰⁸ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 19-20.

¹⁰⁹ P.J O'Neill was such a member. He was a member of the TAB for 45 years, and President for 10 years. He was President of the Juvenile Branch in 1871. By 1889, there were 369 juveniles on the roll and, as the executive hoped, many of the future executive members of the parent society were drawn from this group. TAB, Jubilee Volume, 29.

¹¹⁰ Evening Telegram, 13 March 1886.

¹¹¹ After their annual parade, they called at the Episcopal Palace where Reverends Scott and O'Brien addressed them, saying that while many mechanics were forced to leave Newfoundland due to the present

5.4 The Role of the Catholic Church

There were several reasons why it became possible for the Church to assume an increasingly active role in associational life and, in most cases, have a direct say in its management and direction. In the second half of the century St. John's had two parishes and more personnel. The Church controlled Catholic education, and as will be seen, had a great say in politics. It was natural, then, that such power should spill over into the social life of the community. One obvious means of control over Catholic societies was through their official sanction. For example, despite the fact that it was a lay initiative, the TAB had the full public support of the Church. Bishop John Mullock attended the inaugural meeting and gave the new society his blessing.¹¹³Another means of influence was through clerical membership on the executive of associations, or for the Bishop to act as Patron. For example, the Bishop and the clergy were heavily involved in the Catholic Institute from its inception. Its first President was a St. John's priest, Rev. Richard Howley, and Bishop Mullock was Patron of society. It was only at a meeting a few weeks later that the "government of the Institute was placed in the hands of a President and a committee without formal election."¹¹⁴ All clergymen who belonged to the diocese, and even those outside it, were entitled to become members.¹¹⁵

When Bishop Thomas Power became Bishop in 1870, he immediately took steps to exert even more official and direct Church control over associational life. Partly, this

economic depression, they should try to remain home and wait it out. Scott tried to assure them that it would soon end. *Terra Nova Advocate*, 9 June 1886.

¹¹² Evening Telegram, 9 September, 5 and 12 October 1886.

¹¹³ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 10.

¹¹⁴ Rev. R. Howley was appointed President and Edward Morris was Vice-President. Constitution and Bye-Laws of the St. John's Catholic Institute, n.p.

¹¹⁵ Report of St. Joseph's Catholic Institute, Newfoundlander, 14 March 1876.

could be explained by the fact that he had been a member of the Dublin clergy in Ireland during a time of increased Church control in all aspects of political, economic and social life.¹¹⁶ Power made a clear move in this direction by appointing priests as Spiritual Directors within associations. They would ensure that morality was maintained and that the rules, especially those of a religious nature, were followed. The Spiritual Director also provided members with spiritual advice and celebrated Mass on Holy Days.¹¹⁷ In the first year of episcopacy, Power appointed Reverend J. Scott as Spiritual Director of the TAB.¹¹⁸ Immediately upon its establishment in 1871, he did the same for the SOS, and three years later he appointed Reverend Forristal as Director of the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute.¹¹⁹ In 1874 the Ladies St. Vincent de Paul Society also listed Rev. John Scott as its Spiritual Director.¹²⁰

Power's desire to exert more control was also evident in his establishment of the Star of the Sea Association. However, given that the Fishermen's Society already acted as a benefit society for fishermen, there seemed to be no need for another one. The problem was, as the Church saw it, that the Fishermen's Society was not explicitly Catholic, not under Church control and did not stress sobriety or religious principles. A new society with these broader aims and directed by the Church, Power believed, could single-

¹¹⁶ See Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75" (1972), *The Historical Dimensions* of Irish Catholicism (New York: Arno Press, 1976); Hans Rollmann, "Power, Thomas Joseph," DCB, vol. 7.

¹¹⁷ These included 4 Feasts: St. Joseph on 19 March, Saints Peter and Paul on 29 June, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary on 8 September, and the Immaculate Conception on 8 December. These Masses were held in St. Joseph's Chapel. *Constitution and Bye-Laws of the St. John's Catholic Institute*, n.p.

¹¹⁸ To show their appreciation for all his guidance, in 1881 the Society presented Rev. Scott with a gold watch, chain and cross. Rev. Scott noted that he proud to be connected with the Society for so many years; TAB, *Jubilee Volume*, 25, 94.

¹¹⁹ Rules and Bye-Laws of the Newfoundland Fishermen's Star of the Sea Association, 7-8; Constitution and Bye-Laws of the St. John's Catholic Institute, n.p.

¹²⁰ Newfoundlander, 27 November 1874.

handedly improve the moral character of the population. With the Bishop himself as Patron and Father Lynch as spiritual manager, he believed the SOS could not fail. Father Lynch was determined to see the society succeed: "before many years have passed, it must be a powerful Society destined to do good for Religion and society in general."¹²¹

The Church's increasing role in societal life under Bishop Power in the 1870s was also apparent in the BIS, which became willing to accept a higher level of Church involvement, both officially and unofficially. While this was a gradual progression between 1806 and 1885, it became most evident after Power's arrival. The Church and clergy always had a degree of involvement from its inception, as religion and Christian principles were important to the BIS. One of the founding rules of the Society in 1806 was that "it is the duty of every Member [to attend] the Service of the several Religious Societies to which they belong."¹²² The Catholic Bishop at the time, James O'Donel, chaired the inaugural meeting and both he and members of the clergy were amongst the original members.¹²³ In addition, O'Donel and his priests served on committees. The Society made him a permanent honorary member of the Committee of Charity and named Rev. Michael O'Donel a permanent member of the Committee of Review and Correspondence.¹²⁴

In the early decades of the nineteenth century the increased role of the Church was not welcomed by some members of the BIS. The first conflict was over education and the running of the Orphan Asylum School in 1829. After assuming the role of Bishop,

¹²¹ Newfoundlander, 29 May 1874.

¹²² Rules and Constitution of the Benevolent Irish Society, 11.

¹²³ Names listed include Revs. Cleary, Power, Fitzpatrick, Phelan and Right Rev. Dr. Lambert, along with Bishop O'Donel and Michael O'Donel. No first names were given. "A Report of the Members Names, &c. Belonging to the Benevolent Irish Society," 3-5.

¹²⁴ Rules and Constitution of the Benevolent Irish Society, 14.

Michael Anthony Fleming decided to try and exert his control over the Society's school. He did not agree with the BIS decision to forbid religious instruction because it was a non-denominational society, and decided to take matters into his own hands without the Society's permission. According to Fleming, the BIS refused him entry to the building.¹²⁵ By the late 1840s, however, the Society was more than willing to let Fleming have his say with regard to their school, and even sought his counsel in 1847 on how best to improve the running of the facility. They accepted his offer to staff the school with an Irish teaching order. In this case, however, asking for Fleming's assistance was less of a choice than a necessity. The school was near closure due to low attendance and debt. In addition, by the late 1840s the context had changed. At the time of the previous conflict in 1829 Fleming had just assumed the role of Bishop and was in a battle with some of the BIS members over trustee issues. Those members who were in charge of the school, such as Patrick Kough, were the same members who were locked in a conflict with Fleming over control of church matters. By the late 1840s, however, there was a different executive that was comprised of members who were less averse to his interference.

The Bishop's official role in the BIS also increased with the decision to appoint him Vice-Patron. Until 1850, the Patron of the Society was the Governor.¹²⁶ Shortly after Bishop Fleming's death that year, the society passed a resolution stating that both the Governor and the Bishop would be joint Patrons of the Society. This was a position that

¹²⁵ Frederick Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1952), 35-6.

¹²⁶ In the *BIS Minutes* between 1840 and 1858 the Governor is recorded as being the Patron and the Bishop as the Vice-Patron. See for example, *BIS Minutes*, 17 February, 17 March and 17 August, 1846, 17 February 1848, and 17 February 1849.

Fleming's successor, Bishop Mullock, accepted.¹²⁷ In 1858, however, only Mullock was recognized and thanked as the Patron of the society, and all reference to the Governor was dropped. This was also the first year that the *Newfoundland Almanac* listed Mullock as such.¹²⁸ There is no indication in the minutes as to exactly when or why the change occurred. However, in 1857 the Governors changed, with Alexander Bannerman taking over from Henry Darling, so perhaps the society was waiting until Darling left to make the official change.¹²⁹ The position of Vice-Patron was assumed the following year by Laurence O'Brien, the choice due to his nearly 20 year membership in the BIS.¹³⁰ Mullock continued to act as the Patron until his death in 1869, after which his successor Bishop Power assumed the role.¹³¹

The role of Patron and Vice-Patron could be interpreted as honorary, with no real official power. This depended, however, on how both the BIS and Bishop chose to define it. Fleming believed that his position as Vice-Patron gave him a great degree of authority, entitling him "at least to a voice in the deliberations of its Officers in every matter connected with its interests as a member and benefactor, having a legitimate right to offer an opinion upon any subject affecting an Institution in which I must feel the deepest

¹²⁷ BIS Minutes, 28 July 1850, 17 February 1851.

¹²⁸ The *Newfoundland Almanac* for 1857 lists both Mullock and the Governor as the BIS Patron, but in 1858 and 1860 only Mullock is listed.

¹²⁹ This alteration also occurred with the BIS in Conception Bay where Bishop Dalton became their Patron. An 1862 address read: "Address to Their Lordships, the Right Rev. Dr. Mullock Patron of the Benevolent Irish Society of St. John's and the Right Rev. Dr. Dalton, Patron of the Benevolent Irish Society of Conception Bay." The address states, "In your Lordships' characters, as Patrons of the Societies of St. John's and Conception Bay." *BIS Minutes*, 8 May 1862.

¹³⁰ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1858 and 1859; 6 and 9 March, 1859; 17 February 1860; Newfoundland Almanac, 1858.

¹³¹ There are numerous examples of Societal addresses between 1860 and 1870 in which Mullock is referred to as such. For example, *BIS Minutes*, 17 February and 17 August 1860; 18 February 1861; 8 May 1862; 17 February 1863; 28 April 1869. When Power arrived in St. John's in September 1870, the BIS presented him with an address and informed him that "his predecessor had been Patron of the Society and [they] begged to ask His Lordship to become Patron." *BIS Minutes*, 10 September 1870.

interest [...] Surely, I say it, that in any of these capacities no honest man should deny my right to offer an opinion upon any subject brought before the members or officers, whenever I would deem it necessary."¹³² There was no disagreement from the society then, or in the future. They continued to court the Bishop's opinion on matters such as education, especially in terms of obtaining lay teachers and Orders for the Orphan Asylum School up until 1876.

The official and un-official powers of the Bishop in BIS affairs increased somewhat in the 1870s, Unofficially, his role became that of peacemaker. For example, in 1872 there was a dispute at a meeting amongst members as to the validity of the election of officers, although the exact cause of the conflict is unclear. The society decided to hold another meeting to address the issue, but that Bishop Power should attend to settle the conflict. Power did resolve it, for which the Society "unanimously resolved that the thanks of the Society be tendered to His Lordship [...] in his endeavour to allay the differences of the body."¹³³ The BIS also sought the Bishop's support and validation for the Society and its activities. In 1875, for example, it deferred to Power on possibly the most important and largest of all its celebrations to date, the O'Connell Centenary. President Maurice Fenelon visited Power to ask his views and to secure his full support.¹³⁴ The increased role of the Church was made official in 1875. A new rule stated that, as Patron, the Bishop should be appointed as a member of both the Committee of

¹³² BIS Minutes, 17 February 1850
¹³³ BIS Minutes, 17 and 23 February 1872.

¹³⁴ BIS Minutes, 20 June 1875.

Charity and the School Committee.¹³⁵ As such, he would enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other member of the committees, including the right to vote.

This increased involvement, particularly from the 1870s onwards, was matched by that of the clergy, both in terms of numerical representation and their official role, as seen in Table 5.7 and Appendix F, Table F3. Between 1830 and 1885, 48 priests were admitted as members of the BIS. The number peaked in the 1870s, with fourteen priests admitted as members.¹³⁶ Like all regular members, they paid admittance and membership fees.¹³⁷ While priests did not hold officer positions or serve on the Committee of Charity, they were members of the Orphan Asylum School Committee, serving nineteen times between 1840 and 1885. Their number on the committee was small at any one time, at their peak in 1847 only numbering three on a committee of 21, but nonetheless their role was important. Like the Bishop, they assisted in providing advice on obtaining and appointing teachers and, as members, they could also vote on issues and have input on all matters relating to the school.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ In February 1875 the BIS drew up a new set of by-laws. Rule number 8 stated that "The officers shall be members, ex officio, of all committees appointed by the Society. His Lordship the Bishop, as Patron of the Society residing in St. John's shall be an ex officio member of the Committee of Charity and the School Committee." *BIS Minutes*, 26 February 1875.

¹³⁶ In a list of "Names of the Present Officers and Members of the B.I. Society" for 1877, 11 priests were listed: Revs. William Forristal, John Scott, John Ryan, P. Delaney, Michael Howley, William Fitzpatrick, Michael Fitzgerald, Michael Clarke, Nicholas Roche, M. P. O'Driscoll, and P.A. Slattery. *BIS Minutes*, 22 July 1877.

¹³⁷ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1838 and 1846.

¹³⁸ BIS Minutes. 24 May 1846 and 17 February 1847.

Table 5.7 Clergy a	dmitted to	the H	BIS, I	1830-85
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Decade	#
1830s	8
1840s	9
1850s	4
1860s	8
1870s	14
1880-86	5
Total	48

Notes: Clergy with a date of "pre-" have been counted in the decade the name was located in.. Sources: BIS Minutes, 1830-1885.

Priests also took an increasingly active role in executive and administrative matters of the BIS. For example, they proposed persons, both lay and clerical, for admittance.¹³⁹ Clergy also moved resolutions, proposed motions, and assisted in carrying out the business of the meeting.¹⁴⁰ As members of committees, priests were also part of the making of important decisions with regard to the general direction of the society. In 1874 one of the members of an appointed committee to review its rules and by-laws was Rev. Thomas McGrath.¹⁴¹ They also weighed in on discussions and settling disputes. For example, in the 1872 dispute over elections that Power resolved, Rev. McGrath presented the case of the members who questioned the legality of the election of officers. Both

¹³⁹ There was no predominance of one over the other. In fact, usually it was a unanimous decision to admit a member of the clergy. For example, in 1841 Rev. Waldron proposed Rev. Ryan for admittance, in 1843 Rev. Forrestal proposed Rev. O'Neill, and in 1848 Rev. Forrestal proposed the admittance of Thomas Clifford. *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1841, 1843 and 1848.

¹⁴⁰ It is not clear exactly what the duties of the clergy were during the meetings. The minutes simply state that votes of thanks were passed to them for "their kindness in assisting in carrying out the business of the meeting." See for example, *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1851, 1 March 1863, 23 February 1872, 17 April 1874, and 17 February 1876, 1882, 1883 and 1884.

¹⁴¹ BIS Minutes, 22 November 1874.

McGrath and Rev. Michael Howley took part in the discussion that ensued.¹⁴² More generally, given that the clergy were involved on some level in all the other associations, they were good go-betweens. For example, in 1875 Rev. John Scott was in charge of seeking support from other societies, such as St. Joseph's Catholic Institute and the SOS, for the O'Connell Centenary Celebrations.¹⁴³

While visible, official, and constant, clerical involvement should not be overstated. Their involvement was not high when compared with that of the other members of the Society, being mostly concentrated in the areas of the School Committee and administrative duties. While priests did engage in discussion, they did not dominate it. There was, however, an increase in their general involvement after 1875, especially with respect to administrative duties and running the annual balloting of officers. The latter duty was assumed after 1880. Any increased involvement was probably due to their additional numbers in the 1870s, and was matched by increased management and involvement in all the other associations in the city by that time.

In some instances, ties to the Church made sense given the religious purpose of individual societies such as the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute. However, organizations that were primarily fraternal or benefit societies also solicited Church involvement. Church approval revealed the strong religious identity of these associations. The Mechanics' Society, for example, willingly sought the support and active guidance of the Church. In the 1840s, Bishop Fleming was an ardent supporter of the society and the executive assured him that they would continue to heed his instruction and advice. In

¹⁴² It is not stated in the minutes if that group chose him to represent their interests, or if he took it upon himself. BIS Minutes, 17 and 23 February 1872. ¹⁴³ BIS Minutes, 20 June 1875.

1846, President Thomas Maher assured Fleming that the society was continuing to adhere to objects based upon broad Christian principles.¹⁴⁴ Fleming's successor, Bishop Mullock, also had a good relationship with the Mechanics' Society and continued to encourage them to maintain strong links with the Church. He stated that he had "always found the Mechanics in St. John's foremost in every good work, always ready to cooperate with me in any project I had in hands for the good of Religion."¹⁴⁵

Even in their leisure pursuits, associations allowed the Church to exercise a great degree of influence. Although the Mechanics' Society library had Fleming's approval and support, it also had rules as to what was deemed appropriate, so that no book could be introduced that was in any way objectionable on religious or political grounds.¹⁴⁶ In the 1870s, members of the St. Joseph's Institute did the same, ensuring that books for the reading room were approved not only by their executive, but by their Spiritual Director as well.¹⁴⁷

Given the degree of Church influence, it is not surprising that all societies defined themselves primarily by religion. In terms of publicly showing their strong connection to the Catholic Church, they routinely presented addresses to the Catholic Bishop on his arrivals and departures to Europe.¹⁴⁸ It also became customary for them to present public addresses to visiting ecclesiastical dignitaries such as Archbishop Hughes of New York,

¹⁴⁴ Newfoundlander, 1 January 1846.

¹⁴⁵ Newfoundlander, 3 December 1866.

¹⁴⁶ Newfoundlander, 1 January 1846.

¹⁴⁷ Minutes of the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute, 2 March 1873.

¹⁴⁸ The *BIS Minutes* list all societies in attendance. See for example, *BIS Minutes*, 8 August 1866, 31 July 1867, 9 September 1870, 26 March and 2 April 1876, 17 February and 16 June 1878, 12 August 1880; TAB, *Jubilee Volume*, 89-90, 95.

and the other guests for the consecration of the Cathedral in 1855.¹⁴⁹ In the 1870s and 1880s they each addressed Dr. Conroy, the Papal Delegate to Newfoundland and Canada and Archbishop O'Brien of Halifax.¹⁵⁰ Catholic associations also supported all the major educational and religious initiatives of the Church. They attended the laying of the foundation stones of St. Patrick's Church in 1864, St. Patrick's Hall school in 1877 and the Christian Brothers' residence, Mount St. Francis, that same year.¹⁵¹ They also contributed financially to the expansion of Church in 1869 and donated money towards the building fund, even purchasing some of the building stone.¹⁵² The BIS made several donations in aid of the construction of St. Patrick's Church and purchased eighteen stone pillars.¹⁵³

Both the Church and the associations saw their organizations as a means to strengthen loyalty to the Church. For example, in 1873 TAB requested that Bishop Power lay the foundation stone of their hall "to bestow your Benediction upon this, our humble endeavour."¹⁵⁴ At the event itself, Power emphasized the Society's role in the Catholic community, stating that it "would advance the country and promote its best interests" through the honesty and hard work of the working class, and the support given to the Church. The latter, Power argued, showed "the deep spirit of loyalty to the [Catholics]

¹⁴⁹ BIS Minutes, 11 September 1855.

¹⁵⁰ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 89-90, 95; BIS Minutes, 27 June 1878 and 16 July 1884.

¹⁵¹ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1864, 20 July and 9 September 1877; TAB, Jubilee Volume, 73-4, 78.

¹⁵² In 1869, the Juvenile Branch donated \$100 towards the building fund and the parent Society bought 250 tons of stone for St. Patrick's Church. TAB, *Jubilee Volume*, 73-4, 78.

¹⁵³ The subscription was made by 131 members and was the first installment made. The second donation of £170 was made the following St. Patrick's Day. In 1867 a third installment of £105 was donated towards the fund making the total contribution of £600. *Newfoundlander*, 21 March 1864; *Newfoundlander*, 20 and 22 March 1867.

¹⁵⁴ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 82.

Church to which the members of the Society belong."¹⁵⁵ In 1874 Power also laid the foundation stone of the SOS Hall.¹⁵⁶ The site itself was symbolic of the tie between the association and the Church: it was holy ground – the site of the Old Catholic Chapel on Henry Street, once "the cradle of Catholicity in Newfoundland." The stone was placed upon the exact spot where the Altar had been.¹⁵⁷

While religious identity was strong for Catholic societies, expressions of Irishness were less overt. On one day alone did all the societies celebrate their Irish identity: the 1875 celebration of the O'Connell Centenary.¹⁵⁸ Only the BIS held formal St. Patrick's Day celebrations. The only other indication of Irish identity was their participation in the raising of funds for Irish nationalist causes such as Repeal, as will be discussed.¹⁵⁹Apart from these two instances, only on a few occasions were references to Irish identity publically stated, and even then were placed in a religious context. For example, one TAB public address stated: "Descendents of this [Irish] race, who for three hundred years have been fighting for their religion, we regard it as the highest gift of Heaven to profess the same faith; and we are proud to proclaim boldly our devoted attachment."¹⁶⁰ This connection between ethnic and religious identity was also made by Rev. Lynch in a lecture he gave to the SOS, remarking that those present were the "descendants of the Saints of Ireland."¹⁶¹ Religion was their tie to Ireland.

¹⁵⁵ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 11-13, 50-1, 73.

¹⁵⁶ Patriot, 13 June 1874.

¹⁵⁷ The Society purchased the land from the Bishop for £500, which was to be repaid in yearly installments of £50 "at the convenience of the Society." *Patriot*, 14 December 1874; Report of the Star of the Sea Association, *Newfoundlander*, 19 March 1875.

¹⁵⁸ The Minutes indicate that all the societies took part. BIS Minutes, 17 February 1876.

¹⁵⁹ This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

¹⁶⁰ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 79-82.

¹⁶¹ Patriot, 6 February 1872.

5.5 Processions and Social Events

Societal processions were a means of demonstrating not only numerical strength, but respectability through good conduct and orderly appearance. Designed to impress, such displays could also attract potential new members. Each association held an annual procession on a day that held some significance for the society. Some were tied to days in the Liturgical Calendar, such as Feast Days. The St. Joseph's Catholic Institute, for example, marched on the Feast of St. Peter and Paul.¹⁶² The BIS, on the other hand, marched on St. Patrick's Day. In some cases, the choice of date was simply due to logistical reasons. The TAB, the Fishermen's Society and the Star of the Sea Association marched in January, which was hardly an ideal month but the only time that fishermen would be home. In the preferable spring and summer months, members would be engaged in either the seal or cod fisheries.¹⁶³

The BIS were the first Catholic society to organize large processions in St. John's, holding their first on St. Patrick's Day 1851 and one every year thereafter. Before then, celebrations were low-key and included a Mass in the morning and a dinner for members in the evening. The impetus for change came from the recognition by members that grander St. Patrick's Day displays were occurring in other parts of the diaspora and the belief that they should do the same.¹⁶⁴ The members would first form a processional order at their societal rooms in the Orphan Asylum School and march through the principal streets of the city, as seen in Map 3. Their green silk flag embroidered with a gold harp

¹⁶² Minutes of St. Joseph's Catholic Institute, 2 March 1873.

¹⁶³ The TAB and Star of the Sea marched on New Year's Day. *Newfoundlander*, 25 January 1864; *Evening Telegram*, 7 March 1882; TAB, *Jubilee Volume*, 14-5.

¹⁶⁴ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1851.

led the procession, followed next by the officers dressed in green silk sashes and carrying white wands. All rank and file members wore green badges, or rosettes and shamrocks.¹⁶⁵ The Society would march to Mass accompanied by a band playing Irish airs such as "Patrick's Day."¹⁶⁶ After Mass, which traditionally included a sermon about the life and work of St. Patrick, the society would again march through the principal streets of the city stopping to pay a visit to the Bishop, the Sisters of the convents and the Governor.¹⁶⁷ After the arrival of the Christian Brothers in the 1875 the route changed so the Society could call on them as well. The Brothers noted that they were impressed by the display, and upon seeing it for the first time remarked that St. Patrick's Day "was kept here [St. John's] in first class style."¹⁶⁸

Until 1865, there was no indication in the press to the extent, if any, of general public involvement in the festivities. However, that year the *Newfoundlander* reported that from the early morning the streets were crowded "with earnest devotees, displaying on their persons the emblems of the Saint and of the Land he had consecrated to the Faith." The report stated that onlookers marched to the Cathedral with the Society for Mass. Women were dressed in green dresses or wore green ribbons, while the men wore real or artificial shamrocks.¹⁶⁹ The following year, the same paper claimed that the BIS was cheered as they marched through the main streets to Mass.¹⁷⁰ In the 1870s and 1880s

¹⁶⁵ Newfoundlander, 19 March 1857; Patriot, 21 March 1865 and 22 March 1869. After 1880 the Society met at St. Patrick's Hall.

¹⁶⁶ BIS Minutes, 9 March 1851; Newfoundlander, 19 March 1880.

¹⁶⁷ Patriot, 21 March 1874.

¹⁶⁸ Holland to Hoare, SP, #24, 25 March 1876.

¹⁶⁹ Newfoundlander, 20 March 1865.

¹⁷⁰ Newfoundlander, 19 March 1866.

there were more reports of people wearing "the Green, immortal Shamrock" on their clothing.¹⁷¹

BIS processions were the template for those of the other societies, all of which had several commonalities. First, processions were either to or from Mass, and the route included the principal streets of the city.¹⁷² Second, the associations saw it as an opportunity to receive official endorsement from both church and state as each made it a point to greet the Catholic Bishop at the Episcopal Residence, the Convents and the Governor.¹⁷³ The latter would often praise the stated principles of the various societies, such as temperance, and wish them success in their general aims.¹⁷⁴ On one occasion in 1871, Governor Stephen Hill was particularly happy to receive the BIS, proudly stating that he too was an Irishman, and offered a cheer for Irishmen all over the world.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps more importantly, the visit was an opportunity to demonstrate Catholic loyalty to the Crown. On several occasions, the BIS's accompanying band played God Save the Queen, which was followed by cheers for the Queen and the Governor.¹⁷⁶

Processions also offered societies an opportunity to display their pageantry, and to 'show off.' The processional orders were led by the societal flag, followed by officers adorned in sashes and carrying wands, followed by members adorned with rosettes or

¹⁷¹ In some years, such as 1874, there are references to "joyful crowds, the greater portion of them, the 'fair daughters' in particular, all 'a-wearing of the green;" *Patriot*, 21 March 1874. For the 1880s see *Patriot*, 19 March 1883.

¹⁷² This was the case with the BIS, TAB and SOS. See for example *Evening Telegram*, 7 March 1882; Report of the Star of the Sea, *Terra Nova Advocate*, 22 February 1884; *BIS Minutes*, 17 March 1860 and 1861.

 ¹⁷³ BIS Minutes, 17 March 1860, 1861, 1870 and 1876; Newfoundlander, 25 January 1865; Report of the Star of the Sea, Terra Nova Advocate, 22 February 1884; Terra Nova Advocate, 9 June 1886.
 ¹⁷⁴ TAB. Jubilee Volume, 117; Terra Nova Advocate, 9 June 1886.

¹⁷⁵ BIS Minutes, 17 March 1871.

¹⁷⁶ BIS Minutes, 17 March 1868.

badges in the societal colours. The choice of colours and emblems was representative of the aims or purpose of the association, and also underscored the centrality of religion to the identity of the associations. For example, the banner of the St. Joseph's Institute was of the Pontifical colors, white and yellow. The sashes were of the same colours with St. Peter's Cross and the Lily of St. Joseph along with the motto "St. Joseph's Institute". The badge was a white silk rosette also with the Cross and the Lily.¹⁷⁷ The TAB's flag was red, white and green, the initial letters of the society were placed in the corners, and in the centre was a fish surrounded with the motto 'Be Sober and Watch.¹⁷¹⁷⁸ The societal badge consisted of the same colours with a medal attached. In 1859, however, this was simplified into a tricolor.¹⁷⁹ The SOS' flag had a green ground, with a white star representing Mary, star of the sea, with pink cross in the centre. The officers wore sashes of green, white and pink, and the members a white star.¹⁸⁰

By the 1880s, processions had become elaborate parades featuring music and bands as, by that time, many of the societies such as the TAB and the Star of the Sea had

¹⁷⁷ Rules and Constitution of the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute, n.p.

¹⁷⁸ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 14.

¹⁷⁹ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 14-5.

¹⁸⁰ There is no mention in the contemporary sources as to why pink, white and green were chosen by the SOS. One notable possibility is that pink was chosen for religious reasons, given that the SOS was a Catholic society. It is the Christian Cross on their flag which is pink, as opposed to other portions of the design. That such an important religious symbol would be coloured pink seems unusual, but pink is in fact a liturgical colour in the Roman Catholic Church. Symbolizing joy and a relaxation of penitential practices, it is the colour of both vestments and candles used on *Gaudete* Sunday, the third Sunday of Advent, and on *Laetere* Sunday, the fourth Sunday of Lent. *Rules and Bye-Laws of the Newfoundland Fisherman's Star of the Sea Association*, 21; W.J. O'Shea and S.J. Roll, "Advent," vol. 1, 133-5, and M. McCance, "Liturgical colours," vol. 8, 645-6, both in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 2003); Joseph Quinn, "Gaudete Sunday," 320, and David Bryan, "Laetare Sunday," 471, both in *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*, rev. and expanded ed. (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2004).

established their own bands.¹⁸¹ Those associations that did not have bands of their own paid for the use of those from other societies and organizations. For example, the BIS often called on TAB and SOS to provide the musical accompaniment for their St. Patrick's Day processions.¹⁸² Such displays certainly drew the interest of the general public. When the TAB marched, for example, they would sometimes be accompanied by up to four bands and large crowds gathered to watch.¹⁸³

Apart from pomp and pageantry, processions were also a way to publicly showcase the higher purpose of some of the societies: creating a respectable and orderly working class. This was certainly the case with the SOS. In January 1872, for example, the SOS held their first annual procession. It was led by their founder, Rev. Lynch, on horseback, followed by around 1500 members, divided into nine divisions and dressed in their best clothing, each wearing a star on his chest. The editor of the *Patriot* observed that "the orderly and respectable manner in which they conducted themselves is a guarantee that this Association will be a credit to the Island, and accomplish an immensity of good to the important class for whose benefit it was initiated."¹⁸⁴ Later processions were more elaborate, including one again led by Father Lynch on horseback, followed by the SOS flag drawn by a carriage with two horses adorned in rosettes.¹⁸⁵ The large membership alone must have made such processions quite impressive, as sometimes as many as 1400 men marched throughout the city.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ This was most common in the 1880s and the Society would sometimes be accompanied by the SOS band; TAB, *Jubilee Volume*, 118.

¹⁸² See for example BIS Minutes, 17 March 1852,1862 and 1863.

¹⁸³ TAB, Jubilee Volume, 118.

¹⁸⁴ Patriot, 4 March 1872.

¹⁸⁵ Patriot, 4 June 1872.

¹⁸⁶ Newfoundlander, 29 February 1876.

In addition to their separate processions, the various societies would march together to mark important religious and social occasions, such as the death of members or the clergy.¹⁸⁷ They also marched together to greet new Bishops, such as the arrival of Bishop Power in 1870, as well as distinguished ecclesiastical guests such as the Papal Delegate to Canada and Newfoundland, Rev. Conroy.¹⁸⁸ The Catholic associations also took part in processions to various sites to lay foundation stones for new Catholic buildings such as St. Patrick's Hall in 1877.¹⁸⁹ The only Catholic society that was not part of the processional orders was the Ladies St. Vincent de Paul Society, in keeping with the subordinate public position of women at the time.¹⁹⁰

While each association created internal networks of status by virtue of electing officers, there was also a hierarchical order between them.¹⁹¹ This was evident in the order of public processions, which was related to the age of the society. The older the society, the more prestigious it was. This was especially important in the latter half of the century as the number of organizations grew. Since the BIS was the eldest, and had been the largest for much of the century, it traditionally led joint Catholic processions. For example, it led Bishop Mullock's funeral procession in 1869.¹⁹² It also took the lead in presenting addresses to prominent persons such as Governors and ecclesiastical guests. Upon the arrival of Bishop Power from Rome in the spring of 1876, for example, not only

¹⁸⁷ Such was the case in 1850 when Bishop Fleming died and again upon the death of Bishop Mullock in 1869. *BIS Minutes*, 18 July 1850 and 1 April 1869.

¹⁸⁸ BIS Minutes, 1 April 1869, 17 February 1871 and 27 June 1878.

¹⁸⁹ BIS Minutes, 22 July 1877.

 ¹⁹⁰ They are never listed as part of the processional order, even though sometimes their male counterpart was. Such was the case in 1877 when the societies marched to lay the foundation stone of St. Patrick's Hall. As might be expected, neither did they sign public addresses. *BIS Minutes*, 2 April 1876 and 22 July 1877.
 ¹⁹¹ O'Learv discusses these hierarchies in Wales, *Immigration and Integration*, 187.

¹⁹² BIS Minutes, 1 April 1869.

did the BIS speak for all the societies, but the order of the signatures on the address itself was by societal age, its being first.¹⁹³ This was again the case in 1878 when the Papal Delegate visited the city. The BIS was at the head of the societal section of the procession, and the address was given by Maurice Fenelon, President of the BIS.¹⁹⁴

The BIS would not tolerate a threat to its esteemed position and sometimes deemed it necessary to assert its authority. Upon welcoming two new Governors, the BIS insisted on maintaining its prominent position. In 1841 when Governor Harvey arrived in the city, the Newfoundland Natives Society tried to take the position of "an elder society" in the greeting party and was swiftly corrected by the society.¹⁹⁵ When the BIS planned a joint event to greet Governor Glover in 1876, it was resolved at their meeting that the BIS would "make arrangements [with the other Catholic societies] with regard to the order of procession; but with the understanding that the precedents of the Benevolent Irish Society shall not be questioned." The society was indeed first during the procession, as planned.¹⁹⁶

The decision, however, was not always theirs to make. For example, in 1860 when the Prince of Wales visited the city, an external organizing committee for the event gave precedence in the welcoming procession to Masonic Society. This decision led to a special BIS meeting during which a long and animated discussion ensued, with the majority of the speakers claiming that it had the unquestionable right to walk first on the ground of seniority. Some members, including President Edward Morris, explained that

¹⁹³ BIS Minutes, 29 March and 2 April 1876.

¹⁹⁴ BIS Minutes, 27 June 1878.

¹⁹⁵ Patriot, 10 November 1841.

¹⁹⁶ BIS Minutes, 21 and 23 November 1876.

they were not justified in discussing the subject, because it was one over which they had no control. The meeting degenerated into chaos and had to be rescheduled for later that evening, time enough for tempers to cool. At the later meeting, a priest, Reverend Vereker, and the High Sherriff, John V. Nugent, weighed in trying to make the others see the futility of objecting. They explained that they could not question a decision that had been sanctioned by the Governor and had already been published in the newspaper the *Royal Gazette*. Many members considered not marching at all, but Morris cautioned them that this would make them look bad, not only to other societies but to the public. Between a priest, a high sheriff and the President, those objecting were convinced albeit begrudgingly to give way. The BIS did march, but did not lead the procession.¹⁹⁷

In large part, however, such instances also show that prestige came from selfperception and a sense of superiority based on class. For instance, in 1877 there was another BIS upset with regard to the funeral procession for the Star of the Sea's President Captain William Jackman. Given his former position as an officer of the Society, it stood to reason that the SOS would lead the procession. However, the BIS held a special meeting and vote with regard to their position. Although they decided that the order would be at the discretion of the other associations, there was much discussion over the issue and the vote was not unanimous.¹⁹⁸ It is difficult to see how they could have even considered it on this particular occasion. It indicates that perhaps another factor was part of the equation. Part of the reason might have been that the elite leaders of the BIS, such

¹⁹⁷ BIS Minutes, 22 July 1860.

¹⁹⁸ BIS Minutes, 27 February 1877.

as Edward Morris, did not believe that lower class fishermen should assume a higher social position by virtue of leading the procession.

5.6 Social Life and Activities

The first Catholic society-sponsored social event was the BIS' St. Patrick's Day celebrations. Generally, it was observed as a holiday in the city, shops were closed and even papers did not publish so that their staff could enjoy the festivities.¹⁹⁹ There was no indication in the press that there was any violence and the day seemed to be enjoyed by all. In 1885 for example, the editor of the *Telegram* remarked that there was "a spirit of friendliness."²⁰⁰ It was a day for those of Irish descent to display "their accustomed national feeling and religious devotion."²⁰¹ As the editor of the *Patriot* stated "it is a feeling not altogether so much of exceeding veneration for the Saint himself, though both these sentiments have full swoop, as it is an expression of the sense of nationality."²⁰²

Formal BIS celebrations, however, were confined to the elite, and included a private dinner for members in their societal rooms.²⁰³ The evening banquet was the highlight of the day and the dinner itself was lavish, often described as including "every choice thing that the market afforded."²⁰⁴ In addition to members, attendees included the Catholic Bishop, the Protestant and Catholic clergy, judges, and members of the

¹⁹⁹ Patriot, 22 March 1869, 19 March 1872; Evening Telegram, 16 March 1882.

²⁰⁰ Evening Telegram, 18 March 1885.

²⁰¹ Newfoundlander, 19 March 1872.

²⁰² Patriot, 20 March 1875.

²⁰³ In 1860 it was re-affirmed by members that the dinner would remain private. *BIS Minutes*, 13 March 1860.

²⁰⁴ Patriot, 21 March 1870.

government and legislature.²⁰⁵ The Christian Brothers also attended from their arrival in the mid-1870s until 1884 when the Superior General forbade it, arguing it was not proper for a Religious to attend a public dinner.²⁰⁶ That year when invited, Brother Fleming and the other Brothers had to decline.²⁰⁷ Toasts were also a central part of the evening and were an opportunity for Catholics to self-identify and was a form of public selfrepresentation.²⁰⁸ Numbering nearly 30 each year, the toasts expressed not only their attachment to Ireland, but also "the Land We Live In," which reflected a strong attachment to Newfoundland. Toasts also expressed loyalty to the British Crown, and the Colonial and British governments, and the BIS members also raised their glasses to both the Catholic and the Protestant clergy as well as other local societies in the city.²⁰⁹

While on the surface it appeared that such festive spirit and extravagance on St. Patrick's Day indicated the BIS member's strong desire to celebrate Irishness, this was not always so. Between 1840 and 1886, the society held only twenty dinners, becoming much less frequent over time, as seen in Table 5.8. By the 1870s and 1880s, the event was clearly not a priority for BIS members, as only four were held between 1870 and 1885. Apathy amongst members was the key reason, even in the 1840s. On more than one occasion, there were only a few members interested in having a dinner at all.²¹⁰ In 1844, no dinner arrangements were made due to apathy amongst the members.²¹¹ Even more

²⁰⁵ Patriot, 22 March 1858 and 21 March 1859. In both years the editor remarked that those in attendance were numerous and comprised the elite of the city. See Patriot, 21 March 1874. On the dinner in the United States see Conzen, "The Invention of Ethnicity," 21.

²⁰⁶ Fleming to Holland, SP, #63, 1 March 1884.

²⁰⁷ Fleming to Holland, *SP*, #64, 15 March 1884.

²⁰⁸ Kathleen Neils Conzen et al, "The Invention of Ethnicity," 21.

²⁰⁹ BIS Minutes, 17 March 1846.

²¹⁰ See for example, BIS Minutes, 22 February, 4 March and 6 March 1874.

²¹¹ BIS Minutes, 10 March 1844.

than twenty years later in 1868 not enough members signed up for the dinner.²¹² Even in those years when a dinner was held attendance was not always high, averaging 120 members and guests.²¹³ Such disinterest was no doubt embarrassing for the Society, which at one point claimed that it was due to the number of members' deaths.²¹⁴

Decade	# dinners	Attendance			
		average	# times present		
			Bishop	Governor	
1840s	6	88	0	0	
1850s	5	154	2	0	
1860s	5	106	3	1	
1870s	3	109	1	1	
1880- 85	1	n/a	1	0	

Table 5.8 BIS St. Patrick's Day Dinners and Average Attendance, 1840-85

Source: BIS Minutes, 1840-85. St. Patrick's Day celebrations were usually held and entered into the minutes under the day itself, 17 March, with planning beginning right after the annual meeting, on or around 17 February each year. The dates in between the two events must be consulted to obtain full details; in addition, some extra details are sometimes found in the following year's annual report.

A steady decline in the instances when a St. Patrick's Day dinner was held was due to several reasons other than apathy and, in some instances, it was for reasons beyond the BIS's control. In 1869, for example, Bishop Mullock was very ill and the society

²¹² BIS Minutes, 15 March 1868.

²¹³ There are no consistent reports for attendance, but 178 members and their guests attended in 1851; *BIS Minutes*, no date but entered after 16 March 1851. The number dropped to 100 in 1862, and by 1864 the number decreased to seventy. In 1873 attendance increased to 130. As late as 1884 Brother Fleming remarked that only ninety BIS members had signed up for the dinner, which with guests would only amount to 180 persons. He thought that this would 'be very limited." *BIS Minutes*, 17 March 1862 and 1864; *Newfoundlander*, 18 March 1873; Fleming to Holland, *SP*, #64, 15 March 1884.

²¹⁴ Newfoundlander, 20 March 1868

decided that it would not be appropriate to hold a celebration.²¹⁵ Other reasons could range from lack of venue to the appropriateness of holding a lavish social event in years of bad fisheries.²¹⁶ The latter was the case in 1886 when the BIS resolved that it was "contrary to the instincts of that Body to feast when so many of their fellow-beings are in such a state of dire want." Instead, the society turned the festivities into a charity event to raise money for the poor.²¹⁷

By the 1870s, other BIS social events such balls and picnics also became an important part of the association's social life. As with their St. Patrick's Day dinners, these were geared towards the elite members and were very lavish. This was certainly true of its annual balls. Attendees not only included members of the government, but the various Governors as well. In fact, some were held under the patronage of the Governor and opened by him and his wife.²¹⁸ Compared to their St. Patrick's Day dinner, however, the attendance was much larger, ranging anywhere between 200 and 400 members and their guests.²¹⁹ These lavish affairs usually went into the early hours of the next morning.²²⁰ From the guest list and elegant decorations to the dinner that included the finest food and wine, it is evident that the night was meant not only for enjoyment, but to reinforce the high social status of the Catholic elite in the city. The BIS also began

²¹⁵ BIS Minutes, 5 March 1869.

²¹⁶ In addition, in 1848 the Monks were staying in the Orphan Asylum School so they could not hold a dinner; *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1848.

²¹⁷ Evening Telegram, 18 March 1886.

²¹⁸ The Ball took place on Easter Monday. *Newfoundlander*, 5 April 1866 and 1 April 1873; *BIS Minutes*, no dates but entered after St. Patrick's Day 1873.

²¹⁹ In 1855 the attendance was also quite large with over 300 members and guests. The year after, attendance numbered between 300 and 400. In 1864 the Ball did not conclude until 7am. In 1866 the attendance was reportedly 300 to 400. Other societal dinners, such as the one for the St. Andrew's Society in 1855, only saw 120 members and their guests; *Patriot*, 16 April 1855, 10 December 1855, 7 April 1856 and 7 April 1866.

²²⁰ Patriot, 5 April 1864 and 7 April 1866.

holding picnics and excursions in the 1870s and 1880s. As with their balls, attendees included the Protestant social elite and the Governor. The society marched to Topsail, outside St. John's, headed by a band where they had lunch and dinner, as well as a dance lasting until midnight. The event ended with a procession back to the city by torch light with music.²²¹

Other Catholic associations tended to sponsor less exclusive events and general entertainments such as lectures and plays. In the 1860s and early 1870s, the most common form of social event were lectures, both public and those sponsored by the various Catholic societies. For example, the Catholic Institute began holding an annual course of lectures at the BIS Orphan Asylum School the first year of their establishment in 1864. Lectures were usually given by the Catholic Bishop and clergy and, given the religious purpose of their association, they were on topics of a religious nature, such as "The Pontificate of Pius IX."²²² While the series became increasingly popular, the members wished that attendance, especially that of members, was larger.²²³

The Star of the Sea also held a formal course of lectures in the early 1880s at their Hall under the patronage of Bishop Power. As with the Catholic Institute, the majority were given by Catholic clergymen, and many concerned topics of a religious nature.²²⁴ These events, however, had a purpose other than entertainment. The Church saw it as a

²²¹ Newfoundlander, 28 July, 1 and 4 August 1876; BIS Minutes, 30 July and 2 August 1876.

²²² Patriot, 4 April 1865, 18 March 1872; Newfoundlander, 16 January 1865, 11 May 1865.

²²³ Minutes of the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute, 2 March 1873 and 2 March 1874; Newfoundlander, 11 May 1865 and 1 March 1866.

²²⁴ Evening Telegram, 25 January and 8 February 1882.

means to elevate the lower class intellectually by educating them on matters of religion and literature.²²⁵

Public and association lectures covered a range of topics from religion and history to literature, current affairs and politics.²²⁶ Those that were about Ireland were given by both Catholics and Protestants. The latter, however, chose a rather benign and cautious approach, steering away from topics concerning Irish politics and nationalism. For instance, in 1862 Rev. Moses Harvey, a Presbyterian clergyman from Armagh, gave a general lecture on Irish History.²²⁷ In 1863 and 1864, he again spoke on "Ireland, her history, and her people," as well about Irish Protestant writers Edmund Burke and Oliver Goldsmith.²²⁸ In contrast, Catholic speakers often chose to discuss the thorny issues of nationalist politics. Prominent members of the elite and even the Bishop spoke on a range of issues from political events and figures such as Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Meagher and the Volunteers of 1782.²²⁹ The Irish diaspora was another subject of interest.²³⁰ In 1873, Bishop Mullock gave a lecture of a decidedly nationalist tone, recounting how the misgovernment of Ireland resulted in Irish emigration. He tempered his argument somewhat, however, noting that emigration was a good thing because it had supplied many great statesmen, artists and military men all over the world. More importantly, he

²²⁵ Patriot, 15 November 1875.

²²⁶ Some, for example, concerned British historical events and characters. One such lecture was about the life of Mary Queen of Scots given by Rev. M.A. Clancey; *Patriot*, 6 March 1875.

²²⁷ Patriot, 21 March 1863.

²²⁸ Newfoundlander, 5 March 1863 and 18 January 1864; Patriot, 22 March 1864.

²²⁹ Newfoundlander, 13 February and 20 April 1865. Kent later gave other lectures as well. In February 1875 he spoke about the Institute. Newfoundlander, 12 February 1866, 21 January 1873, 9 February 1875, and 2 February 1877.

²³⁰ Newfoundlander, 24 January 1873.

argued, emigration was the means for spreading Catholicism throughout the diaspora.²³¹ The work of local Irish Catholics was also a subject of some lectures. For example, Edward Morris lectured on the BIS and its founders, focusing on its high position in the community and it charitable endeavors.²³²

The lectures given as part of the SOS's series concerning Ireland and Irish politics were also nationalist in tone. One in 1886, given by Rev. L.G. McNeill, discussed Daniel O'Connell's political triumphs. Not shying away from controversy, he argued that O'Connell fought for Catholics who had been "ground down by coercion and heartless landlords."²³³ Some lectures concerned contemporary political events in Ireland. For example, in April 1883, Rev. M.J. Clarke gave a talk about Home Rule. The topic was described by the editor of the *Telegram* as "of deep practical interest and at this critical time in Irish History cannot fail to be most attractive." He hoped that the able speaker would be able to allay any confusion about the subject. ²³⁴ It was reportedly well received, the evening ending with music and the singing of "Come Back to Erin."²³⁵

From the 1870s onwards, however, lectures were eclipsed by "entertainments" such as plays as the most popular events. Middle class societies such as the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute held evenings of songs and readings, which sometimes included Irish material such as Moore's Melodies, or the reading of "Irish Exiles' Love of Country."²³⁶ In contrast, those of the lower classes such as the SOS and the TAB preferred to sponsor

²³¹ Newfoundlander, 24 April 1865.

²³² Newfoundlander, 21 January and 7 February 1873.

²³³ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 21 April 1886.

²³⁴ Evening Telegram, 5 April 1883.

²³⁵ Evening Telegram, 6 April 1883.

²³⁶ Patriot, 26 January and 6 February 1875.

plays, which became the most popular and well attended social events in St. John's.²³⁷ This was facilitated by the fact that these societies had two of the largest entertainment halls in the city. The TAB Hall opened in 1873 and the SOS Hall in1875.²³⁸ The social calendar was dictated by the fishery, as plays and other entertainments were held during the "dull season" of winter when the fishermen were unemployed.²³⁹ The Church fully endorsed these events, arguing that it would keep the temporarily unemployed lower classes occupied and out of trouble. More importantly, it kept them out of the public house.²⁴⁰ Rev. Howley no doubt had this in mind when he argued that the function of the SOS Hall was not only for recreation, but a place to promote temperance and other Christian principles.²⁴¹

Plays sponsored by the SOS and the TAB were consistently attended, reportedly by all classes in the city. Part of the reason for their popularity was simply due to the fact that in the depths of winter there was very little else to do. The editor of the *Newfoundlander* explained that "Lectures, Concerts, and Soirees have now become the order of the night. We have settled down into that periodical interval of dul[1]ness which renders these sources of relief particularly opportune and appreciable."²⁴² The sanction and attendance of the Bishop, clergy and Christian Brothers may have also had a role to play as well.²⁴³ Consistent attendance was even evident in years when the fishery was bad

²³⁷ Evening Telegram, 3 March 1882.

²³⁸TAB, Jubilee Volume, 57; Newfoundland Fisherman's Star of the Sea Association, 100 Years, [12].

²³⁹ Evening Telegram, 3 March 1882.

²⁴⁰ Newfoundlander, 19 April 1872.

²⁴¹ Newfoundlander, 29 May 1874.

²⁴² Newfoundlander, 1 February 1883.

²⁴³ The Christian Brothers attended such events for number of years until the Brother Superior directed them to stop doing so, believing it was not appropriate behaviour. Fleming to Holland, *SP*, #64, 15 March 1884.

and there was widespread poverty. One letter to the editor in 1869, for example, stated that "notwithstanding the great poverty to which our community in general have been reduced, the troupe of play-actors who have recently arrived here, attract crowds of people night after night."²⁴⁴

In particular, it was popular Irish comedies and dramas staged by both local amateur and professional troupes on tour that drew crowded houses. In the 1870s, Healy's Dramatic Company visited St. John's and staged several Irish melodramas and comedies, such as Dion Boucicault's "Colleen Bawn" and "The Shaughraun," all of which drew large audiences to the Temperance Hall.²⁴⁵ The editor of the *Newfoundlander* remarked that the season had "been so long and prosperous, and we sincerely hope that the house will be crowded and thereby convince Mr. Healy that his efforts to amuse, instruct and otherwise please our people, have been thoroughly appreciated by us.²⁴⁶ In the 1880s, local amateur companies such as the TAB dramatic company also began staging Irish dramas such as the comedy "O'Callahan on his Last Legs," described in one paper as having taken "the House by storm.²⁴⁷ Other plays by amateur theatre groups, like "The Irishman's Fortune," were also very popular.²⁴⁸ The most successful plays were again those of Dion Boucicault, which had been successful elsewhere such as New York. Some

²⁴⁴ Patriot, 5 July 1869.

²⁴⁵ They also performed "Kathleen Mavourneen,""The Limerick Boy," "Peep-o'Day Boys," and "The Irish Tutor." *Newfoundlander*, 1, 5, 8, 12, 15 November, 20 December 1878 and 10, 24, 31 January, 21 and 25 February 1879.

²⁴⁶ Newfoundlander, 21 February 1879. Some visiting troupes staging Irish dramas, however, did not do so well. One troupe's visit in 1879 was a flop. The play "Pyke O'Callaghan" was staged by a reputable theatrical company that, according to the *Evening Telegram*, was "the largest and most talented and expensive operatic and dramatic companies under his management outside of New York, Boston and Philadelphia." However, his company had been experiencing money troubles. There was no specific reason given as to why his plays were doing so badly in St. John's. *Evening Telegram*, 1 and 19 November 1879.

²⁴⁸ Evening Telegram, 5 and 10 February 1883.

were so well-received that they were shown in multiple years. For example, "Arrah-na-Pogue," or the "Wicklow Wedding," was shown in 1879 and 1880 and again in 1882 for three weeks, with crowded houses on several nights.²⁴⁹ In 1885 the TAB's dramatic company staged the "Shaughraun" followed the next year by "Colleen Bawn," both of which drew crowded houses on multiple nights.²⁵⁰

In addition to theatre groups, other Irish-themed acts that visited St. John's on tour also did well. For example, in 1858 an Irish piper, Mr. G, Ferguson, entertained at Mechanics' Hall, which was reportedly "crowded from floor to ceiling" for several nights, with many turned away at the door.²⁵¹ He was a crowd favorite, and did many shows over the span of several weeks.²⁵² In 1862, an exhibition of Irish scenery called "The Hibernicon," also known as "A Tour In Ireland," met with similar success. The exhibition, which was accompanied by a variety act, travelled to the city from Halifax and Saint John, where it had been very popular.²⁵³ In St. John's, it was crowded nightly by enthusiastic audiences who lined up hours beforehand to make sure they got a ticket.²⁵⁴ The show was held over for two extra nights due to demand and then traveled to Harbour Grace.²⁵⁵ The tour came back for several weeks in May and June 1872, and was as much of a success as the first time, drawing crowds nightly.²⁵⁶ The show, which now included an Irish Comedy and Sketch Company, returned in 1877 and 1878 to TAB Hall, which

²⁴⁹ Evening Telegram, 1 October 1879, 12 December 1882; Newfoundlander, 26 November 1880.

²⁵⁰ Evening Telegram, 17 November 1885, 19 May 1886.

²⁵¹ Newfoundlander, 23 September 1858.

²⁵² Newfoundlander, 11 October 1858.

²⁵³ Newfoundlander, 6 November 1862.

²⁵⁴ Newfoundlander, 13 November 1862.

²⁵⁵ Newfoundlander, 20 November 1862.

²⁵⁶ One of the entertainments in 1872 was under the patronage of Governor Hill and his wife. *Newfoundlander*, 7 and 18 June 1872.

was filled to capacity every night.²⁵⁷ Such interest continued into the 1880s. In August 1883, for example, Sallon & Burns' Irish Minstrels, a Minstrel and Variety show opened at the SOS Hall. It featured "the most popular Irish Comedians and Dancers of America [...] making it the finest Irish Show travelling." It was a great success, running both evening and afternoon shows.²⁵⁸

5.7 Raising Money

[•] Apart from general entertainment, social events such as plays were a means to raise money for the poor in the community. The St. Vincent De Paul Society and its Ladies' branch would sometimes collect at the door of an event and theatricals were also held in aid of the Society.²⁵⁹ In January 1865, St. Bonaventure's held quite successful Christmas Theatricals in aid of the Society. Each night the College Room was filled to capacity, with people turned away at the door.²⁶⁰ Sometimes the Catholic clergy would assist St. Vincent de Paul by giving lectures.²⁶¹ In addition, Catholic societies began donating money from their entertainments.²⁶² In the 1880s, both branches of the St.

²⁵⁷ The show stayed for several weeks. *Newfoundlander*, 14, 21, 28 August 1877 and 6, 10, 13, 17 September 1878.

²⁵⁸ Evening Telegram, 28 August, 1 and 3 September 1883.

²⁵⁹Patriot, 23 March 1868. £14 raised from the Catholic Institute's theatrical performance was donated to the Ladies of the Mercy Convent in aid of the poor. In February 1869, the St. Vincent de Paul Society received a 10 shilling donation from the Royal Artillery Amateur Dramatic Company. In 1876 the Ladies of St. Vincent de Paul received just over £5 from an entertainment given by the St. John's United Assistants Association; *Newfoundlander*, 2 January 1865, 25 February 1876; *Patriot*, 13 January 1866 and 1 February 1869.

²⁶⁰ Newfoundlander, 5 January 1865. The proceeds amounted to just over £30.

²⁶¹ In March 1883, Rev. M.P. Morris gave a lecture entitled "Memories of Outharbour Life," likely because he had resided for 10 years on the west coast. *Evening Telegram*, 9 and 10 March 1883.

²⁶² Evening Telegram, 13 January 1883.

Vincent de Paul societies also held fundraising events of their own.²⁶³ The ladies held annual charity concerts in aid of the poor.²⁶⁴ This was, however, an uncertain way to raise money. For example, one Irish play, "Con O'Carolon's Dream" staged in March 1886 in aid of the poor did not do as well and only one half of the SOS Hall was filled. The reason may have been the timing. Most people probably could not afford the admission price so near the end of a winter without work or wages, especially if they had been attending entertainments during the winter season.²⁶⁵

Fundraising in aid of the expansion of church infrastructure and educational institutions in St. John's was also transformed into a social event. In the 1860s, bazaars, in particular, became a popular and successful way to raise funds. The use of bazaars and fairs as a form of parish fundraising was common in Europe and America in the mid-to late-nineteenth century. This was not only a new way to raise money, but also allowed women to take a leading role in the social life of the community. In examining Irish Catholic parish fairs held in New York, Colleen McDannell identifies the same common denominator on both sides of the Atlantic: "women raised money for communal needs through the exchange of goods for cash."²⁶⁶ These events showcased middle class Irish Catholic women and their "manners and accouterments," reflecting what was in style and what was acceptable. They were also firmly within the 'women's sphere,' often seen as

²⁶³ Evening Telegram, 20 and 23 January, 19 February 1883. At the latter concert a little over £45 was collected.

²⁶⁴ Newfoundlander, 22 February 1876; Evening Telegram, 19 February 1880.

²⁶⁵ Evening Telegram, 20, 24 and 27 March 1886.

²⁶⁶ Colleen McDannell, "Going to the Ladies' Fair: The Irish Catholics in New York City, 1870-1900," *The New York Irish* (Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher, eds.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 236-7. It should be noted here that McDannell distinguishes between large, longer fairs, some lasting over one month, and smaller, shorter bazaars. The bazaars in St. John's, in their duration, were more akin to the fairs she describes. Both of these are really the same type of event, and are organized for the same purpose.

domestic rather than political. The fairs created an indoor semi-domestic sphere run by women, filled with housewares and food, in contrast to the outdoor 'men in action' display of the St. Patrick's Day parade and other processions where women were simply onlookers.²⁶⁷ In addition, as a method of fundraising, the bazaar was also "both cause and effect of the expanding influence of women in philanthropy."²⁶⁸

This was also the case in St. John's, where the bazaars were primarily organized and run by Catholic women.²⁶⁹ Their zeal and dedication was often commended by the press and the clergy, and it was in large part because of their efforts that the events were so successful.²⁷⁰ They were held in the fall of the year, usually October, and lasted for several weeks.²⁷¹ While the events were organized by Catholics for a Catholic purpose, anyone could attend and support the cause. In addition, they were patronized by the Governor and his wife.²⁷²

One of the first bazaars held in St. John's was in October-November 1864 in aid of the building of St. Patrick's Church.²⁷³ It proved to be a tremendous success, raising

²⁶⁷ McDannell, "Going to the Ladies' Fair," 248-9.

²⁶⁸ Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy, 57.

²⁶⁹ The organizers of a bazaar in 1864, for example, included Mrs. Kent, Mrs. Shea, Mrs. Hogsett, Mrs. Fox, Mrs. Renouf, Mrs. O'Grady and Mrs. Morris. *Newfoundlander*, 20 and 24 October 1864; *Patriot*, 1 November 1864; *Evening Telegram*, 11 November 1879; *Patriot*, 17 November 1879; Singleton, *St. Patrick's Church*, 32.

²⁷⁰ Patriot, 26 October 1874; Newfoundlander, 31 October 1864.

²⁷¹ Women organized bazaars in the 1860s to aid various causes. Protestant Churches and organizations also had Bazaars. In 1862 for example, one was held to aid the erection of a Central School Building, to replace the charity school. In December 1874 the Ladies of Queen's Road Chapel organized a bazaar and Christmas Tree Exhibition at the Masonic Hall to aid the erection of a building to train missionary teachers. In September 1886 there was a bazaar in aid of the Methodist College. *Patriot*, 4 and 26 July 1862; *Newfoundlander*, 22 December 1874; *Evening Telegram*, 4 September 1886; Fleming to Maxwell, *SP*, #59, 22 November 1881.
²⁷² There were similar events held to help build the Anglican Cathedral. In 1884 a Fancy Fair was held for

²⁷² There were similar events held to help build the Anglican Cathedral. In 1884 a Fancy Fair was held for that purpose and Catholics in particular patronized the event to help the cause. *Patriot*, 17 November 1879 and 18 October 1884.

²⁷³ Newfoundlander, 5 September 1864; Rev. Richard Singleton, ed., St. Patrick's Church: One Hundred Years 1881-1981 (St. John's: Robinson-Blackmore Ltd., 1981), 32.

£1354, the single largest sum to be raised for any cause to that date.²⁷⁴ This led to several other bazaars in aid of St. Patrick's Church in the 1870s. In late October 1874 one was hosted at the TAB Hall, and another in 1879 at the SOS Hall.²⁷⁵ These two bazaars were even greater successes with a combined total of over £5200, and certainly made them the single most important source of money for the building fund.²⁷⁶

Lotteries held at the end of each of these bazaars and often featured Irish-made prizes such as Limerick lace shawls, illustrations of Ireland, and paintings of Irish figures such as St. Patrick and even Charles Stewart Parnell. Other prizes included a wide range of goods such as jewelry, furniture and toys. ²⁷⁷ Often these goods were raffled off at fairs as opposed to being purchased, a practice that can be seen as indicative of the absence of Catholic purchasing power. By holding a lottery, the fair would receive small amounts of money from many patrons who, otherwise, could not afford to buy anything on display.²⁷⁸

This raises the question of what class contributed the most money to bazaars. There was a small entrance fee to allow the lower classes entrance to the event.²⁷⁹ There was something for everyone, as articles ranged from cheap goods such as food, to an array of fancy goods, both imported and locally made.²⁸⁰ However, the majority of money raised came from private donations in aid of the bazaars. These came not only from

²⁷⁷ It is not clear which order of nuns this refers to. Fleming to Holland, SP, # 100, 24 May 1886;

²⁷⁴ Singleton, St. Patrick's Church, 32.

 ²⁷⁵ Newfoundlander, 27 October and 3 November 1874; Evening Telegram, 11 November 1879; Singleton, St. Patrick's Church, 34-5.
 ²⁷⁶ The Bazaar in 1874 raised over £2500, while the one held in 1879 raised £2700. Power remarked on the

²⁷⁶ The Bazaar in 1874 raised over £2500, while the one held in 1879 raised £2700. Power remarked on the success of the events and their large contribution towards finishing St. Patrick's Church. Singleton, *St. Patrick's Church*, 34.

Newfoundlander, 6 October 1864, 27 October and 3 November 1874; Patriot, 21 September 1874; Evening Telegram, 24 November 1879.

²⁷⁸ McDannell, "Going to the Ladies' Fair," 239.

 ²⁷⁹ Not all amounts were Singleton, *St. Patrick's Church*, 34-5; *Evening Telegram*, 11 November 1879.
 ²⁸⁰ Newfoundlander, 27 October and 3 November 1874; Singleton, *St. Patrick's Church*, 34-5; *Evening Telegram*, 11 November 1879.

wealthy Catholics, but Protestants as well. Bazaars were patronized by all classes and denominations, including Governor Musgrave and his wife, as well as the more respectable citizens.²⁸¹ Individual Protestants also donated large sums. For example, James McLoughlin, MHA for St. John's West, donated £600 pounds and the P&L Tessier firm donated £100. While McLoughlin was an Irish-born Catholic, the Tessiers were Congregationalists, and in fact several of the major donors were also Protestants.²⁸² This was common elsewhere in the diaspora as well, as wealthy Protestants would donate items, or provide moral and financial support to the bazaars and the cause they were in aid of.²⁸³

In the 1880s, bazaars continued to be used as a means to raise money for other causes, such as to help the Christian Brothers liquidate the £4000 debt on their residence at Mount St. Francis.²⁸⁴ These, however, were more elaborate than the previous ones, which was most evident in the choice of items sold. More expensive goods including paintings, gold watches, jewelry and bound religious texts, indicated a higher degree of Catholic purchasing power, and an increase in the wealth of the community.²⁸⁵ When news of it made its way to Ireland, the Bishop of Clogher donated an expensive centerpiece. The Bishop stated that the Dukes of Newcastle and Connaught owned one of these centerpieces from a pottery works in County Fermanagh, which the artists claimed

²⁸¹ The organizers included Mrs. Kent, Mrs. Shea, Mrs. Hogsett, Mrs. Fox, Mrs. Renouf, Mrs. O'Grady and Mrs. Morris. *Newfoundlander*, 20 and 24 October 1864; *Patriot*, 1 November 1864; Singleton, *St. Patrick's Church*, 32.

²⁸² Baker, "The Government of St. John's Newfoundland, 1800-1921," Appendix II:3; Singleton, St. Patrick's Church, 35.

²⁸³ McDannell, "Going to the Ladies' Fair," 237-8, 247.

²⁸⁴ At the one in October 1881 the Governor donated \$40. *Patriot*, 5 September and 31 October 1881; Fleming to Maxwell, SP, #59, 22 November 1881.

²⁸⁵ Newfoundlander, 23 August 1881.

was "the most artistic piece they have ever yet produced." The *Newfoundlander* stated that it was quite an elaborate event.²⁸⁶ The changed character of the event denoted the general change in the community itself as the size of its middle class grew.

In addition to bazaars, other forms of fundraising in aid of the Church appeared in the 1870s and again women took a leading role. These were parish-based associations such as the Cathedral and St. Patrick's Christian Doctrine Societies, designed to raise money specifically for the parish.²⁸⁷ Unfortunately, nothing is known about these organizations, except for the occasional passing reference in the local press referring to fundraising efforts for their parishes.²⁸⁸ The same is true of another association called the Catholic Altar Society, which had an Annual Christmas Tree Exhibition in the 1870s at the various Catholic Halls.²⁸⁹ The admission price was low, but could yield good results. For example, in January 1877 the first day of the Exhibition saw a return of around £30 and the second £40.²⁹⁰

The clergy also began organizing social events as a means to raise money for the Church. In the late 1870s, for example, parish priests at St. Patrick's organized fairs to raise money in aid of the construction of their Church. In 1879, for example, the clergy held one at the SOS Hall in aid of the building fund. Different from the bazaar, the focus

²⁸⁶ Newfoundlander, 25 October 1881.

²⁸⁷ Evening Telegram, 27 August 1883. The paper announced that they were to have a meeting at 7 that night to make arrangements for a trip to Topsail.

 ²⁸⁸ In 1875 the Cathedral Society had an exhibition at TAB Hall in aid of the Cathedral. They thanked the BIS for the use of their rooms for their meetings. In February 1891 the Society presented an address to Father John Ryan, parish priest at St. Patrick's Riverhead, during the celebrations commemorating his silver jubilee at the Star of the Sea Hall. Father Ryan was born in Co. Tipperary in 1843 and arrived in Newfoundland in October 1865. Initially, he served in parishes outside St. John's, but in 1873 became parish priest at St. Patrick's. *Newfoundlander*, 31 December 1875; *Colonist*, 3 February 1891.
 ²⁸⁹ In early January 1875 it was held at the Orphan Asylum, but in 1878 it was held at TAB Hall;

Newfoundlander, 22 December 1874, 1 and 5 January 1875; Patriot, 14 January 1878. ²⁹⁰ Newfoundlander, 5 January 1877.

was not on purchasing goods, but rather showcasing a number of creatures and "curiosities" on display, with animals being of particular interest.²⁹¹ In addition to bazaars, fairs, with a greater variety of entertainments, were also another important method of fundraising for the Church.²⁹²

5.8 Conclusion

The number of Catholic societies increased in the second half of the nineteenth century and was the result of a number of factors. The Catholic population formed the majority of the city's population and had an increasingly prosperous elite and Church that could establish and assume control over associations. Although the former had a great degree of control over their societies, they not only sought the sanction of the Church but allowed it to have power over them. The main reason was that these societies were Catholic and their rules and activities promoted active participation in the Catholic religion. This was also evident in the lower class organizations. Even though they were primarily benefit societies, they too were established or directed in some way by the Church, which instilled in them a moral imperative: to infuse respectability into the working class. Societies such as the Temperance and Benefit Society and the Star of the Sea Association were a means to make the working class moral, sober and self-reliant citizens.

Each association in St. John's represented a different aspect of Irish Catholic identity, although they were all bound together as Catholic societies. The Benevolent Irish

²⁹¹ Evening Telegram, 18 November 1879.

²⁹² See Prochaska for an extended discussion of fairs and bazaars as a means of income for charitable and church causes, *Women and Philanthropy*, 47-72.

Society represented Irishness; the St. Joseph's Catholic Institute displayed faith; the Total Abstinence and Benefit Society showed a dedication to sobriety and respectability, temperance being of course one of the great causes of the Victorian Age; and the St. Vincent de Paul Society reflected the community's civic-minded charitable impulses. To these can be added two associations that were established on an exclusively class and occupational basis: the Mechanics Society for tradesmen, and the Newfoundland Fishermen's Star of the Sea Association established for Catholic fishermen. The TAB, Mechanics, and SOS were also benefit societies which reflected both a desire and need for self-help within the Catholic community. While this was undoubtedly a selling point for these societies, the appeal of "club life" was likely an equally strong draw for prospective members.²⁹³

Catholic societies also played an increasingly important role in the economic life of the community, especially the Church. By the 1880s, they had become an essential source of money, sponsoring and helping to organize fundraising events in aid of the poor and church expansion. It is in fundraising that middle class Catholic women become visibly important. They, like their husbands, took the lead in such things as bazaars and charitable work, taking on a valuable leadership role.

Catholic associations were not only numerically strong, but a visible physical presence in the social life of the city. They held lavish social events such as parades, balls and soirces. For middle class societies this served to reinforce to their Protestant counterparts their equality of social position, and for lower class Catholics it showed that

²⁹³ O'Leary makes the same observation about Irish associations in Wales, *Immigration and Integration*, 187.

they were indeed orderly and respectable citizens. Some, such as the Total Abstinence and Benefit Society and the Star of the Sea, also built large halls that reflected the communal financial strength of their members as well as the individual society's centrality to the social life of the community, as it was here that plays, lectures, and bazaars were held.

There was another society in St. John's, however, based neither on religion nor class that Catholics could join between 1840 and the early 1860s: the Newfoundland Natives' Society. It was an ethnic society, designed to bring together Newfoundland natives under the auspices of benevolence, fraternity and nationalist ideals. It mostly attracted middle class Catholics who were also members and leaders of other associations. Unfortunately, the Society caused a rift in the community between the native and Irish-born. Those middle class Catholics who joined found themselves largely ostracized, as the Irish-born elite viewed their participation as a bid for political and social control of the community. There could only be one Catholic elite, but would it be an Irish or Newfoundland elite, and how would the difference be defined?

Chapter 6

Newfoundland Nativism

Politics in Newfoundland in the nineteenth century was greatly affected by the appearance of nativism and the Newfoundland Natives' Society in 1840. Best known from nineteenth-century American History, the term "nativism" was used initially to describe the anti-immigrant, anti-Irish and anti-Catholic movement of the 1830s and 1840s. It arose out of native-born America's middle-class fears concerning the large influx of poor Irish Catholics at a time of economic depression. The political high point of American nativism was the Know-Nothing Movement of the 1850s, although this quickly fragmented and disappeared on the eve of the Civil War. In contrast to the American example, however, the Newfoundland nativist movement that emerged in the 1830s and 1840s was not racist, xenophobic or violent.¹ As in other parts of British North America, nativist sentiment was rooted in a larger context having to do with the growth of local patriotism, spurred by the political, economic and social progress of the nineteenth century. This progress was accompanied by a new self-definition, in which colonists began to think of themselves less as English, Irish or Scottish, and more as a distinct native population living in a distinct native home. Nevertheless, in places like Nova

¹ Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish* (New York: Pearson, 2000), 80-2, 116. It is generally believed that the American movement was anti-Catholic, but new work by Tyler Anbinder has shown that Catholics were involved in the Know-Nothing movement in the southern states. For a more detailed examination see *Nativism and Slavery* (New York: Oxford UP, 1992), xii, xiv.

Scotia this new patriotism was closely linked to an anti-Irish sentiment due to an influx of immigrants.²

For the Catholic community in St. John's, the appearance of the Natives' Society had profound repercussions. First, it provided native-born middle class Catholics with an organized political voice and possible avenue for political involvement. Second, it facilitated, for the first time, a formal articulation of a Newfoundland identity and, as such, was a formative period in terms of the evolution of the Catholic community's identity. This new self-definition was problematic, however, not only because it divided the community between Irish-born and native-born, but also in terms of the ramifications within the broader political and class context. The movement redefined and questioned preexisting ethnic boundaries, and the issue of what the labels of "native" and "Irish" meant suddenly emerged. How did Catholics define these terms? What Catholics joined the nativist movement and why? How did they define the goal of the movement, and what did they hope to achieve by joining? What were the long-term ramifications for the Catholic community?

6.1 The Establishment of the Newfoundland Natives' Society

The Newfoundland Natives' Society (NNS) was established in St. John's in June 1840 by middle class Catholics and Protestants and lasted until 1863, almost fifteen years

² A.J.B. Johnston, "Nativism in Nova Scotia: Anti-Irish Ideology in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century British Colony," *The Irish in Atlantic Canada, 1780-1900* (T. Power, ed.; Fredericton, NB: New Ireland Press, 1991), 24.

beyond what some historians have suggested.³ The initial meeting made clear the impetus behind its creation:

The Natives of Newfoundland are fast swelling in numbers and importance, and it is true that as a people they should have a standing and a character in their own country. While others make Newfoundland a resting place on their journey, looking to some more attractive land as the ultimatum of their career, those born on the soil and trained from their infancy to regard it as their home and their patrimony, remain attached to the place where they derive their birth.⁴

The Society also committed itself to benevolent endeavours, establishing Committees of Charity and Relief.⁵ The night of its founding meeting, speeches emphasized the importance of the Society in terms of defining a Newfoundland identity and uniting natives, regardless of ethnicity or religion, under one banner. As Presbyterian Robert Parsons boldly proclaimed, "this night we proclaim ourselves a people – we proclaim our nationality, and we shall fail to do our duty if henceforward we do not make that nationality to be respected."⁶ This self-definition clearly reflected a sentiment in which colonists began to see their native home as a distinct place, and themselves a distinct people. However, this new identity was still firmly attached to a sense of colonial identity

³ Other branches of the organization soon spread to areas just outside the city such as Harbour Grace, Spaniard's Bay and Conception Bay. 1862 was the last time the Society was listed in the *Newfoundland Almanac*. John FitzGerald has wrongly dated its demise to 1847, and Patrick O'Flaherty suggests that the NNS disappeared around this time as well. "The Newfoundland Tricolor Pink, White and Green Flag" [Based on a column originally published in The Sunday Independent, vol. 1, no.1 (12 October 2003)] (dated 9 January 2005; viewed 18 November, 2007), <

http://www.theindependent.ca/article.asp?AID=556&ATID=2>; Patrick O'Flaherty, Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843-1933 (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 2005), 48 and O'Flaherty "Natives' Society, the Newfoundland" Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL), vol. 4, 21-7; Patriot and Terra Nova Herald (Patriot), 31 August 1840.

⁴ Newfoundlander, 25 June 1840.

⁵ Patriot, 31 August 1840; Geoff Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives Society in the Political Crisis of 1840-2" (Honours Dissertation: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1984), 21, 32.

⁶ Patriot, 12 September 1840.

within the British Empire.⁷ As Geoff Budden has suggested, this new feeling of pride of place in Newfoundland sparked the beginning of a nascent Newfoundland nationalism that would continue to strengthen in the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁸

Catholics were heavily involved in the NNS from its inception. A full list of officers is provided in Appendix G, Table G1. In fact, the idea to establish the Society originated with a prominent Catholic physician and former naval officer, Dr. Edward Kielley, who was the first President. Of the six founding officers of the Society, four were Catholics and included President Kielley, second Vice-President James Hogan, Chair of Charity Phillip Duggan, and Secretary John Ryan. The founding meeting was held at Ryan's fish store, and another initial meeting later that month was held at the premises of another Catholic, Dennis Hanigan.⁹ Catholics were not only founding members of the NNS, but occupied high ranking positions, as shown in Tables 6.1 and 6.2.1. Out of seven presidents, three were Catholic, including Philip Duggan who was one of the longest serving officers. He was President for five consecutive terms, and was only exceeded by Protestant Hugh Hoyles who held that position for six terms.

⁷ Johnston, "Nativism in Nova Scotia," 24.

⁸ Budden, The Role of the Newfoundland Natives Society, 51.

⁹ Budden, The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society, 20-1.

#	Name	Years	Religion	Occupation	MHA
1	Kielley, Dr. Edward	1840-1	Catholic	Surgeon	
2	Carter, Lt. Robert, RN (retired)	1842	Anglican	Naval Officer (retired); Magistrate; Merchant (family firm)	x
3	Barnes, Richard [Jr.]	1843-5	Congregationalist	Businessman (family shipping / carpentry firm)	x
4	Shea, Ambrose	1846-8	Catholic	Merchant	x
5	Hoyles, Hugh W.	1849- 51	Anglican	Lawyer	x
6	Clift, James S Old Resident	1852-3	Anglican	Merchant	
	Hoyles, H., re- elected	1854		19	
7	Duggan, Phillip	1857- 61	Catholic	unknown	
	Hoyles, H., re- elected	1862-3	A Star	an general second and a second a	

Table 6.1 Natives' Society Presidents, 1840-63

Sources: This table is based on Appendix G, Table G1 for which a complete list of sources is given.

Of the 33 individuals who served on the NNS executive between 1840 and 1863, at least ten were Catholic, or about one-third, although the denomination of many others is unknown. In general, the executive was middle class, and one-third of officers served as MHAs, including three Catholics. There was a strong correlation between the NNS and BIS executive, as nine out of ten Catholic officers were also officers of that Society. In terms of occupational profile, the majority of officers, Catholic and Protestant, as shown in Table 6.2.2, were merchants. However, as with religion, the occupation of many is unknown. Members of the executive were also politically active. Four of the seven

presidents were MHAs, including Ambrose Shea. Many had long political careers such as Shea, Hugh Hoyles and F.B.T. Carter.¹⁰

Total officers	33			
Catholic	10			
Protestant	12			
unknown	11			
Served as MHA				
Total	10			
Catholic	3			
Protestant	7			

Table 6.2.1 Natives' Society Officers: Religion and Number of MHAs

Table 6.2.2 Occupations of NNS Officers

Occupation	Catholic	Protestant	unknown
Businessman		1	
Druggist	1		
Lawyer		2	
Magistrate		1	
Merchant	3	7	
Naval Officer		1	
Physician		1	
Surgeon	1		
unknown	5	1	11

Common Sources: These tables are based on Appendix G, Table G1 for which a complete list of sources is given.

Catholics were also active members of the NNS, but the exact number and their age and occupational profile cannot be determined because none of the records have

¹⁰ Budden, The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society, 51.

survived.¹¹ Nevertheless, through a combination of primary and secondary sources, it is possible to identify a few Catholic members. In the early years of its existence membership reached several hundred, but only 43 individuals can be identified by tracing their names through participation on various Committees of Management and Charity. Of the 43, six Catholics and nine Protestants can be identified. However, for the remaining 29 members, denomination and, in many cases, any other information at all, could not be determined.¹²

6.2 Political Background: the 1830s

In addition to a growing patriotic sentiment, the foundation of the NNS was due to the larger political context of the 1830s and early 1840s. The changing demographic nature of St. John's due to the decline in large-scale immigration in the late 1840s meant that the number of native-born was surpassing the foreign-born. Nevertheless, the character of the formal political establishment in the 1830s, in which the recently arrived foreign-born elite dominated, did not mirror this change. Immigrant domination of local politics began with a campaign for a local assembly in the 1820s, led by Scottish physician and writer William Carson and Irish-born merchant Patrick Morris, both recent immigrants to Newfoundland. Carson and Morris established a reform committee and petitioned the British Parliament on the residents' behalf. After several years of reform

¹¹ The rules stated that record books recording the age, occupation and place of residence of each member would be kept. *Newfoundlander*, 17 October 1840; O'Flaherty, "Natives' Society," 24.

¹² Ledger, 16 and 23 November 1842, 18 July 1845, 18 June 1847, 21 June 1851; *Newfoundlander*, 20 June 1844; *Patriot*, 22 June 1842, 19 June 1843, 28 May 1845; 1841 Managing Committee of the Newfoundland Natives' Society from signatures to Governor Prescott, CO 194/111, 368-9; Budden, 20-22; names from these sources were searched in the *ENL* and the *DCB*.

campaigning, the Colonial Office responded by granting Newfoundland Representative Government in 1832.¹³

The representative system, in place between 1832 and 1855, was bicameral and consisted of an elected assembly and an appointed council. The Governor had great power as he had the authority to dissolve the legislature and did not answer to the Assembly.¹⁴ This system, however, caused more problems than it solved as there were great differences between the Council and the Assembly. The Council comprised men whom the Governor personally appointed, and he usually chose military men and Anglican merchants. He also made all patronage appointments.¹⁵ In contrast, the elected Assembly was mostly comprised of Irish Catholics and Methodists.¹⁶ There was also a power imbalance between the branches, which led to battles regarding specific issues such as expenditure. For example, while the Assembly had a say over the way in which revenue was raised, it had no control over how it was spent, such as hiring or the payment of salaries. In the 1830s and 1840s, this led to a struggle as those in the Assembly not only fought for more official power, but patronage, and the Council's stranglehold over both caused great resentment.¹⁷

There were also ideological differences between the members of the Council and the Assembly. Members of the former were mostly 'Tories' while the latter were reformers, or Liberals as they became known in the latter part of the 1830s. The Tories

¹³ Gertrude Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 1832-64 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 3-4; Sean Cadigan, Hope and Deception in Conception Bay: Merchant-Settler Relations in Newfoundland, 1785-1855 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 33.

¹⁴ Sean Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 109-110.

¹⁵ Cadigan, Hope and Deception, 142.

¹⁶ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 65.

¹⁷ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 110; Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 65.

represented mercantile interests and were opposed to any further constitutional changes that they believed would dilute their political and economic dominance. They safeguarded their interests through the Council, having the ultimate authority to pass or reject any legislation that they objected to.¹⁸ The Liberals argued that they, unlike the merchants, were allied to the interests of lower class fishermen against the economic exploitation of the mercantile class. They also claimed that they supported "liberal principles" and "progress," which they loosely defined as championing settlement, agriculture and any type of economic improvement.¹⁹

In addition to problems from above that plagued the representative system, ones from below that had more to do with the electoral system also hampered the political arrangement. Specifically, this was due to the fact that Newfoundland had both universal manhood suffrage and a sizable numerical disparity between the lower and middle classes. Within St. John's, the former, comprised of fishermen and labourers, the majority of whom were Catholic, comprised the vast bulk of the population while the latter classes were small. This meant that the political support of the Catholic lower class was critical to the election of Assembly members in St. John's. This resulted in politics becoming polarized between Liberal reformers backed by the mass of lower class Catholics and the Protestant Tories supported by the smaller group allied to the mercantile interest.²⁰

¹⁸ Cadigan, Hope and Deception, 33.

¹⁹ John FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture in Irish Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850" (PhD. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), 349.

²⁰ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 11; Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 110.

The Liberals took advantage of the class divide and used a specific class agenda to mobilize the support of fishers and labourers.²¹ Reformers also used an ethno-religious argument, emphasizing that they were fighting for the rights of Catholics against the Protestant-dominated mercantile Ascendancy. Just as O'Connell had fought against a Protestant Ascendancy that he claimed caused social and economic injustice to Irish tenants and labourers, Liberals argued that merchants were doing the same. They exploited fishermen's discontent over immediate economic grievances in the 1820s and 1830s to mobilize popular support. Fishermen, however, willingly supported the Liberals in order to get rid of what they believed to be an exploitation of their labour by the merchants.²²

The Liberals' position was strengthened because they were aided by Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, who gave them the Church's full political support. As in Ireland, such support from the Church was crucial to winning Catholic votes. In Newfoundland, however, the Church's interference in politics reinforced the appearance of a denominational struggle, which in turn led Protestant Tories to cry popish domination and create the impression of a Church-run Assembly. Tory papers such as the *Public Ledger*, edited by Henry Winton, fought against the Church's involvement in politics, a claim that even Liberal Catholics such as Patrick Morris could not deny.²³ Church meddling was facilitated by the fact that, for much of the nineteenth century, politics in St. John's was a public affair. There was no secret ballot until 1888, and so the clergy

²¹ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 112.

²² Cadigan, Hope and Deception, 147.

²³ Patrick Morris, Short Reply to the Speech of Earl Aberdeen on the State of Newfoundland, By Member of the HOA of Newfoundland (Liverpool: Egerton Smith & Co., Lord St., 1839), 15.

appeared at the polling stations, resulting in both intimidation and violence. Open voting increased the Catholic fear of economic coercion by Protestant merchants on the one side and spiritual coercion by the Catholic Church on the other.²⁴

6.3 The Political Split in the Catholic Community

The paradigm of a clear-cut sectarian political divide between Catholic and Protestant, or Tory versus reformer/Liberal, however, is not quite accurate. Protestants were split between the Tory Anglican merchant interest that dominated the Council, and a group of Liberal reformers, most of whom were dissenters such as Presbyterians James Douglas and Robert J. Parsons, editor of the *Patriot and Terra Nova Herald*. On the other side, Catholics were split between the foreign-born middle-class reformers like Patrick Morris and John Kent allied with Bishop Fleming, and another middle-class faction that was mostly native-born and politically independent of the Church. The latter were named "mad dog" Catholics by their political opponents, including Fleming.²⁵

There were also Catholics who were Tories, and those aligned with the Tory merchant interest such as Patrick Kough and physician Edward Kielley found the alliance quite beneficial. Due to his military background, Kielley identified closely with the Protestant elite and became a good friend of fellow naval officer Thomas Cochrane when he became Governor in 1825. As a result, Kielley received many patronage positions and was appointed as surgeon to the local jail, which began his monopoly of medical

²⁴ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 15.

²⁵ The group included Timothy Hogan, Patrick Mullowney, Henry Simms, Stephen Malone, James Cullen, Laurence Barron and Michael Scallon. Simms was a Catholic convert. FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 125; D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (Portugal Cove – St. Philip's, NL: Boulder Pub., 2002), 435.

patronage. He became a member of the Board of Health and medical officer for the port of St. John's, and in 1834 Cochrane named him district surgeon, a position he held for four years.²⁶ As for Kough, his success as a contractor was largely the result of government patronage. In 1834, he received an appointment as superintendent of Newfoundland's public buildings, a position he held until his death in 1863. In fact, Kough built many of the larger structures in St. John's such as Government House and St. Thomas Anglican Church.²⁷

Such patronage and favour caused jealousy and spurred conflicts with members of the Irish-born Catholic middle-class political leadership. For example, in August 1838 tempers flared as Kielley and John Kent exchanged harsh words in the street and, on Kent's orders, Kielley was arrested for what Kent called a breach of privileges of the Assembly. Kielley claimed false imprisonment and appealed to the Supreme Court. When the Court ruled against him, he appealed the decision to the Privy Council in Great Britain. The case dragged on into 1843, but he won in the end.²⁸ Kielley was also disliked by fellow physician William Carson, who was bitter that he had been shut out of patronage positions. He claimed publicly that Kielley was not only uneducated, but a bad surgeon.²⁹

The political divisions within the Catholic and Protestant communities sometimes led to cross-denominational alliances. For example, Kough ran with two other Tories,

²⁶ Melvin Baker, "The Government of St. John's Newfoundland1800-1921" (PhD thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980), 99; Patrick O'Flaherty, "Kielley, Edward," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (*DCB*), vol. 8; Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society," 20.

²⁷ He was also a member of the Assembly between 1832 and 1836, as well as member of the Legislative Council between 1860 and 1863. Fabian O'Dea, "Kough, Patrick," *DCB*, vol.9; Baker, *The Government of St. John's Newfoundland*, Appendix, II:3, 405.

²⁸ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 54-5.

²⁹ Baker, "The Government of St. John's," 99; O'Flaherty, "Kielley, Edward," DCB, vol. 8.

Nicholas Gill and James Grieve, in the 1836 St. John's election.³⁰ Catholic independents of both political stripes often allied themselves with other likeminded Protestants such as Henry Winton and Robert Parsons. The basis of their alignment was an abhorrence of the Catholic Church's political interference and the Liberals' incitement of political violence amongst the lower class. They also feared that the combination of both was developing into 'mob rule' politics in the city and did not reflect the wishes of the "respectable" middle-class portion of the population.³¹ Winton claimed that these mobs were the "ignorant, bested Catholics, from the south-west of Ireland [...] so bound by the magic spell of Popery [as to be] quite incapable of exercising political power."³²

Political independence had a price. "Mad dog" Catholics were socially ostracized and became estranged from the Church. They were purged from the BIS, which in the 1830s was controlled by Liberals led by Patrick Morris. In 1835, Morris reportedly claimed that there would no peace until this politically dissident group was neutralized. Some were more than willing to leave, citing the increasing politicization of the society under Morris and its open identification with the reformers. In 1836, 32 BIS members, including Patrick Kough and Edward Kielley, chose to dine with prominent Protestant citizens on St. Patrick's Day, making a clear statement of their own.³³

Politics was dragged into the pew as Fleming embarked on a rigorous campaign to punish and publically humiliate those members of his congregation who were not politically subservient. The most egregious acts were committed by Fleming's right-hand

³⁰ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 234-6.
³¹ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 126-7, 169.

³² Morris, Short Reply to the Speech of Earl Aberdeen, 18.

³³ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 162, 188-9, 206, 216-7.

man, Father Edward Troy, whom Fleming left in charge when away. Troy stood over six feet tall, had a volatile temper and an outspoken manner.³⁴ In the 1830s there were numerous instances where Troy denied the sacraments to the independent Liberal Catholics, even refusing to administer the last rites unless they signed a formal apology for going against the Bishop's political wishes.³⁵

Mass became a forum for stern warnings to those Catholics who would be defiant. Troy supposedly stated in one sermon that deceased independent Liberals were now burning in hell for going against the Church. The church itself also became a place to make a public example of them. Before the 1836 election, for example, Troy ordered reform ally John O'Mara to remove Thomas Grace and Michael Scanlan from the Chapel because they were supporting Tory candidates Kough, Gill and Grieve. Some like Timothy Hogan, a close friend of Kough who was forced to drop out of the 1833 byelection in St. John's due to clerical pressure, were also forced from the congregation by Fleming. Some of these men's businesses also suffered as Fleming and Troy not only forbade members of the congregation to associate with them, but instructed them not to patronize their shops. Hogan's business suffered terribly, as some Catholic customers stopped going to his store on Fleming's orders. One of Hogan's supporters, fellow shopkeeper Michael McLean Little, was also boycotted by his fellow Catholics.³⁶

Such humiliation bred anger, resentment and frustration amongst this largely native-born middle class faction by 1836 and their opposition to Fleming and Troy became more public and formally organized. Little, in particular, took formal steps to

³⁴ Robert H. Cuff, "Troy, Edward," ENL, vol. 5, 427-8.

³⁵ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 138-9, 189, 237, 243-4, 253-4.

³⁶ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 145-6, 164, 188-9, 234-6, 243-4.

complain to the Governor and found a sympathetic ear, as both the Governor and the British government believed that Fleming had to be politically neutralized. Little began keeping a diary of the persecutions he had endured at the hands of Fleming and Troy. Other complaints were made by Catholics Stephen Malone, James Tubrid and Patrick Malone, all of whom claimed harassment.³⁷ In 1839, the British Foreign Office went so far as to instruct Fleming to keep Father Troy under control.³⁸

6.4 The NNS: Political Aspirations

The creation of the NNS was a chance for members of the nascent native middle class like Kielley to formally organize under the banner of "native interests" and possibly extricate politics from the grip of both the foreign-born Liberals and the Catholic Church. It was the latter in particular that drew many independent Catholics to the NNS.³⁹ Some, like Ambrose Shea, had additional personal reasons for joining. His brother Joseph had left the colony in 1837 for ten years because of attacks by Fleming.⁴⁰

The 1840 by-election in St. John's was the last straw for many natives. The two candidates in the election were Liberals James Douglas and Laurence O'Brien. Both were merchants, but the former was native-born Presbyterian while the latter was Irish-born Catholic.⁴¹ The reformer-church alliance that supported O'Brien squared off against the

³⁷ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 165-6, 169, 215-6, 256-7.

³⁸ The Foreign Office even requested that Troy be removed from the colony. In 1848, Fleming made him the parish priest of Torbay outside the city, where he remained until his death. Cuff, "Troy, Edward," *ENL*, vol. 5, 427-8.

³⁹ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 81; FitzGerald, Conflict and Culture, 296.

⁴⁰ James K. Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," DCB, vol. 13.

⁴¹ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 66-7.

independent Protestant and Catholic Liberals who supported Douglas.⁴² Fleming was very active in the election, warning Catholics that a vote against O'Brien was a vote against their religion. On nomination day, O'Brien was not only accompanied on the hustings by fellow Irishmen John Kent and John Valentine Nugent, but by three priests. Governor Henry Prescott reported to the Colonial Office that priests were in the room during polling, making sure that Catholics supported O'Brien, and acting with Kent and Nugent as the scrutineers in the polling booth. The election was also marred by violence as O'Brien supporters assaulted Douglas supporters, thereby keeping them from voting.⁴³ Some of the Tories were so disturbed by Fleming's interference and by the violence that they offered their support to the Liberal Douglas. Nevertheless, the Liberals' intimidation tactics along with the power of the Church once again prevailed, as O'Brien narrowly won.⁴⁴

This by-election, however, was unique in that it introduced yet another division into the political mix: that between native and foreign-born. The defeated Douglas claimed that Nugent had made a derogatory comment about Newfoundland natives, referring to them as "copper-coloured natives in their native woods."⁴⁵ This was most likely true as Nugent would become one of the Society's most vociferous critics in its

⁴² Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society," 9-12; FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 292-3.

⁴³ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 292-3.

⁴⁴ There was also election violence outside St. John's in Conception Bay where Catholics were also split between two Liberal candidates. One, Edmund Hanrahan, was supported by the clergy, while the other, James Pendergast, was an independent. In addition, the former was a sealing captain, while the latter was supported by a merchant, which also suggests a class battle between merchants and fishermen. There was violence and attacks directed against the independent Catholic candidate before polling day and, on polling day, a riot broke out and the government sent troops to quell the violence. No winner could legally be declared and the seat remained vacant. Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland*, 66-7, 71; Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society," 11-13.

⁴⁵ O'Flaherty, "Natives' Society," 22; FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 292-5.

early years. He used his newspaper, the *Newfoundland Vindicator*, as a means to editorialize his opposition. He later referred to natives as the "hewers of wood."⁴⁶ Such a derogatory comment stung natives who were already upset that not one Newfoundland-born representative had been returned to the Assembly. Instead, they argued, they had been used to get the foreign-born like Nugent elected.⁴⁷ While the latter saw themselves as representative of the population, in reality they were only a small portion of it, and only based in St. John's. Natives believed that, as recent arrivals, these men knew little of Newfoundland, and were more concerned about asserting their own political position than about any future development of the colony or the common good.⁴⁸

Protestant and Catholic independents, Liberal and Tory alike, believed that a Natives' Society could become a possible third political force, uniting mercantile interests and independent Liberals. In fact, Robert Parsons wanted the establishment of a rival native Liberal Party.⁴⁹ The prospect seemed plausible as the 1840 by-election revealed two things. It proved that Catholic and Protestant Liberals could not compete with the political influence of Fleming and his priests, or with the Liberals' political appeal based on economic grievance. It did show that a coalition between the mercantile interests and independent Catholics and dissenters against the foreign-born, priest-run Liberal faction

⁴⁷ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 70

⁴⁶ This is a line from a Jonathan Swift poem, "A Serious Poem Upon William Wood, Brasier, Tinker, Hard-Ware-Man, Coiner, Founder, and Esquire." In its complete form, the phrase is the 'hewers of wood and the drawers of water,' with the general implication being that the natives were uneducated and only suited to menial drudgery. It is possible that Nugent was referencing the Irish poet. This phrase was also used by twentieth century Irish nationalists such as Michael Collins to describe the perceived English low opinion of the Irish. See Michael Collins, *Path To Freedom* (Boulder, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1996). *Patriot*, 23 January 1841; O'Flaherty, "Natives' Society," 21-2.

⁴⁸ Keith Matthews, "The Class of '32: St. John's Reformers on the Eve of Representative Government," *The Acadiensis Reader, Volume One* (P.A. Buckner and David Frank, eds.; Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1985), 91.

⁴⁹ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 99.

of Kent, Nugent and Carson was possible.⁵⁰ The night of the NNS's founding, Kielley argued that such an alliance was possible because, despite the reformers' negative characterization, merchants were neither the enemies of the people nor did they oppose economic improvement. He was supported by other Catholics like Joseph Shea who also denied that merchants obstructed such things as the construction of roads because they wanted to maintain a monopoly on winter supplies. In this context, Kielley argued, an alliance could be formed with the common goal of prosperity of the colony through the development of its resources such as agriculture.⁵¹ Although vague as to how this would actually work, Kielley and other natives believed this could be a solid political foundation.

Such an alliance could also be cemented by natives' dislike of the reformer-Church alliance's tactics and base of support. As a Presbyterian, Parsons could not support Irish Catholic sectarianism as the basis for liberal support in Newfoundland.⁵² He did not like the idea of Newfoundland being ruled by Fleming, or the Governor for that matter, and could not support reformers like Morris who he believed were promoting lower class radicalism.⁵³

In terms of political tactics, natives agreed that the best way to curb the power of the reformers was through constitutional change. Richard Barnes, a Wesleyan and no supporter of Kent and Nugent, supported representative government, in theory at least. The problem was not with the principle but with the mechanism through which it worked,

⁵⁰ Cadigan, Hope and Deception, 158.

⁵¹ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 54, 70, 79.

⁵² Cadigan, Hope and Deception, 142.

⁵³ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 115-6.

namely the electoral franchise, distribution of seats and lack of laws regarding elections. This was the subject of an 1841 NNS petition to the Queen that was accompanied by 4500 signatures, requesting a narrower franchise and arguing that only one person should sit for an electoral district.⁵⁴ The natives believed that this would break the monopoly of the reformers in St. John's and Conception Bay, their strongholds.⁵⁵ Barnes would continue to advocate such changes, introducing a Bill to that effect in 1844, which was later withdrawn. Catholic Liberals, however, countered that it was an attempt to decrease Catholic representation and secure Protestant supremacy.⁵⁶

The general election in 1842 was the first chance for the NNS to become formally involved in electoral politics and test their potential strength. The context of the election, however, had a large role to play in its character and outcome. In the face of constant friction between the Assembly and the Council, the Colonial Office amalgamated both branches that year.⁵⁷ This produced a new chamber of 25 members, ten to be nominated by the Crown. The Bill also outlined restrictions for the franchise, qualification now being the forty shilling freehold and occupancy of a house. In October 1842 Governor Harvey appointed his choices for the Assembly, including both Catholics and Protestants in hopes of achieving a balance between the various factions. The Liberal appointees,

⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the signatures are not included with the surviving document. The petition to the British government recommended measures to improve the political condition of the colony, including changes to the franchise, voting and representation. These suggestions reflected natives' concern with the fairness of political representation of Newfoundland, and had the measures been implemented, they would have increased native-born representation. Colonial Office (CO) 194/111, 59-60.

⁵⁵ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 350.

⁵⁶ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 97.

⁵⁷ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 116.

however, included John Kent, Patrick Morris and William Carson, thus reinforcing the native argument that politics was still in the hands of the foreign-born.⁵⁸

The first election under the new system was held in mid-November 1842. The natives quickly organized themselves, circulating a letter to the various electoral districts encouraging voters to support native candidates, as opposed to Liberal candidates backed by Fleming.⁵⁹ At a meeting to propose candidates for the election, they decided to run as candidates Catholic native and BIS member John Barron, along with Protestant merchant Thomas Job for the largely Catholic district of Placentia and St. Mary's. They were to oppose the other two candidates backed by the Church and Irish reformers, Simon Morris and Walter Dillon.⁶⁰ Despite their efforts, the natives could not break the Irish Liberals' stronghold in Placentia St. Mary's, where Dillon and Morris were elected.⁶¹ However, leading Protestant natives Richard Barnes and Robert Carter, who were well known politicians in their own right, were returned in Protestant districts outside St. John's.⁶²

After their failure to secure an electoral breakthrough in the 1842 general election, the NNS retreated from organized politics. Natives made some progress despite their political failure and some received patronage positions. In the summer of 1849, for example, Robert Carter was appointed Treasurer, a victory for natives who now saw one of their own in a high position.⁶³ It would become clear, however, that natives never really had a chance of success in opposing the Irish Liberals in St. John's. The Liberals

⁵⁸ Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland*, 86-7, 90.
⁵⁹ O'Flaherty, "Natives' Society," 24.

⁶⁰ Although Dillon's first name was not given it is believed to be Walter. *Patriot*, 16 November 1842.

⁶¹ Gertrude Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 196.

⁶² O'Flaherty, "Natives' Society," 24. Richard Barnes was elected in Trinity Bay and Robert Carter was elected in Bonavista Bay.

⁶³ Newfoundlander, 30 August 1849.

had an established political machine supported by the Church, and used intimidation and threats of violence against their political opponents. In addition, they had the support of a large Catholic voting bloc in the city, which Liberals mobilized on the basis of religion and economic grievance.⁶⁴ The natives, however, had no major issue to exploit that would split the Catholic vote, and being non-sectarian they could not rally support based on religion or ethnicity.⁶⁵ More importantly, perhaps, they could not claim to have the support of the Catholic Church.

6.5 The Blurring of Catholic Group Boundaries

Catholic participation in the NNS raised the question of what defined "Irishness." Specifically, it raised questions about who defined and led the Irish Catholic community, who was included and excluded, and which social classes could control group boundaries. This also had political implications as the blurring of pre-existing group boundaries posed a problem for the reformers and Fleming who had used ethnicity and religion as a way to mobilize their political base. The best way to ensure continued Irish-born political leadership was a two-pronged approach. The Church and the reformers styled themselves as the unifiers of the Catholic community and the NNS as a threat to that unity and, they also argued that the Catholic natives were not "Irish."

Could natives be "Irish?" Catholic natives believed so because they were the children of Irish parents, but their Irish-born political opponents and Fleming did not. The

⁶⁴ Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society," 5.

⁶⁵ Anbinder argues that the Know-Nothings achieved electoral success due to high levels of immigration, tension between Protestants and Catholics, and the key issues of slavery and temperance which split the electorate and caused reaction against the major political parties. *Nativism and Slavery*, xv.

result was two competing definitions of Irish identity, one inclusive and one exclusive. Native Ambrose Shea exposed the apparent divergence when rejecting Irish-born reformer John Valentine Nugent's claim that natives were perpetrating discord in the community. Nugent and the other Irish-born Liberals, wrote Shea, believed that as political leaders of the Catholic community, they had the audacity to believe that they alone defined who an Irishman was. Shea charged that Nugent believed he could speak for all Irishmen as if "I am Ireland – Ireland is me!"⁶⁶ It was this arrogance and thirst for power, Shea argued, that was driving the Catholic community apart.

What nativism highlighted within the Catholic community, and the Protestant one as well, was the evolution of its identity. No longer did the majority of Catholics seem to define themselves solely based on their religion or their ethnicity. "Native," was defined primarily by place of birth: "those whose first breath had been inhaled, and whose latest sigh would, there was little doubt, be expended, upon her Soil."⁶⁷ The boundary of the native group was extended by natives themselves to also include "Old Residents." This was an honorific granted to those immigrants who "have been so long associated with us, that in fact they are almost as much native as the Natives themselves."⁶⁸ Old Residents were accepted into the group because, like natives, they took an active interest in the progress of the country, contributing through hard work or trade, by investing in the economy and raising native children in the colony. One Nova Scotian paper, however,

⁶⁶ Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society," 45.

⁶⁷ Newfoundlander, 24 July 1845.

⁶⁸ Newfoundlander, 24 July 1845.

revealed the complexity of such inclusion, stating that "Natives are the descendants of foreign emigrants and present emigrants rear natives."⁶⁹ Herein, lay the problem.

Catholic natives were now assuming a self-proclaimed new Newfoundland nationality in which ethnicity and religion were irrelevant. When acting on any political issue as independent Catholics, they argued, they were simply exercising their rights as citizens.⁷⁰ This did not mean that they rejected their ethnic or religious identity, however, as they still saw themselves as the descendants of Irish-born Catholics. However, in their eyes, there was no contradiction between being a native and being an Irish Catholic. To clarify this point, the NNS used an analogy reminiscent of St. Patrick's explanation of the Trinity: "the Natives of the Soil, the flouted descendants of the Rose, the Shamrock, and the Thistle should become as indivisible as the emblematic *trefoil* whose triplet leaves spring from a single stem!"⁷¹ This tie was also reflected in the society's emblem which featured "a wreath composed of the rose, the thistle and shamrock denoting the stock from whence the Newfoundlander derives his origin."⁷²

Descendants or not, what mattered was that native Catholics were threatening the political status quo and going against the wishes of the Church. Also, Fleming believed that he alone defined and represented Irishness, so anything or anyone that was in opposition to him was not Irish. In 1840 Fleming and his priests used the pulpit to speak

⁶⁹ Piece from the Nova Scotian reprinted in the Times and General Commercial Gazette, 4 November 1840.
⁷⁰ Public Ledger, 18 September 1840. This date also contained a further reply by a 'Native Catholic' but there was nothing of note.

⁷¹ Patriot, 9 July 1845.

⁷² The shield featured symbols that represented life in Newfoundland: a fisherman and a woodman, codfish, sealers on the ice, a Newfoundland deer under a fir tree, and a plough with a sheaf of corn. Above, there was a pair of clasped hands symbolizing unity with a dove holding an olive branch, and beneath a wreath of native strawberries with their motto, "Union and Philanthropy." *Times and General Commercial Gazette*, 16 September 1840.

out against the NNS and deter others from joining.⁷³ Letters to the press claimed that priests, such as Rev. Kyran Walsh, were denouncing the Natives' Society from the altar during Sunday Mass. Walsh supposedly warned those present that the Society was anti-Catholic because native Catholics were joining fellow Protestants to advance new common interests not shared by the Catholic community.⁷⁴ This referred to some nebulous, anti-Catholic mercantile interest, which the Protestants involved were naturally assumed to have, at least by Walsh. He also decried the NNS as anti-Irish because it "put the son against the father, and the children against their parents," thereby turning the community against itself. He reminded native Catholics that the strongest bond was their Irishness, reportedly asking "are you not all descendants of Irish parents?"⁷⁵

The Irish-born Liberals used the same tactic to deny the NNS of support, reminding Catholics that they were bound to support their Irish fathers:

Will you as Natives separate from your Fathers? See you nothing in the Irish character to admire? [Are] you ashamed of the soil from which your ancestors sprang? Sons of Irish Fathers! Do you forget the rock from which you were hewn, and will you unite with the men who would forge the same chains on you, that galled the necks of your fathers [...]? Sons of Irish Fathers! Though you can proudly look upon this country as the land of your nativity, remember [...] it is Irish blood that flows through your veins.⁷⁶

This rhetoric dominated the 1841 meeting held by the Irish-born Liberals to counter the native petition to the Queen concerning the system of government in the colony. Such a bold political step, combined with the suggestion of a potential shift of political power,

⁷³ Public Ledger, 11 September 1840.

⁷⁴ Public Ledger, 8 and 18 September 1840.

⁷⁵ Public Ledger, 8 September 1840.

⁷⁶ Patriot, 21 September 1842.

set off alarm bells amongst Irish leaders who immediately held a meeting chaired by John Kent and John Nugent to defend the constitution as it was. Both purportedly made antinative statements, but Nugent used religion to unify his support base, claiming that the real issue was not political, but a native war on the Catholic religion. Kent did the same, attempting to rally Catholic support by claiming that the NNS was anti-Catholic, anti-Irish, and out to destroy the political influence of Bishop Fleming and the Irishmen who supported him.⁷⁷

More aggressive tactics were used to fight the natives during the general election in 1842. A meeting of NNS members in mid-November to nominate candidates John Barron and Thomas Job for Placentia and St. Mary's was hijacked by friends of Nugent. Dr. William Walsh, William Beck and others hurled insults and threats of violence upon those Catholics present, calling them "Native Tories." It was clear that they had been sent to the meeting by the Irish reformers to cause disruption.⁷⁸ They cautioned their fellow Catholic supporters in Placentia and St. Mary's not to support the natives who wanted an "ascendancy."⁷⁹ Walsh portrayed the election as defending the cause of Newfoundland by supporting their candidates, "those tried patriots," as opposed to the native candidate who they labeled a "dishonest and hollow pretender."⁸⁰

Driven from their original meeting, natives Ambrose Shea and Protestant Richard Barnes regrouped the following night. Given what had occurred the previous evening, the theme of the meeting was the preservation of unity in the Catholic community, denying

⁷⁷ Newfoundland Vindicator, 26 March 1842; Public Ledger, 29 March 1842.

⁷⁸ Newfoundlander, 17 November 1842.

⁷⁹ Patriot, 16 November 1842.

⁸⁰ Patriot, 16 and 23 November 1842.

reformers' claims that they were trying to cause dissention. Barnes stressed that the natives as a group had no desire to fragment the Catholic community. The "bond of common brotherhood" amongst them, Barnes urged, was under no threat from natives, rather the threat was from those non-natives employing violence who had bullied "a tool of theirs" into the Chair. Shea spoke next, stating that he was disgusted at the events and the pressure tactics used by their opponents. He defended the character of John Barron, arguing that he was the best candidate. John Ryan, another Catholic officer of the NNS, spoke stressing the noble purpose that the natives were pursuing, and also denying that they were attempting to create divisions within the Catholic community. These lies, he argued, sprang solely from party politics. Rejecting the idea that natives were anti-Irish, he pointed out that just because he and other Catholics like him were of Irish descent, it did not mean that they were bound to follow the dictates of the current Irish-born politicians in the city.⁸¹

6.6 The Deepening of Social Divisions within the Catholic Community

Catholic participation in the NNS deepened not only the political gulf already present in the community, but the social one as well. The BIS was already split, although the Liberals were firmly in control.⁸² The establishment of the NNS deepened this divide as the choice between being Irish or native was interjected into Catholic social life. Middle class Catholics were not just part of, but also controlling a society that could

⁸¹ Newfoundlander, 17 November 1842.

⁸² As a result of political turmoil, in 1836 Edward Kielley, Joseph Shea, Patrick Kough and Timothy Hogan refused to attend the BIS St. Patrick's Day dinner and held their own instead. They were joined by Protestant friends and allies including Governor Prescott. John P. Greene, *Between Damnation and Starvation: Priests and Merchants in Newfoundland Politics, 1745-1855* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 115; FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 217.

compete with the BIS for Catholic membership. At the time of its establishment, the NNS was numerically strong and popular, reportedly having a membership of 200 in June 1840, which increased to 300 members the following month.⁸³ Their first official procession at a member's funeral in December 1840 was comprised of about three hundred members.⁸⁴ Like the BIS, the NNS was largely a middle-class society, which held well-attended lavish social events such as balls. Not only were these events lavish, they were patronized by the Governor and the Protestant elite.⁸⁵ At their first official ball in January 1841, about 500 people attended, including Governor Prescott and his wife, and partook in waltzing and fine cuisine.⁸⁶ These balls continued to be held into the 1850s and remained popular, drawing 350 to 400 of the more "respectable class."⁸⁷

If certain members of the BIS disliked the NNS for political reasons, then the latter's attempt to publicly assert its importance socially did much to cause general aversion. The NNS saw itself as an important society in St. John's from its inception. This was evident in the fall of 1841 during the reception honoring the new Governor, Sir John Harvey. The society tried to take the position of "an elder society" at the head of the parade, but was swiftly corrected by the BIS who, as the eldest society, led all processions.⁸⁸ Members of the NNS no doubt believed that due to their numbers and the very fact that they were natives, they should have the coveted spot.

⁸³ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 295-7.

⁸⁴ Patriot, 2 January 1841.

⁸⁵ Phillip McCann argues that Governor Harvey in particular was a strong supporter of the NNS. See his "Culture, State Formation and the Invention of Tradition: Newfoundland, 1832-55," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 23 (Spring/Summer 1988), 93.

⁸⁶ Patriot, 30 January 1841; Newfoundlander, 21 January 1841.

⁸⁷ Newfoundland Express, 14 February 1852.

⁸⁸ Although the *Patriot*, 10 November 1841 did not name the other Society, it was undoubtedly the BIS which marched near the head of all processions due to its age.

The Liberals who opposed the NNS dominated the top officer ranks of the BIS and used their position to stymie its success.⁸⁹ Shortly after its founding in August 1840, the NNS asked the BIS for the occasional use of their rooms in the Orphan Asylum to hold their meetings.⁹⁰ The natives had little choice as there were few public rooms available in the city. An argument ensued between the Irish-born Liberals and those BIS members who were now also members of the NNS. The two leading opponents of the request were Laurence O'Brien and John Nugent, and the supporters were NNS members Patrick Kough and James Hogan. Kough accused Nugent of being anti-native, upon which Nugent became so enraged that he had to be ordered to sit down.⁹¹ The antis outvoted the natives and the request was denied. Denouncing the decision, one native pointed out the pettiness of the conflict, stating that natives had every right to use the rooms because they had helped build them. He expressed disbelief "that an Irishman could be found who would treat you so ungratefully."92 Some of the NNS members, including James Hogan and Patrick Mullowney, were so disgusted at the conduct and language of Nugent and his supporters, that they resigned their positions as BIS officers. This was a serious decision as it meant placing themselves in opposition to the political and social leaders of the Catholic community.93

The rift between the BIS and NNS between 1841 and 1843 hurt the success of the annual BIS St. Patrick's Day dinner. During these years, attendance was at its lowest ever between 1840 and 1885, as seen in Table 5.8. No doubt the majority of those not in

⁸⁹ Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society," 19.

⁹⁰ BIS Minutes, 7 August 1840.

⁹¹ BIS Minutes, 23 August 1840; Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society," 18; Public Ledger, 25 August 1840.

⁹² Public Ledger, 1 September 1840.

⁹³ Budden, "The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society," 19.

attendance were most likely those BIS members who had a new allegiance to the NNS. Despite the fact that only sixty persons attended in 1841 John Nugent claimed that the annual celebration was well attended and enjoyed by all.⁹⁴ One letter to a paper rejected Nugent's story stating that "it was a gloomy night."⁹⁵ John Nugent quickly replied to the accusation, playing down the importance of the low number stating that "Sixty true hearts are worth a thousand of the faithless." He reiterated that the evening was one of social harmony and union, and denied the existence of any dissent. His comments, however, did the opposite as he tried to defend the decision not to let the NNS use their premises for their meetings. He wrote that, far from being opposed to natives, the BIS had done much for them because it had educated "upwards of Four Thousand Natives" at BIS expense at their Orphan Asylum School and, for this, he explicitly demanded native gratitude.⁹⁶

Not surprisingly, Nugent's reply only aggravated matters. A letter to one paper pointed out that the Orphan Asylum School was not built by the Irish-born, but by the contributions of all citizens. In addition, the author pointed out, it was not solely funded by the BIS but by public contributions and a grant from the Colonial Government. It was not the natives but Nugent who, through his anti-native remarks, had caused discord among the people of St. John's, pitting "son against daughter, wife against husband, Irish against English, against Scotch, and against Native, and Catholic against Protestant."⁹⁷ Nugent did not offer a direct reply to the letter, but his paper did publish a letter to the editor, probably penned by Nugent himself, in his defence. The author admitted that there

⁹⁴ Unfortunately, this issue of the Newfoundland Vindicator is no longer in existence.

⁹⁵ The same low attendance was reported the following year, *Times and General Commercial Gazette*, 30 March 1842; *Public Ledger*, 30 March 1841.

⁹⁶ Newfoundland Vindicator, 3 April 1841.

⁹⁷ Public Ledger, 9 April 1841.

was indeed dissension in the Catholic ranks, but far from being Nugent's fault it was caused by native Catholics "who have [turned] against the faith of their fathers."⁹⁸ Again, the anti-native argument was that it was the Newfoundland-born Catholics who were causing the division by being anti-Irish, and showing themselves to be traitors to their religion.

Natives' Society social events, on the other hand, did not suffer from the feud with the BIS. At their first Anniversary Festival dinner, held in June 1841, over two-hundred and fifty members attended. This was over four times the number that had reportedly attended the BIS dinner that same year. In his address, President Edward Kielley restated the Society's commitment to Christian charity, and numerous toasts were drunk to England, Ireland, Scotland and Newfoundland, paying homage to the various ethnic groups from which natives were descended.⁹⁹ Despite the previous conflict with the BIS, the toast to the "Sons of Old Ireland" was drunk with enthusiasm but, unlike the other toasts, there was no immediate response given. Guests loudly called on BIS members Patrick Morris and Patrick Kough to reply. Although the latter was Irish-born he was no friend of Nugent or his political supporters and Morris perhaps had tempered his views towards the NNS. Their support of the natives was evident in the fact that the previous year both had voted to allow the NNS to use the BIS rooms for meetings. Kough eventually stood up and, apologizing for the delayed response, thanked the NNS for their gracious remarks.¹⁰⁰ In light of the conflict between the two societies, the two men were in an awkward position. They probably wanted to show their support, but at the same

⁹⁸ Newfoundland Vindicator, 17 April 1841.

⁹⁹ Public Ledger, 25 June 1841; Newfoundlander, 1 July 1841.

¹⁰⁰ Newfoundlander, 1 July 1841.

time maintain a low profile and not say anything that would upset the harmony of the gathering, or endanger their positions in the BIS. It did highlight the conflicting feelings that both Irish and native-born Catholics felt, as many struggled not to choose one side over the other, but were perhaps pulled in one direction or another regardless.

6.7 Healing the Rift

John FitzGerald has argued that it was the construction of the Cathedral in the early 1840s that put an end to the political and social divides in the Cathelic community, making it "the single greatest unifying project in the history of Newfoundland Catholicism."¹⁰¹ Although the intra-Catholic rift did heal, it was not because of Fleming or the Cathedral project. After 1842, Catholic attention shifted from domestic politics to support of Daniel O'Connell's Repeal movement. The trauma of the Liberator's imprisonment in mid-1844 was enough to make even the most die-hard political opponents make peace.¹⁰² Open inter-Catholic conflict of the kind witnessed in the first two years of the 1840s sank beneath the surface, at least for the moment. In addition, it must have been clear to the reformers after the 1842 election that the NNS was no serious political threat to the established political order. In fact, the BIS held out an olive branch in January 1845 and Ambrose Shea was unanimously admitted as a member.¹⁰³ The following year, Shea also began his first term as President of the NNS.

Men like John Kent, who had been vociferous opponents of the NNS, tempered their attacks, taking a less reactionary and more pragmatic approach to native issues.

¹⁰¹ FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 326.

¹⁰² This is discussed in Chapter 8.

¹⁰³ BIS Minutes, 8 January 1845.

When government appointments in the summer of 1845 included only one native among thirty-seven appointees, Kent urged a more moderate opinion.¹⁰⁴ He pointed out that the issue of patronage had always been problematic, but the problem with the natives "was that they neglected those severe principles which would furnish the best remedy, and allowed themselves to be carried away by questions growing out of the accident of birth." Claims, he suggested, should instead be based on intellectual qualifications and character.¹⁰⁵ The following year, in a debate over who would be the new Gaoler for St. John's, Kent objected to plans to import a prison official from England, instead supporting the appointment one of the Newfoundland applicants. In a complete aboutface, he used native rhetoric to get support, calling upon "all old residents and natives of the country to protest against it." Too much should not be read into Kent's sudden reversal. The reasoning behind his argument had less to do with the fact that he supported native rights, and more to do with his belief in qualifications. Nevertheless, it signaled a change as, for once, natives and Kent agreed.¹⁰⁶

Other changes occurred in the Catholic community in the 1850s that lessened the political and social divides of the 1830s and 1840s. When Bishop Mullock took over from the ever-divisive Fleming in 1850, he immediately set about mending the generational divide in the community. The former "mad dog" Catholics heralded his arrival, rallying around him in hopes that he would champion former native grievances.¹⁰⁷ Mullock's first step was ensuring natives took a leading role in the Church and education, as members of

¹⁰⁴ Newfoundlander, 30 June 1845 and rehashed in various papers for weeks to follow.

¹⁰⁵ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 11 February 1846 (House Debate, 6 February).

¹⁰⁶ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 11 February 1846 (House Debate, 6 February).

¹⁰⁷ Archbishop Michael F. Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, vol. 2 (Brother Joseph B. Darcy, C.F.C. and John F. O'Mara, eds.; St. John's, NF: Terra Nova Publishing, 2005), 7.

the clergy and religious. In a broader sense, he reinforced the NNS message that, regardless of place of birth, Catholics had to come together under the guise of Newfoundland nationalism and fight for the future interests of the colony. In 1860, for example, he gave a series of lectures regarding Newfoundland's history and his vision of its future.¹⁰⁸ Speaking to a group of both native and Irish-born, he chose to avoid the word nativism, and instead used "patriotism" to impress upon the audience the unity of purpose that all generations of Catholics should have. Patriotism for one's land, he argued, was a feeling which was second only to religion in men's hearts, and was a concept that could unify all generations.¹⁰⁹

Mullock also directly countered the extreme native position that a person not born in the colony could not truly love it. Partly defending his own credibility, as he was himself a newly arrived Irishman, he argued that anyone who had adopted Newfoundland as their home, especially those raising a family, could have a sincere affection for the place. It was actions and not words that mattered, Mullock argued, stating that he respected Irishmen like Laurence O'Brien because, although not a native, he took pride in his adopted home: "if other men had acted like him [...] spending his money in the country where he had made it, Newfoundland would be in a far more improved condition than she is to-day. It was such men the country required – men who, while they advanced their own interests, promoted also the interests of the country in which their fortunes were realized."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Patriot, 13 and 20 February 1860.

¹⁰⁹ Right Rev. Dr. Mullock, *The Cathedral of St. John's Newfoundland with an Account of Its Consecration* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1856), 47, Archives of the Archdiocese of St. John's (AASJ), 104/1/3.

¹¹⁰ Mullock, The Cathedral of St. John's Newfoundland, 47.

Implicitly, Mullock's message was political as the general progress of the colony was the Liberal mantra. Mullock himself did much to forward the Liberal cause under the umbrella of social and economic improvement, especially in terms of advancing its economic development. He would take the lead in this himself, as will be seen, becoming known as a Newfoundland nationalist.¹¹¹ Bishop Howley argued that: "We have always claimed it for our great and learned Bishop Mullock, and have felt proud that he, though not a native of Newfoundland, loved the country with a feeling more genuine than many of her home-born sons."¹¹²

6.8 The Legacy of Nativism

Nativism did infuse into nineteenth century Catholic politics a sense of Newfoundland nationalism. FitzGerald has suggested that the NNS created an ideological struggle between a new Newfoundland nationalism and the Irish nationalism of Fleming and the Liberal reformers.¹¹³ However, as with the definition of "Irishness," Catholic natives did not see a contradiction between the two, and it was clear that the embryonic Newfoundland nationalism espoused by Catholic natives was based on Irish nationalism. Specifically, they drew their examples from O'Connell's Repeal movement to infuse the natives with new energy: "the Natives of Newfoundland will take a lesson of wisdom from their neighbours [...] the men of the Emerald Isle [...] every ready to defend the rights of their country." The agitation for Repeal was an inspiration for all natives to show

¹¹¹ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 123.

¹¹² Howley, Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland, 179.

¹¹³ FitzGerald, Conflict and Culture, 296.

a zealous patriotism in support of their country and their rights.¹¹⁴ In encouraging nativeborn Catholics to be more assertive in attaining a respected position in their country, Catholic Henry Renouf quoted Daniel O'Connell: "Hereditary Bondsmen! No ye not Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."¹¹⁵

Another Irish link that natives emphasized was the argument that Newfoundland, like Ireland, was not governed by the native-born. Parsons reminded Catholics that O'Connell's mantra was "Ireland for the Irish, and the Irish for Ireland,"¹¹⁶ He would repeat this many times in the House of Assembly, stating that where O'Connell had called for "Ireland for the Irish," natives were calling for "Newfoundland for Newfoundlanders." "The Irish," he proclaimed, "have to complain of the injustice of the Saxon, as Newfoundlanders have that their rights are filched from them by strangers."¹¹⁷ J.J Dearin, a native Catholic druggist and NNS officer in the late 1850s, also argued that Newfoundland, like Ireland, was ill-governed and neglected by the British government. Newfoundland natives, like Irishmen, were both subdued under a non-native government. Ireland, he argued was once a great nation with its own parliament, but the Act of Union "extinguished Ireland's liberties." It was now a poor and miserable country. The lesson being that natives had to fight for their own liberty and run their own affairs or Newfoundland would be in the same situation as Ireland.¹¹⁸ This would form the basis of Liberal Catholic rhetoric for years to come, particularly in their arguments against Confederation in 1869.

¹¹⁴ Patriot, 14 June 1843.

¹¹⁵ Patriot, 8 November 1858.

¹¹⁶ Patriot, 30 July 1845.

¹¹⁷ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 11 February 1846 (House Debate, 6 February).

¹¹⁸ Patriot, 22 February 1851; James K. Hiller, "Dearin, John Joseph," DCB, vol. 11.

Nativism also forced Catholic Liberals to find new common political ground on which to come together and mobilize Catholic support. In terms of returning members to the Assembly in the 1850s, the Liberal Party call was for unity as Liberals. One letter to the editor in 1850 argued that Catholics should join together and overcome their internal divisions for the good of the colony. The letter pointed out that it was "indispensable to the success of the liberal cause here that unanimity should exist evermore amongst the Irish and Natives."¹¹⁹ However, not much had changed, as it was still a question of whether birthplace or religion was the basis of unity. In an 1850 by-election in St. John's, for example, the Prince Edward Island-born Catholic Phillip Little and James Douglas offered themselves as candidates for the Liberals. This caused division, as some deemed the former a better candidate because he was Catholic, but some the latter because he was native.¹²⁰ Kent and other reformers appealed to natives by reminding them that what mattered was whether or not the candidate was right for the job, and the importance of "principles over birthplace." Kent argued that while Little was not a native, he was a Liberal and that should be enough for anyone who supported the liberal cause.¹²¹

By the mid-1850s, Catholic politicians appealing to electors took care to stress two things: either that they were native or, at the very least, long residents in the colony, and that they would fight for liberal principles, still broadly defined as progress and development of the colony. By 1858, Phillip Little could state in his appeal to the electors that "I have made Newfoundland my home – I am proud of it – I am not a politician of yesterday, nor have I been an idle speculator of the recent changes." He stressed the point

¹¹⁹ Patriot, 2 November 1850.

¹²⁰ Patriot, 21 September 1850.

¹²¹ Patriot, 2 November 1850.

that he had been resident in the colony for over eleven years.¹²² Catholic native J.J Geran's appeal was almost identical: "As a native of the country, and claiming a common origin with the great Majority of the People, with whose feelings and wishes I am necessarily conversant." Instead of using ethnicity or religion as the basis for their support, both pledged themselves to the liberal principles.¹²³ Henry Renouf also appealed to electors a year later by referring to St. John's as his "Native city."124

In addition to changes from within the Liberal Party and the Catholic community, the entire political system also changed as representative government was replaced by responsible government in 1855. The question remained, however, of how strong Catholic political unity was. Would the introduction of a new political system fix old problems, or introduce new ones? Would inter-Catholic power struggles appear once more between native and Irish Catholics? What role would the Church play in politics? What would form the basis of Catholic politics - religion, ethnicity or neither?

¹²² Patriot, 19 July 1858.
¹²³ Patriot, 26 July 1858.
¹²⁴ Patriot, 23 May 1859.

Chapter 7

Politics

The events of the 1830s and 1840s had shown that, as in other parts of the diaspora, Irish Catholic votes were aggressively courted by Catholic politicians because of their sizable numbers and their support determined the outcome of elections. Politics for Catholics in St. John's, like those in the Southern United States, as David T. Gleeson has pointed out, was "not alien to them, they realized the importance of their votes."¹ In direct contrast to Britain where Irish Catholics were largely lower class and therefore excluded from the franchise, in Newfoundland universal manhood suffrage meant that the majority lowerclass Catholic community in St. John's were included in the electoral process.² However, by 1857 the Catholic electorate was majority native and not Irish-born. As the nativist movement in the 1840s showed, this had repercussions for electoral politics. No longer could the Church and the Irish-born Liberal leaders mobilize Irish Catholics on the basis of ethnicity. What effect would broader structural changes, such as the introduction of the responsible system in 1855, have on electoral politics? What role would changes within the community itself, such as the death of the meddlesome Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming in 1850, play? Would a stronger Church result in more political interference? How would a community with a larger native-born middle class leadership mobilize

¹ David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-77* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 94.

² Paul O'Leary, *Immigration and Integration: the Irish in Wales, 1798-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), 243-44.

native Catholics? Would the Liberal Party still identify with Catholic rights, or native rights? Would ethnic or class politics continue to matter?

7.1 Politics From Above: The Political System

Between 1832 and 1854, politics in Newfoundland under representative government was dominated by a power struggle between the appointed Council and the elected House of Assembly. However, constitutional change in 1855 would alter the relationship somewhat when the British government granted Newfoundland responsible government. In the late 1840s, a campaign for the introduction of this system was led primarily by Catholic Liberals who looked to the example of Nova Scotia, which had just been granted the responsible system.³ The British government acceded mainly because it wanted to distance itself from the politics of the colony, specifically assisting in developing the bank fishery and forestalling competition in that industry from the French and Americans.⁴ However, it granted the system on the condition that there would be a new redistribution of seats in the Assembly. Under the previous system, Newfoundland was divided into nine electoral districts, with fifteen members returned to the Assembly, three of whom represented St. John's. A Bill passed by the Assembly in 1854 increased the number of its members to thirty. City representation was increased to six, and was now divided into two districts of East and West, each with three representatives.⁵ Another important change under the new system was that the leader of the party that won the most

³ Gertrude Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland*, 1832-64 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 113.

 ⁴ Sean Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 123.
 ⁵ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 132-8; Patrick O'Flaherty, Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843-1933 (St. John's; Long Beach Press, 2005), 59-61; Bertram G. Riggs, "Elections," Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL), vol. 1, 680, 684, 696, 748.

seats not only formed the government, but selected members of the Executive and Legislative Council. The Council, also called the cabinet, was no longer appointed by or under the direct control of the Governor, but consisted of elected members of the Assembly.⁶

For Catholic Liberals, these changes secured what reformers in the 1830s and 1840s had sought: more power via membership in the Council and Assembly. The first government under responsible government was formed in 1855 by the Liberals under leader Philip Little. However, his ministry was not exclusively Catholic, as he included Protestants Robert Parsons, John Hayward and Thomas Glen as members.⁷ After an election defeat in 1861, however, the Liberals fell out of power and, thereafter, all governments in the remainder of the nineteenth century would be led by Protestant Conservatives, as seen in Table 7.1. Far from being excluded from power, individual Catholic Liberals were welcomed by Conservatives as members of the Council. For example, Hugh Hoyles, the leader of the government in 1861, included both Protestants and Catholics. Originally, Hoyles asked three Catholics to join, but only one, Laurence O'Brien, accepted the position. Although asked, Ambrose Shea refused because he wanted to be the leader of any future Liberal government.⁸

⁶ Melvin Baker, "Government," ENL, vol. 2, 602.

⁷ Baker, "Government," ENL, vol. 2, 602-3.

⁸ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 159.

General Election Year	Premier	Government
1842	n/a	Liberals controlled the Assembly
1848		
1852		
1855	Little, Philip F.	Liberal
1859	Kent, John	Liberal
1861	Hoyles, Hugh	Conservative
1865	Carter, Frederick B.T.	Conservative
1869	Bennett, Charles Fox	Anti-Confederation(Conservative-led)
1873	Bennett, Charles Fox	Bennett's coalition (Conservative-led)
1874	Carter, Frederick	Carter's coalition (Conservative-led)
1878	Whiteway, William	Pro-Whiteway (Conservative-led)
1882	Whiteway, William	Pro-Whiteway (Conservative-led)
1885	Thorburn, Robert	Reform Party (Conservative-led)

Table 7.1 Governments of Newfoundland, 1842-85

Sources: Bertram G. Riggs, "Elections," ENL, vol. 1, 679-749; Melvin Baker, "Government," ENL, vol. 2, 597-612.

Little and Hoyles' inclusion of members of both denominations and political stripes in their governments marked a clear change in Newfoundland politics, and set a precedent that became an informal policy in the mid-1860s known as the denominational compromise. The reasoning behind the policy was that the government should represent all religious denominations, and all should receive a proportional number of seats in the Assembly and the Council. Under this policy, there would also be a fair distribution of government offices and judicial appointments. Protestants, however, were not treated as one body, but split between Anglicans and Methodists, the latter because they had greatly increased in number in the 1860s and 1870s.⁹ Catholic Liberals were also appointed to cabinet with portfolio. When Hoyles retired in 1865 to become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, leadership of the Conservatives passed to Frederick Carter whose administration included Liberals John Kent, Laurence O'Brien and Ambrose and Edward Dalton Shea.¹⁰ Kent joined the Executive Council as Receiver-General, Laurence O'Brien became President of the Council, and Ambrose Shea became a member without portfolio. Carter's government resigned in early 1870 and Charles Fox Bennett formed a new administration that included Catholic Liberals Joseph Little as Attorney General, E.D. Shea as Colonial Secretary, William J.S. Donnelly as Financial Secretary, as well as Thomas Talbot. In the 1880s, Robert Thorburn kept many of the same Liberals in his cabinet such as Donnelly, who became Receiver General, and E.D Shea. He also appointed Maurice Fenelon Colonial Secretary. By the end of 1887, all but three Catholic Liberals were part of his administration.¹¹

One development that could have changed the political dynamic for the Liberals was the establishment of the Orange Order in the city in 1863.¹² Members of the Order were quickly well represented in electoral politics. By 1885, in a Protestant-dominated

⁹ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 131; J.K. Hiller, "Carter, Frederick Bowker Terrington," Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB), vol. 12.

¹⁰ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 178-9; Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 131.

¹¹ Baker, "Government," ENL, vol. 2, 602-611.

¹² By 1870, seven more lodges were established outside the city. There has been little written on the political activities of the Orange Order in Newfoundland in the nineteenth century. The only comprehensive work is Elinor Senior, "The Origin and Political Activities of the Orange Order in Newfoundland, 1863-1890" (MA Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1959). Other works about the Orange Order in Canada include some examination of Newfoundland, for example Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: a Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Milton, ON: Global, 1999) and the recent work by Eric Kaufmann, "The Orange Order in Ontario, Newfoundland, Scotland and Northern Ireland: a Macro-Social Analysis,' in *The Orange Order in Canada* (David A. Wilson, ed.; Portland, Ore: Four Courts Press, 2007).

House of Assembly, half of the Protestant MHAs were Orangemen.¹³ However, their support mostly came from Protestant districts outside the city. In fact, the appearance of the Order caused more problems for Conservative leaders who, now in cross-denominational coalitions, had to walk a careful line to ensure that they balanced both Catholic and Protestant support. This was especially difficult for William Whiteway, who was not an Orangeman, whose administration contained Catholics, and who found himself in the middle of sectarian political battle in the mid-1880s.¹⁴

Heightened tensions were due to the events a couple of years earlier in 1883 when a violent clash between rival mobs of Protestants and Catholics in Harbour Grace, known as the Harbour Grace Affray, resulted in several Protestants and one Catholic killed. Several Catholics stood trial for the events, but were later acquitted.¹⁵ It was inevitable that Whiteway's Conservative-Liberal alliance would be affected given that he was the prosecutor of the Catholics and Liberal Robert J. Kent was their defense lawyer.¹⁶ The event also split Protestants, as hard-line Orangemen blamed Whiteway when the Catholics involved were acquitted. In early 1885 Alfred Penney, an Orangeman and one of Whiteway's supporters, put forth a motion in the Assembly stating that the Catholics should have been found guilty.¹⁷ Whiteway was caught. If he supported the amendment he would alienate his Catholic supporters, but if he opposed it he would alienate his Protestant and Orange support. Whiteway proposed another amendment that was more

¹³ Senior, The Origin and Political Activities of the Orange Order, 232.

¹⁴ O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 133, 149.

¹⁵ For more on the Affray see a recent article by Willeen G. Keough, "Contested Terrains: Ethnic and Gendered Spaces in the Harbour Grace Affray," *The Canadian Historical Review*, 90:1 (March 2009), 29-70 and James K. Hiller, "Political effects of the Harbour Grace affray, 1883-1885," ([Newfoundland Historical Society], 1971).

¹⁶ O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 147-51.

¹⁷ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 142; O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 161.

moderate in tone that passed, but Catholic Liberal leaders Robert J. Kent, W.J.S. Donnelly and Ambrose Shea still interpreted it as anti-Catholic. They abandoned Whiteway and formed an independent group of Liberals in the House. Without their support Whiteway was forced to resign.¹⁸

The entire episode was about hard-line Protestants driving Whiteway from power because they did not support his economic policy regarding the railway. The only way to do this was to separate him from his Catholic Liberal supporters so he would not have the strength to survive an election. Hard-line Conservative Orangemen knew that it was the Conservative-Liberal alliance that had kept him in power in the previous election in 1882. Whiteway's Conservative opponents formed a new party called the Reform Party under the leadership of Robert Thorburn. The 1885 election was run along strict ethno-religious lines and, in an effort to court Orangemen, Thorburn promised no amalgamation with Catholics. The Catholics, now led by Ambrose Shea, ran as members of a separate Liberal party. Electors were encouraged by each party to vote along religious lines, resulting in Protestants being returned in Protestant districts and Catholics in their districts.¹⁹ Despite the appearance of sectarianism, however, Thorburn's promise of no amalgamation was empty rhetoric. Even during the election campaign, he talked with Shea and the Liberals about forming a coalition under a new government.²⁰ Two days after the election, the press reported that Thorburn was indeed courting prominent Catholics for cabinet posts, and in the summer of 1886 Catholics joined his

¹⁸ O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 154-5.

¹⁹ O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 156-7.

²⁰ J.K. Hiller, "Thorburn, Sir Robert," *DCB*, vol. 13; Hiller, "Whiteway, Sir William Vallance," *DCB*, vol. 13.

administration.²¹ The Orange Order split over Thorburn's decision to form a coalition. When the Grand Master asked the members to condemn Thorburn's actions they refused to do so, and he chose to resign shortly thereafter.²²

The establishment of the Orange Order and the sectarian nature of the 1885 election raised the question of the role ethnicity and religion played in electoral politics. Unlike in New Brunswick, the Order in St. John's never became a political instrument used to bar Catholics from power.²³ Part of the reason was that there did not seem to be any consistent effort on the part of Protestant Conservatives to mobilize Orange support against Catholics. Eric Kaufmann has also suggested that there was no chance for sectarian politics to emerge in Newfoundland because of the nature of the political system. He has pointed out that Newfoundland, and other places such as Scotland and Ontario, followed the style of politics like that in Westminster consisting of pragmatic, class ideologically driven parties labeled Liberal and Conservative. In such a system, class and religion, he argued, cut across ethno-religious divides and made it difficult for exclusively sectarian-based parties to find supporters.²⁴

7.2 Politics from Above: Issues and Alliances

The early 1850s was a time when ideological and class divides existed between Liberals and Conservatives on major issues, the biggest being responsible government. The Liberals emphasized one point: that the colony had great economic potential based

²¹ Evening Telegram, 2 November 1885; James Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," DCB, vol. 13; Baker,

[&]quot;Government," ENL, vol. 2, 695-6.

²² O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 160-1.

²³ Scott See, *Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

²⁴ Kaufmann, "The Orange Order," 61.

on its inland resources and greater economic diversification would mean less dependence on the volatile fishery. Protestant merchants opposed these and any constitutional changes, arguing that the latter were not suited to a colony that lacked a middle or propertied class. The divide was more than ideologically based, however. The Liberals also argued that lack of economic progress was due to the very structure of government. Under a new system, they believed, the colony would be able to develop its resources because the government would be responsible to the people and not run by a council dominated solely by merchant interests.²⁵ Until then, they argued, there would be no economic progress. Liberals were frustrated, as merchants continued to rely on Governor Gaspard LeMarchant to block constitutional change. In the early 1850s LeMarchant reported to the Colonial Office that Newfoundland was not ready for such a system and both effectively forestalled constitutional change in the early 1850s.²⁶

Politics under the new responsible system after 1855 removed many of the class and religious divides between the Council and the Assembly, as the former was now effectively appointed by the elected Premier. Politics, especially after 1861, was less dictated by one party or religion trying to attain power over the other, and more about amalgamated politics.²⁷ Issue-driven politics changed the old dynamic of strict party label divides, and ideological constraints weakened somewhat as parties, or members of parties, formed alliances to support or oppose particular issues. With regard to both confederation and the construction of the railway, alliances for and against largely rested upon economic arguments. For example, Liberals joined merchants to oppose

²⁵ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 113; Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 124.

²⁶ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 114-5, 119.

²⁷ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 178-9.

confederation, the latter believing that there were no economic benefits to union with Canada as very few of Newfoundland's exports went there and most of the imports came from the United States and Britain. There was also the prospect of high tariffs, resulting in an increase in merchant costs that might be accompanied with an increase in taxes.²⁸ They were opposed by Liberals John Kent, Ambrose Shea and his brother Edward, who joined with some Conservatives such as Frederick Carter, who argued the opposite. Shea and Carter both believed that union would be beneficial for economic development and diversification. Shea argued that the colony's economy would best grow through closer association with other North American economies. As a strong supporter of railway development, he believed that the Canadian government could assist with such development in Newfoundland. In 1864, it was Shea and Carter who represented Newfoundland at the Confederation conference in Quebec.²⁹

In the late 1870s and 1880s, the issue of a trans-island railway caused similar cross-party alliances, as each side based their arguments on economic reasoning. Liberals like Shea supported Whiteway's railway policy, arguing that it was necessary for the development of timber, agricultural and mineral resources on the west coast.³⁰ The Liberals formally aligned themselves with Whiteway's Conservative government in support of his economic policies and his plan to develop a railway. The Conservative-Liberal alliance trumpeted their alliance as the "Policy of Progress." ³¹ On the other hand,

²⁸ James K. Hiller, "Confederation Defeated: the Newfoundland Election of 1869," *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 74-5.

²⁹ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 130.

³⁰ O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 123, 154.

³¹ Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," *DCB*, vol. 13; J.K. Hiller, "Winter, Sir James Spearman," *DCB*, vol. 14; Hiller, "Whiteway, Sir William Valance," *DCB*, vol. 13.

some Catholic Liberals, such as Michael J. O'Mara, joined the Conservative anti-Whitewayites, who established a new merchant-led party in 1882 called the New Party. The members joined forces on the basis that Whiteway was leading the colony into bankruptcy and feared that his administration would result in confederation.³²

7.3 The Liberal Party and Electoral Politics

Catholic politics in the second half of the century was much different from the 1840s, when the Liberal Party was not divided on issues, but along ethno-religious lines between factions of Irish immigrant leaders and native-born members. It was also split between the Church faction allied with Fleming and the "mad dogs" who were not. Between 1855 and 1858, new leader Philip Little seemed to restore some unity to the Party. Little was a recent arrival to the colony and had no former political allegiances to any faction within the Party. Lack of previous ties seemed to have been beneficial, as Little brought new energy and a fresh perspective to the Liberals. His government worked well in the early years of responsible government, passing several important pieces of reform legislation and avoiding any hint of any dissension within the Party.³³

Unity, however, was short-lived. In 1858, Little took a position as a Supreme Court Judge, passing the leadership of the Liberals to veteran John Kent. This marked the beginning of a tumultuous time, as once again internal fractures within the Party appeared. Kent was one of the old-style Irish pro-clerical Liberals of the 1830s and 1840s and it did not take long for long-standing rivalries, such as that between Kent and native

³² O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 146; Riggs, "Elections," ENL, vol. 1, 693-4.

³³ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 142-3.

Ambrose Shea, to re-emerge. It was not only personal rivalry that caused problems. Kent also brought with him the old grievances and perceptions of politics such as the dislike of the Governor.³⁴ Governor Bannerman was no supporter of Kent either, who he felt had a bit of a temper and an air of arrogance about him.³⁵ Kent brought with him an old style of governance as well, and under his government patronage ruled policy. Specifically, he obtained support from the lower class Catholics in the city by employing the able-bodied poor in road construction. This upset members like Shea who believed that Kent's actions were tantamount to corruption. Shea, who was also speaker of the House of Assembly at the time, became so upset by Kent's distribution of patronage that, at one point, he threatened to resign.³⁶

It was a mixture of internal dissension over specific issues and Kent's leadership that led to the demise of the Liberal Party in 1861. In addition to Kent's patronage policy, Liberals were divided over other issues such as poor relief, which was a dominant issue because the fishery was so unpredictable. In bad seasons, government expenditure on relief was always quite substantial. In 1854, for example, it was nearly one-quarter of overall expenditure.³⁷ 1860 was a particularly bad year for the fisheries and was coupled with a failure in the potato crop, which resulted in widespread distress. In the face of such a crisis, the Assembly held a special session to vote extra money for relief, but the Governor and a faction of Liberals raised questions concerning the lack of organization for its distribution. Kent did not approve of reform because, along with road work, he

³⁴ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 150, 155; Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 126.

³⁵ J.K. Hiller, "Little, Philip Francis," *DCB*, vol. 12.

³⁶ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 125-7.

³⁷ E.C. Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis and Civil Strife in Newfoundland, February to November 1861," *Canadian Historical Review*, 48:3 (1967), 253.

used it as an important source of patronage. The Liberals were divided on the issue and four members revolted, forcing Kent to concede to reform. ³⁸ In early 1861, stricter rules for the application and receipt of relief were set out by newly appointed Relief Commissioners. Anyone wishing to receive assistance now had to produce a certificate signed by a clergyman or magistrate stating the reason for distress and other information such as the size of the family.³⁹

It was Kent's arrogance, however, that soon led to loss of power. Relations between Kent and the Governor deteriorated in 1859 and, on more than one occasion, Kent threatened that the government would resign if Bannerman did not agree with their policies. Bannerman, however, advised Kent that he would not be bullied or swayed from his opinions under any circumstance. With the party internally weak, Bannerman knew that it was only a matter of time before the Liberals were ousted from power.⁴⁰ The time came sooner than Bannerman expected, when a debate over a Currency Bill caused Kent to accuse the Governor and judges of conspiring against his government. When Bannerman took exception to Kent's accusation and asked him to explain himself, Kent refused. Bannerman believed that this gave him reason enough to throw the Kent government out.⁴¹ An immediate firestorm erupted as Liberals and the Liberal press denounced Bannerman as despotic. Even though new Premier Hugh Hoyles immediately invited Catholics to join his government, Kent and other Liberals were so stung that they

³⁸ Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 254-5.

³⁹ Royal Gazette, 22 January 1861.

⁴⁰ Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 256-7.

⁴¹ James Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901" (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1971), 19.

decided to take their chances with the electorate. They presented a no-confidence resolution that forced a general election in 1861.⁴²

The result of the 1861 election did not, however, result in a Liberal majority. In one district outside St. John's, Harbour Main, Catholic Liberals George Hogsett and Charles Furey were declared winners but were disenfranchised due to election violence and questionable results.⁴³ This meant that out of thirty seats in the Assembly two were vacant, and of the remaining seats the Conservatives had a majority of two. The Liberals believed that they had been robbed of the two seats, some members even arguing that it was a conspiracy to keep them from taking power.⁴⁴ When the House opened in May, the two disenfranchised candidates illegally took their seats in the Assembly. When Hugh Hoyles asked them to leave Hogsett refused and was ejected.⁴⁵ Outside the Colonial Building, Hogsett was met by a group of around 2000 people and led a crowd comprised of about 300 men, women and youths to Water Street where they destroyed several premises.⁴⁶ The crowd steadily grew in number, indiscriminately destroying property and

⁴² Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 256-60; O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 88.

⁴³ An inquiry was held into the deaths that occurred due to the events in Harbour Main and several witnesses were questioned. Testimony of events is recounted in the *Journal of the House of Assembly (JHA)* 1861, Appendix, ff. 51. Father Walsh admitted in his testimony that he supported and canvassed for Hogsett and Furey. He also admitted speaking of his intentions to go to Cat's Cove from the Altar; *JHA 1861*, 60; Testimony of George Hogsett, *JHA 1861*, Appendix, 64; O'Flaherty, *Lost Country*, 89; Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 265.

⁴⁴ For details see Henry Winton, *A Chapter in the History of Newfoundland for the Year 1861*(St. John's: Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archives, Department of Provincial Affairs, [1972]); Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland*, 164-66; D.W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland* (Portugal Cove – St. Philip's: Boulder Publications Ltd., 2002), 488-91; O'Flaherty, *Lost Country*, 90-1; Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 251-72.

⁴⁵ Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 266.

⁴⁶ Testimony of Michael Nowlan and William Kitchin, JHA 1861, Appendix, 144-6; Moulton,

[&]quot;Constitutional Crisis," 266; JHA 1863, Appendix, 947-8, 962, 969, 973; O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 90.

stealing articles and throwing them in the street.⁴⁷ In an effort to quell the crowd, Governor Bannerman called out the troops, who were assisted by several Catholic priests, including Fathers Condon, Walsh, O'Donnell, Vereker, Byrne and Carfagnini as well as Little, the former premier.⁴⁸ However, chaos ensued when shots were fired from the crowd and fearing loss of life, Colonel John James Grant ordered the troops to return fire.⁴⁹ As a result, three people were killed and about twenty injured, including Father Jeremiah O'Donnell.⁵⁰ Peace in the city was only restored four hours after the violence had begun when Bishop Mullock rang the Cathedral bells and the crowd was drawn in front of the Cathedral. Mullock implored them to go home and end the violence. The crowd obeyed and returned to their homes.⁵¹

The Liberal press and some papers in Ireland described the riot primarily as a sectarian event, the latter even reporting that it was all the action of malicious Orangemen.⁵² The Liberals themselves were divided as to its cause. Some, such as Robert Parsons, blamed Bannerman for the events, arguing that it would never have occurred had he not dismissed the Kent government. They petitioned for the Governor's removal, but

⁴⁷ There are countless examples of this given in the testimony of those whose premises were damaged. See JHA 1863, Appendix, 951, 955-7, 959, 969, 976; Henry Winton, A Chapter in the History, 13. ⁴⁸ Testimony of Peter W. Carter, Stipendiary Magistrate, Rev. John Vereker and Colonel Grant, Journal of

the House of Assembly 1861, Appendix, 126, 131, 138; Winton, A Chapter in the History, 14.

⁴⁹ There are contradictory accounts of who fired first. Testimony given by Colonel Grant and others indicate that the military waited some time before they fired, despite the fact that many of his men and himself had been badly injured due to the throwing of stones. It was only when a shot was heard coming from the mob that the troops opened fire. In such chaos, Grant admitted that it was unclear whether or not a direct order was given or heard due to the confusion. However, Officer Quill stated that his men began firing on the crowd without his orders to do so. Testimony of Thomas Bennett, J.P. and Colonel Grant, JHA 1861, Appendix, 128-31; Testimony of Arthur Saunders Quill, JHA 1861, 133-4.

⁵⁰ O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 90.

⁵¹ Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 267; Gunn, Political History, 165.

⁵² For example reports in the Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator, reprinted in the Patriot and Terra Nova Herald (Patriot), 15 July 1861.

only around 8000 out of a total Newfoundland Catholic population of 30,000 signed it.⁵³ This hardly showed the support of the majority of the Catholic community. It did not reflect the support of the Party either as only three Liberal MHAs, Parsons, Thomas Talbot and Thomas Glen, signed it. Neither Liberal leader John Kent nor Ambrose Shea signed the petition. The effort failed as the British government refused to get rid of Bannerman.⁵⁴

The events during and after the riot do not support a sectarian interpretation. The argument that it was due to the actions of Orangemen is unlikely given that there were no Orange Lodges or a formally organized Orange political voice in Newfoundland in 1861. Even the Conservative press stated at the time that no one in the city believed that the riot was motivated by sectarianism, and that "the chief sufferings on the scenes of disorder were self-inflicted by Catholics among themselves."⁵⁵ This indicated that the community continued to be divided over which Catholic element defined Catholic identity. D.W. Prowse, who witnessed the event, stated that "the whole trouble was due to the turbulence of the defeated candidate Hogsett and the violence of a few rowdies."⁵⁶ In fact Catholics targeted Catholics in St. John's. At the outset of the riot, Hogsett did not lead the crowd to Protestant premises, but those that belonged to the relatives of his Catholic political opponents in the election, Michael Nowlan and William Kitchin.⁵⁷

⁵³ Winton claims that only 5000 signed it. Winton, *A Chapter in the History*, 19; Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 269.

⁵⁴ Colonial Office (CO) 194/166, 266-7; Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 269.

⁵⁵ Winton, A Chapter in the History, 21.

⁵⁶ See for example *Patriot*, 20 May, 15 and 22 July, 5 and 12 August 1861; Winton, A Chapter in the *History*, 21; Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, 490.

⁵⁷ Testimony of Michael Nowlan and William Kitchin, JHA 1861, Appendix, 144-6.

Events in the aftermath of the riot also disprove a sectarian argument. It is true that there were several suspicious fires in the city after the event that mainly targeted Protestants such as Premier Hugh Hoyle and Judge Bryan Robinson. Hoyles' country home was burned down and Robinson's stables, coach houses and offices were also destroyed. However, Hoyles seems to have been targeted because he was the Premier and the leader of the party that had just ousted the Liberals from power. Robinson also denied that sectarianism was a motive. He testified that his property was set on fire for two reasons: the "distracted state of public feeling in the district" and because of his position as a judge. He stated that he could "suggest no reason for my property being assailed, beyond the faithful discharge of my judicial duties."⁵⁸

The riot had much to do with the poor economic and social conditions in the colony at the time. The previous two years had been bad economically, as the seal harvest and cod catch were below average, fish prices decreased, and the potato crop failed. Poverty abounded in the colony, leaving many to rely on poor relief to survive.⁵⁹ The very reason why there was such a large gathering outside the Colonial Building that day was because it was the opening of the session of the House and, due to the great distress and poverty the previous year, there was an increased call for poor relief. In 1861, for example, £7877 was spent on poor relief in St. John's, but the majority was distributed in the two months before the opening of the House on the casual poor. In 1862, the amount

⁵⁸ Testimony of Robinson, JHA 1863, Appendix, 982.

⁵⁹ O'Flaherty, *Lost Country*, 87-8. This situation was also chronicled in local papers; see for example *Patriot*, 22 October 1860 and 28 January 1861.

spent on poor relief in the city almost doubled to £13 088.⁶⁰ It was also during the beginning of 1861 that new, stricter poor relief reforms were introduced, making it more difficult to get relief. The crowd was, therefore, was likely made up of the disgruntled poor who were seeking more assistance. There are also indications that alcohol may have been a factor as well. Colonel Grant, commander of the St. John's garrison, testified that a man who tried to pull him from his horse was intoxicated. One of his officers also stated that some of the persons in the crowd outside the Colonial Building were intoxicated.⁶¹

The 1861 election did, however, signal the continuation of the political split in the Liberal Party and its supporters between the clerical and non-clerical wings. The events of the contest outside St. John's bear this out. The violence in Harbour Main was due to the fact that one set of candidates, Hogsett and Furey, was supported by the Catholic Church and the other, Patrick Nowlan and Thomas Byrne, was not. It was when supporters of the former, led by Catholic priest Father Walsh, tried to vote en masse at the poll near Harbour Main, which supported the independent candidates, that violence ensued.⁶² The severest attack was reserved for the Catholic returning officer, Patrick Strapp, who was forced to give a false result in favour of the clerically-backed candidates.⁶³ His house and buildings were torn down and his cattle were killed by his fellow Catholics because he

⁶⁰ In 1863 and 1864, the amount decreased again. In these years, smaller amounts in these years were spent on poor in sheds and orphanages, and on road work, incidentals and salaries. In 1858, £4622 was spent on poor relief in St. John's. "Consolidated Statement of Expenditure for Relief of the Poor, during the year ended 31st December, 1858," *JHA 1859*, Appendix, 230; "Expenditure for the Relief of the Poor, During the Year Ended 31st December, 1861," *JHA 1862*, Appendix, 118-9; "Poor Expenditure For the Year Ended 31st December, 1862," *JHA 1863*, Appendix, 1124-5; "Expenditure for Poor During the Year Ended 31st December, 1863," *JHA 1864*, Appendix, 170-1; "Expenditure for the Relief of the Poor, During the Year Ended 31st December, 1864," *JHA 1865*, Appendix, 288-9.

⁶¹ Testimony of Arthur Saunders Quill and Thomas Bennett, J.P., JHA 1861, Appendix, 128, 132-33; Testimony of Rev. O'Donnell, JHA 1861, Appendix, 137; Testimony of Sergeant Major P. Matthews JHA 1861, Appendix, 141; Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 266.

⁶² JHA 1861, Appendix, ff. 51.

⁶³ Testimony of George Hogsett, JHA 1861, Appendix, 64.

did not support the Church-backed candidates. Six men were arrested and stood trial in St. John's but were acquitted, in part because Strapp and his family were too afraid to testify.⁶⁴

7.4 Politics from Below: Electoral Politics

The events of the 1861 election indicated that not much had changed up to that point in terms of electoral politics. In St. John's, Catholics continued to form the majority of the population and, as in the first half of the decade, it was the Catholic lower class that determined who represented St. John's. As in the earlier decades, in the 1850s it was the influence of this group that the Protestant Conservative press continued to believe was the biggest problem with electoral politics.⁶⁵ Conservatives such as Henry Winton maintained that there was a distinction between the lower class mob of fishermen and the rest, whom he termed "respectable Catholics." He argued that the political divide was not denominational, but between two political parties with different class bases: Protestant Conservatives and their respectable middle-class Catholic allies, versus the Liberals supported by the Catholic "rabble."⁶⁶

Winton's paradigm suggests that there was very little change in terms of the composition of the Liberal Party, its base of support, or its electoral tactics. This was only partly true. Apart from a doubling of representatives in the city, there were only a few official changes to the electoral system between 1855 and 1886. There was no change to the franchise, which continued to be very wide and include the mass of the lower classes.

⁶⁴ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 167.

⁶⁵ Public Ledger, 23 June 1854.

⁶⁶ Public Ledger, 3 June 1851 and 7 March 1854.

In order to vote or stand for election, a person had to be male, at least 21 years of age, a British subject, resident for one year and an occupant of a property as either a tenant or owner.⁶⁷ Major electoral reform did not occur until the 1870s and 1880s, including a change in which elections were to be held over one day instead over several days. This reform was specifically designed to curb election violence.⁶⁸ The most important change did not occur until 1887, when a new Election Act introduced the secret ballot.⁶⁹

The pattern of Liberal Party dominance in St. John's continued in the latter part of the century. That the city was a Liberal stronghold is clearly seen when the party or affiliations of elected members is charted within the period, as shown in Appendix C, Table C2. Of the 35 MHAs representing the city between 1840 and 1886, a total of 29, or just over eighty percent, were Catholic, seen in Appendix C, Table C1. The longest-serving Catholic MHA was John Kent, who served for 29 years between 1832 and 1869. St. John's Liberals also consistently ran in mainly Catholic districts outside the city. There was only one occasion between 1840 and 1886 when a St. John's MHA held two seats at once: in 1869 Henry Renouf was also elected in the Catholic district of Placentia-St. Mary's. Some prominent Catholic politicians in the city only represented areas outside the city such as Edward Dalton Shea, who represented Ferryland.⁷⁰ The Catholic electorate in St. John's also elected Liberal Protestants as well. This had been the case since 1832 when William Carson ran successfully on the Liberal ticket. Presbyterian

⁶⁷ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 11.

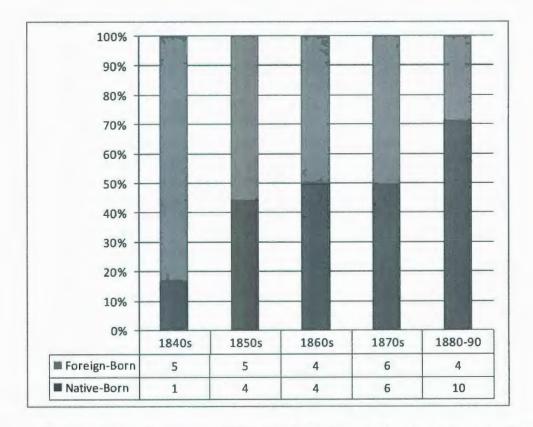
⁶⁸ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 131.

⁶⁹ Riggs, "Elections," ENL, vol. 1, 748.

⁷⁰ The only other occurrence of a Catholic holding two seats was in 1836 when Patrick Morris ran successfully in Ferryland. Riggs, "Elections," *ENL*, vol. 1, 690; J.K. Hiller, "Shea, Sir Edward Dalton," *DCB*, vol. 14.

Robert Parsons, for example, was the longest-serving St. John's MHA in the century, elected 35 years between 1843 and 1878.

The dichotomy between Philip Little and John Kent's leadership and policies signaled that the Liberal Party itself had changed. This is evident in terms of the composition of Liberal MHAs, who became more native and middle class between 1840 and 1890, as illustrated in Figures 7.1 and 7.2. Outnumbered five to one in the 1840s, the native-born achieved parity and then dominance over foreign-born MHAs by the 1880s, accounting for just over seventy percent of Liberal representatives. This was somewhat inevitable due to demographic change and the increase in the number of native-born.





312

<u>Notes</u>: There are 5 MHAs for whom birthplace is unknown. Many MHAs served across one or more decades, and so are counted for each. Sources: This chart is based on Appendix C, Table 1, for which a complete list of sources is given.

<u>Sources</u>. This chart is based on Appendix C, Table I, for which a complete list of sources is given.

The occupational profile of the Liberals also changed.⁷¹ In the 1840 and 1850s, half of the MHA's were merchants, but in the 1860s this declined sharply as, thereafter, those engaged in various middle-class occupations now formed seventy percent of MHAs. The eclipsing of merchants as the dominant occupation is reflective of the changed economic and social character of Newfoundland in the second half of the century. The historic economic and political dominance of merchants in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was giving way to class diversification and an expanded middle class in the city. This is particularly evident in the 1870s when the number of Catholic lawyers in the city increased and who, by the 1880s, accounted for just under half of all city Liberal representatives. Certainly, in contemporary politics "lawyer" and "politician" are almost synonymous, and the 1870s appears to have been the beginning of this pattern in Newfoundland politics.

⁷¹ Kenneth Kerr has done work on the religious and occupational profile of MHA's and members of the Council, but his period covers 1855 to 1914. See Kerr "A Social Analysis of the Members of the Newfoundland House of Assembly, Executive Council, and Legislative Council for the period, 1855-1914" (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973).

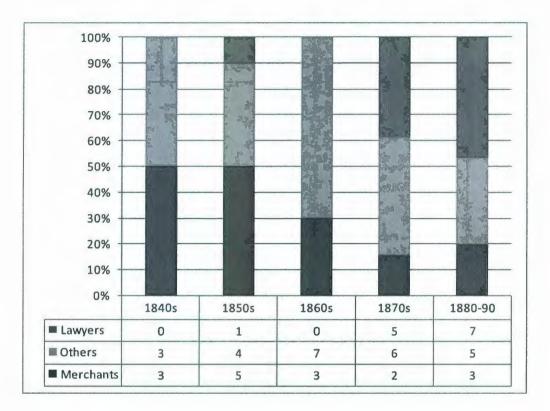


Figure 7.2 Occupations of St. John's MHAs, 1840-90: distribution over time, by decade

<u>Notes</u>: There are 3 MHAs for whom occupation is unknown. MHAs with two occupations were just counted once, this being the case only among the "Other" with the sole exception of one merchant, Peter Brennan, who was also a bonesetter; he was therefore counted under both "Merchant" and "Other." Many MHAs served across one or more decades, and so their occupation is counted for each. Sources: This chart is based on Appendix C, Table 1, for which a complete list of sources is given.

As in the earlier decades, Liberal candidates often ran uncontested in the city. In the early 1850s, Conservatives continued to rely on the Council to safeguard their interests, placing their hope in the Governor's ability to forestall any constitutional change. In the 1852 election for example, while the Liberals campaigned vigorously to return a solid majority in favour of responsible government, not one Conservative ran in St. John's to oppose them.⁷² In the first election held under the responsible system in 1855, six Liberals won in St. John's unopposed. The Conservative press continued to be frustrated by the fact that their party was not taking a more active role in city politics.⁷³ Conservatives, however, became somewhat actively involved after 1855, although still only contesting about half of the contests in the city. Out of thirteen elections between 1842 and 1885, they ran in both districts only seven times. In 1848, 1852, 1855 and 1878 the Conservatives did not contest either district and only ran a candidate in St. John's East in 1859 and 1879.⁷⁴

The reason why Conservatives continued to shy away from running candidates after 1855 was that they still faced the same problems as before, as the Liberals used intimidation and violence to drive them from the election. This was the case in the 1861 contest in St. John's West.⁷⁵ Leading up to the election, there was trouble on nomination day as the Protestant Conservative candidate, merchant Kenneth McLea, was forced to withdraw from the contest after an attack on his property by Liberal supporters. He and his sons defended themselves with firearms, which resulted in several people being injured. Other property in the city was also destroyed, and windows were smashed by the lower-class "Liberal mob" that marched through the streets.⁷⁶ The premises of one McLea supporter, Peter Duchemin, were also attacked by McLea's opponents.⁷⁷ In St. John's East, violence forced another Protestant Conservative, merchant E.M Archibald, to

⁷² Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 128, 130.

⁷³ Public Ledger, 20 November 1857; Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 141.

⁷⁴ Riggs, "Elections," ENL, vol. 1, 679-749; Gunn, 115-6, 128-9.

⁷⁵ Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis," 262.

⁷⁶ Winton, A Chapter in the History, 11; Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 162.

⁷⁷ Testimony of Peter Duchemin after the Riot, JHA 1863, Appendix, 978.

withdraw.⁷⁸ The Liberal press arrogantly blamed the violence on the Conservatives, suggesting that contesting Liberal candidates was both futile and "silly," and that Conservatives knew full well that their efforts would lead to violence. With McLea and Archibald gone, the field was left open for the Liberal candidates to be elected unopposed.⁷⁹

The issue remains, however, of whether or not Conservatives could be elected in St. John's if they did actually run. In addition to the nature of the political system, demographic change also led to a weakening of ethno-religious divides. While Liberals still relied heavily on lower class Catholics to get elected in the city, demographic shifts in the second half of the century weakened this base of support. The Catholic percentage of the city's population was in steady decline after 1857, while the number of Anglicans and Methodists increased.⁸⁰ This pattern was mirrored in the colony generally. Since 1845 the Protestant population had increased by almost thirty percent, while the number of Catholics had only increased by seventeen percent. The Wesleyan population had also increased greatly, such that dissenters now formed one-third of the Protestant population.⁸¹ This shift in denominational balance was also accompanied by a larger middle class and number of native-born, which meant a potentially more powerful Wesleyan and native political voice.

The decline in Catholic numbers forced the Liberals to seek out the support of groups like the Wesleyans. In the 1852 general election, for example, the Liberals won a

⁷⁸ Newfoundlander, 6 May 1861.

⁷⁹ Newfoundlander, 6 May 1861.

⁸⁰ See Chapter 1, Tables 2 and 3.

⁸¹ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 149-50.

majority in the House of Assembly by mobilizing the Wesleyan vote.⁸² It was also this group's support that helped Liberals secure the 1855 election and form the first government under the responsible system. Their support had much to do with the fact that this section of the Protestant community had split with Anglicans over the issue of separate funding for Wesleyan schools. As a result, they supported the Liberal Party and their campaign for responsible government in the early 1850s.⁸³

In courting non-Catholic support, Liberal tactics became less ethno-religiously driven and instead emphasized a party ideology that was based on a broad umbrella of progress. Leaders emphasized that the Party was the protector of civil liberty and the promoters of economic and social development. They reminded electors that Liberals had a proven record of standing for economic advancement and that there had been great improvements in the judiciary, steam communication, roads and education because of their efforts.⁸⁴ They also emphasized that it was their party that fought for constitutional change, and their efforts that won both representative and responsible government.⁸⁵ Liberals argued that the desire for economic prosperity and greater constitutional freedom were not religious issues, but ones that appealed to all reform-minded citizens who believed in the same fundamental principles of progress and reform.⁸⁶ That such arguments were an effective strategy was evident in 1882 when the Conservative-Liberal alliance won an electoral victory by trumpeting a "Policy of Progress."

⁸² Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 150; Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 123.

⁸³ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 122-4.

⁸⁴ Patriot, 25 November 1865 and 4 October 1873.

⁸⁵ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 161.

⁸⁶ Patriot, 30 March 1868, 11 October 1873; Morning Chronicle, September 1869.

⁸⁷ Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," *DCB*, vol. 13; Hiller, "Winter, Sir James Spearman," *DCB*, vol. 14; Hiller, "Whiteway, Sir William Valance," *DCB*, vol. 13.

Cross-party and inter-denominational alliances meant that, like politics from above, elections became mostly issue-driven, as seen in Appendix C, Table C2. Between 1865 and 1885, election contests were mainly fought on specific issues such as confederation in 1869 and the construction of the railway in the 1870s and 1880s. In the 1869 election, for example, labels of Liberal and Conservative gave way to parties of pro and anti-confederates. In the 1880s, contests were fought between those who supported Whiteway and the construction of the railway and those who did not.⁸⁸ The result was that Conservative leaders found themselves with a strong base of Catholic Liberal support. For example, Charles Fox Bennett represented the mainly Catholic district of Placentia-St. Mary's.⁸⁹

Issue-driven elections, however, did not mean the complete disappearance of party or ethnic lines, and breaking away was dangerous for politicians who wanted to get elected. Pro-confederates Shea and Kent were branded as traitors by their fellow Liberals and their strongly anti-confederate Catholic supporters. In the 1865 election in the district of St. John's East, Kent was forced to temper his pro-confederate stance as he faced the prospect of not being elected in the strongly anti-confederate district. However, in a desperate effort to save his seat, he assured Catholic voters that he would put aside his personal feelings, and follow the wishes of his constituents. He was indeed returned, although the election was not fought solely on the issue of union with Canada.⁹⁰ Part of the reason why Liberals and their supporters called Shea and Kent traitors was because they believed it went against the fundamental tenets of the Liberal Party. One of the main

⁸⁸ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 131.

⁸⁹ Baker, "Government," ENL, vol. 2, 607.

⁹⁰ Patriot, 30 September 1865.

goals of the Liberals since the 1830s was attaining more constitutional freedom for Newfoundland. They had fought for both representative and responsible government, and when the loss of the latter was threatened in the 1860s, Liberals waged a campaign against confederation. First and foremost, they argued that after working long and energetically to attain constitutional freedom, they and their supporters who had fought for it would do anything they could to keep it. As such, the party committed itself to defending the constitutional freedom of Newfoundland.⁹¹

Another reason had to do with the fact that even though the Liberals relied less on ethno-religious appeal to mobilize support, they could still use this tactic when it suited them. Since the bulk of the Party's electoral support base still comprised Catholics of Irish descent it seemed useful, if not natural, to court Catholic support using Irish rhetoric. Such was the case during their anti-confederation campaign in the 1860s when they used the specter of the Irish Act of Union to court support. James Hiller has suggested that by that time the Catholic population was "still very Irish in character and orientation [...] and it is hardly surprising that they looked at the world through the prism of past and contemporary Irish prejudices."⁹² This is partly true. It was a logical comparison because, as Irishman Thomas Talbot argued, "it was within the scope of the knowledge of the people of this Country."⁹³ The parallel to Ireland was mostly a political one, taking on the familiar nationalist tone that emphasized the Act of Union's oppressive nature. For example, Parsons argued that "I will only add, that the Union of Ireland with England, which all history affirms inflicted the heaviest burthens [sic] upon the former country,

⁹¹ Patriot, 7 November 1873.

⁹² Hiller, "Confederation Defeated," 79.

⁹³ Patriot, 1 November 1869.

destroyed her trade and harassed her people by oppressive laws and intolerable imposts, and decimated her population by millions in the course of a few years." This, he warned, "would be but a faint picture of what is in store for Newfoundland."⁹⁴

Ethnically based arguments, however, could still only go so far given that the other half of the Liberal's anti-confederate campaign allies were Protestant merchants. To rally their support, Liberals used a broader argument that emphasized the perceived injurious economic consequences of the Union, such as the decline in Irish exports and trade.⁹⁵ Arguments about Ireland's alleged economic ruin after Union resonated with merchants who already feared the potential negative economic impact of confederation upon Newfoundland.⁹⁶

The anti-confederate Liberals, however, had to tailor their Irish-nationalist centered approach to appeal to a mostly native and not Irish-born Catholic community. Given that such arguments would resonate best with the latter, they had to be placed in an immediate local context. So, Liberal rhetoric paralleled Ireland's loss of local parliament and its right to self-govern under Union to that of the potential loss of Newfoundland's government.⁹⁷ As Ireland was under the foreign rule of England, they argued, so too would Newfoundland be under the foreign rule and laws of Canada, ridding the colony of its political independence.⁹⁸ The theme of the loss of political independence for a mostly native-born audience was an argument that was tailored to inspire a sense of Newfoundland rather than Irish nationalism. Anti-confederates asked Catholics if they

⁹⁴ Patriot, 1 November 1869.

⁹⁵ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 21 and 28 February 1866; Patriot, 1 November 1869.

⁹⁶ Hiller, "Confederation Defeated," 70-2.

⁹⁷ Morning Chronicle, September 1869.

⁹⁸ Patriot, 4 October 1873.

were willing to sacrifice their own local government, and abandon their right to be "their own [political] masters" in a union with Canada. They were obligated, then, to protect their political independence as Newfoundlanders, uniting to "come out victorious from this struggle, and vindicate at one and the same time your own manhood, and the Liberty and Independence of your Country."⁹⁹ To court the Irish-born as well, Parsons called on the community to unite:

The Colony of Newfoundland will jealously guard and cherish its independent privileges to be enjoyed by its inhabitants for many years to come [...] Confederation seeks to destroy the autonomy of his native land [...] The Irish settler – not a few of whom have found a home in Newfoundland – who labors for the destruction of liberties of his adopted country, must be false to his own instincts, false to the traditions of his country, false to his personal experience in his native land; and, had we the ear of the people of Newfoundland, we would simply say to them: "let no such man be trusted."¹⁰⁰

As Irishmen whose parliament had been taken away under the Union and sons of Irishmen who were about to suffer the same fate, this was their chance to right a historical wrong and make sure that this did not happen in again in Newfoundland.

Parallels between union with Canada and the Act of Union, however, did not resonate with all Catholic Liberals. The pro-confederate Shea spoke out in the Assembly against the validity of such comparisons for two reasons. First, he argued that conditions under the Act of Union were unjust to Irish Catholics who were excluded from political power, "scarcely established may bond but that which exists between the taskmaster and the slave." Second, the Irish Act of Union was brought about fraudulently and forcefully.

⁹⁹ Morning Chronicle, September 1869.

¹⁰⁰ Patriot, 30 March 1868.

Using their own Irish-based nationalist argument against them, he referred to the opinion of Daniel O'Connell with regard to the Union, something he knew no liberal-minded Irish Catholic would counter. Shea pointed out that O'Connell would agree with his reasoning because it was the unfairness of the Union and not the principle itself that he and other Irish nationalists found objectionable. O'Connell's fight for Repeal, Shea argued, was not based on a rejection of the Union outright, but more about the attainment of equal rights for Catholics.¹⁰¹

Shea could not see how a union with Canada, which was not forced upon Newfoundland and where rights and privileges were respected, could in any way be objectionable.¹⁰² It was not so much his reasoning that was objectionable to anticonfederate Liberals, however, but the very idea that a Liberal, and Irishman's son at that, supported the loss of political independence. Parsons claimed that, by taking such a stance, Shea was embarrassing not only his father but Ireland as well, and pointedly reminded Shea to remember that his father was an Irishman.¹⁰³ Shea responded with the same argument he had used in the 1840s when he defended his membership in the Natives' Society: that neither ethnicity nor party allegiance dictated his political viewpoints. However, it appeared that, as in the 1840s, to run successfully as a Catholic Liberal he had to accept the importance of both. In the months prior to the 1869 election fought on the issue of confederation, Shea received a hostile greeting in some Catholic districts outside the city. He was greeted with pots of tar and feathers and was advised by

¹⁰¹ Newfoundlander, 2 March 1865.

¹⁰² Newfoundlander, 2 March 1865.

¹⁰³ Patriot, 7 March 1870; Newfoundlander, 2 March 1870.

electors not to land his boat. For his independent, pro-confederation stance, Shea suffered a crushing defeat in the Catholic district of Placentia St. Mary's.¹⁰⁴

While the issue of confederation faded from the forefront of politics in the 1870s, the Liberal anti-confederates continued to use the Irish example to forestall any future constitutional change. Their argument was given resonance by the fact that Irish nationalist politics again turned towards the issue of independence and so the Party replaced the example of the Act of Union with that of Home Rule.¹⁰⁵ Now Parsons and other Liberals could point out that Ireland was in the midst of fighting for something that Newfoundland already enjoyed under the responsible system and was in danger of losing. The main thrust of their argument, however, was similar to those made in the 1860s, emphasizing that union would see Newfoundland lose its parliament and see foreign laws imposed upon its citizens.¹⁰⁶ After working long and hard to attain responsible government, the Liberals Party would only allow candidates committed to defending it to run for election.¹⁰⁷ Pro-confederates like Shea would not be welcomed.

In addition to Newfoundland nationalist arguments based on the Irish nationalist example, Liberals also used a mixture of Irish and Newfoundland symbols to elicit anticonfederate support. Liberals proudly displayed the Newfoundland Red, White and Green tricolor, the symbol of the NNS and native Newfoundland identity, at their rallies.¹⁰⁸ Anti-Confederation rallies featured the flag alongside anti-confederate banners that read

¹⁰⁴ Hiller, "Confederation Defeated," 79.

¹⁰⁵ For a recent study of the Home Rule movement see Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule: an Irish History, 1800-2000* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003).

¹⁰⁶ Patriot, 4 October 1873.

¹⁰⁷ Patriot, 7 November 1873.

¹⁰⁸ For a detailed examination of the history and use of the Native Flag as representative of the colony and its relation to the more recent Pink, White and Green flag, see my article "Emblem of our country: The Red, White, and Green Tricolour," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 23:1 (Spring 2008), 21-43.

"No Confederation" and "Self-Government."¹⁰⁹ On nomination day in 1873, St. John's Liberal candidates Robert Parsons, Robert Kent, J.J. Dearin and Maurice Fenelon paraded through the city in carriages with several flags, including the green flag of Erin with "Home Rule" woven into it, followed by another flag that read "No Confederation."¹¹⁰ The reference to Irish Home Rule was clear, but it was being used for a distinctive homegrown goal: preserving Newfoundland's independence.

7.5 The Declining Role of the Catholic Church in Politics

Not only did 1861 mark the loss of Liberal Catholic power, it also marked the start of the decline of the Catholic Church's role in politics and its distancing from the Liberal Party. For the first time since 1832, the Liberals briefly lost the political support of the Church. This was primarily due to the changed political context of the 1860s. The 1830s and 1840s were a time of attaining and securing Catholic political power and that of the Church within the new representative political system. Fleming succeeded in doing both by 1850, albeit at the expense of the harmony of the Catholic community.¹¹¹ With the advent of responsible government in 1855 and dominance of the Liberal Party under that system until 1861, politics was more about using that power to carry out a Liberal program of reform and economic progress. As such, the involvement in political matters by Fleming's successor, Bishop Thomas Mullock, was driven less by ethno-religious considerations and more by his belief in economic progress. Mullock also believed in

¹⁰⁹ Patriot, 11 November 1869.

¹¹⁰ Patriot, 7 November 1873.

¹¹¹ John FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture in Irish Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850" (PhD Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), iii-iv.

effective governance, specifically apparent corruption, bribery and using tax money to support useless officials.¹¹²

Like Fleming, Mullock supported the Liberal Party and was vocal on various political matters. For example, he wrote a public letter in 1852 commenting on a British government dispatch that stated the responsible system was not suitable for Newfoundland. He wrote: "Holding as I do, an office of some consideration in Newfoundland, deeply anxious for the welfare of the country to which I am bound by so many ties [...] I feel the ill-judged and irritating Despatch an insult to myself and to my people."¹¹³ For some Protestant Conservatives, the letter showed that not only was Mullock as meddlesome as Fleming, but that his interference was worse because it was done in such a public and formal manner.¹¹⁴

What also worried Conservatives was the fact that Mullock continued to support clerical involvement in electoral politics. Like Fleming, Mullock believed that the clergy had an important role to play in the political system. His argument, however, was not based on religion or on their historically important role in politics in Ireland, but was couched in British constitutional rhetoric. The basis of Mullock's argument was that as British citizens who paid taxes and were subject to the same laws, priests had the same rights as any other British subject to be involved in the political system. As such, they were free to express their opinions, no matter their political or religious creed: "I can't see why a priest is to be deprived of his right of citizenship [...] As a citizen [a priest] has not

¹¹² Public Ledger, 21 February 1854.

¹¹³ Public Ledger, 21 February 1854.

¹¹⁴ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 123-4.

alone the right to vote himself but [also the right] to cause others to vote with him.^{*115} However, unlike Fleming, he felt that there were strict limits to such privileges and forbade politics to be discussed from the altar. When he learned that one of his priests, Father Condon, criticized the government during Mass, Mullock immediately reprimanded him: "now I have no objection that a priest may express his private opinions as he pleases but the Altar of God is set apart for prayer, instruction and sacrifice."¹¹⁶ Such changes were no doubt due to his awareness of the events of the 1840s, when political power was abused by priests like Father Troy.

Mullock's curbing of clerical abuse of political power was accompanied by a redefinition the priest's role in politics. He now saw them as the protectors against political corruption and practices. A priest's position, he suggested, gave him an amount of influence like the landlord in England or the merchant in Newfoundland. A priest could be trusted, he argued, because he was guided by a moral influence, counseling Catholics to vote for a candidate because they were the best one.¹¹⁷ This was a veiled reference to the old reformer-Church alliance tactic of exploiting the discontent of fishermen over immediate economic grievances in order to get elected.¹¹⁸

Whereas Fleming saw the role of the Church as primarily safeguarding the political needs solely of the Catholic community, Mullock believed that its role was to defend the interests of all Newfoundlanders. He felt that it was a Bishop's duty to assist and advise not only his people in "all their struggles for justice," but to ensure that justice

¹¹⁵ Letter from Mullock, Archives of the Archdiocese of St. John's (AASJ) 104/1/40.

¹¹⁶ A letter from Mullock to Father Condon, 7 June 1856, AASJ 104/1/10,

¹¹⁷ Public Ledger, 9 March 1852

¹¹⁸ Sean Cadigan, Hope and Deception in Conception Bay: Merchant-Settler Relations in Newfoundland, 1785-1855 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 147.

be done for the sake of all, regardless of religion or class.¹¹⁹ In this, he paralleled the new direction of the Liberal Party itself. For example, in supporting responsible government Mullock joined with Liberals in portraying the cause, not as a religious one, but as "a progressive, pro-development, and non-sectarian movement."¹²⁰

Mullock's choice of alignment within the Party changed, however, as he did not support the former Fleming-backed Irish-born wing exemplified by John Kent and John Nugent. Like Fleming, he was not shy about letting his political favorites be known. For example, in the 1850 election, Nugent declined to run in the St. John's election solely because Mullock publically backed Philip Little: "there is, at the present moment, a Roman Catholic candidate in the field," Nugent explained, "professing to be supported by an interest and an influence which I deeply revere, and for the maintenance of which I have as you will know, made the greatest sacrifices; I now feel it my duty therefore to refrain from throwing any obstacle in the way of that gentleman's return."¹²¹ The fact that there were two other seats available for him to contest, against fellow Liberals John Kent and Robert Parsons, made no difference: Nugent got the message and bowed out, making room for the new leader of Catholic politics. That it was he and not Kent pushed out first was no doubt due to the latter's experience and seniority. Parsons, on the other hand, was acceptable because he was a native and had never sided with Fleming.

Mullock's new alignment was due to several reasons. While Fleming had kinship ties to Liberals like Kent, Mullock did not. Kent never had the support of Mullock the

¹¹⁹ Public Ledger, 21 February 1854.

¹²⁰ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 123.

¹²¹ Patriot, 28 September 1850.

same way he had the full confidence of Fleming.¹²² Secondly, Mullock likely saw Kent and Nugent as unpredictable and divisive figures that were dangerous to the harmony of the Catholic community as both had been key figures in the opposition of the Natives' Society.¹²³ Third, like the Party itself, Mullock was keenly aware of the demographic shift in the 1850s and knew that to get the support of an increased number of natives and dissenters required a new strategy.¹²⁴ To that end, he politically endorsed native candidates in the city, a radical departure from the anti-native stance Fleming took in the 1840s.¹²⁵

Mullock believed that new Liberal leaders like Little, who did not have any previous political ties or baggage, brought new perspectives to the Party. More importantly, Little's policies of reform and economic progress were more in line with Mullock's desired direction of the Liberals. For example, the two quickly joined forces to arrange for a steamship service to the outports to improve communication. Mullock's belief in economic progress was a major reason why he did not support Kent's government. Mullock argued that the government should have been implementing a broader policy of road construction, agricultural and railway development, and he was also displeased at the lack of attention to the outports. The final straw for Mullock came in 1860 when Kent refused to accept the arrangement that he and Little had made for a steamship service.¹²⁶ This must have seemed to Mullock to be an affront to his political

¹²² Kent was married to Fleming's sister. FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," Appendix II, "Kin Relations between Morris, Fleming and Howley Families, Kin Relations between the Carson, Job and Shea Families," 469-71; Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland*, 155.

¹²³ Elizabeth A. Wells, "John Valentine Nugent," DCB, vol. 10.

¹²⁴ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 124.

¹²⁵ Winton, A Chapter in the History1, 11.

¹²⁶ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 127.

position, and a clear sign that the two had different political views. Mullock's dislike of government corruption led him to denounce Kent's government patronage-ruled policy.¹²⁷ In 1860, Mullock was further distanced from the government over the issue of poor relief, believing that the government was using the money to buy votes. For all these reasons, he felt that he had an obligation "to repudiate my connection with a party who take care of themselves, but do nothing for the people."¹²⁸ He stated that he believed the Kent government was corrupt and was robbing the people, who were paying taxes, but getting nothing in return. Instead, he argued, the money was spent on paying off political cronies.¹²⁹

Mullock's disgust with Kent and his policies, however, did not mean that he lost faith in what the Liberal Party fundamentally stood for or its role in safeguarding Catholic rights. In March 1861, he recognized that the Liberal Party was divided and that the election might result in a Protestant-led government.¹³⁰ In a frantic effort to unify Liberals, he did an about-face and publically endorsed the Party, stating that it best represented the Catholic interest and the Church. However, he made sure not to alienate non-Catholic supporters, using the broader Liberal argument that the Party was the protectors of civil liberty and the bastion of economic and social progress.¹³¹

Like all Liberals, Mullock was frustrated at the Party's loss in the 1861 election. His role in the riot and afterwards was an odd mixture of negligence and extreme action. It is not to Mullock's credit that he waited hours after the violence began to try and quell

¹²⁷ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 125.

¹²⁸ Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis and Civil Strife," 253-5.

¹²⁹ Moulton, "Constitutional Crisis and Civil Strife," 253-5.

¹³⁰ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 162, 175.

¹³¹ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 161.

the crowd, and it is not clear why he waited so long to act. It was hardly beneficial to have Catholics stoning soldiers and acting in a riotous manner. However, with so many priests in the streets trying to disperse the mob, he may have felt that they could handle the situation without his assistance. Once it became clear that the crowd was not listening to either the law or the clergy and the firing began, perhaps he decided that the situation required drastic action.¹³² Mullock's actions immediately after the riot also seem out of character. His use of anti-Protestant rhetoric in characterizing the event, calling it a "war of extermination" waged upon the Catholic community, does not seem to fit with his behavior before 1861. Even Governor Bannerman remarked that Mullock's language seemed out of character, as if he had temporarily gone insane.¹³³ However, Mullock's immediate reaction was in keeping with that of other Liberals who, frustrated over the loss of political power, characterized the event as anti-Catholic. In hindsight, Mullock himself argued that the riot was "a disreputable struggle for place."¹³⁴ Several months after the riot, when cooler heads prevailed, he was again calling upon the Catholic community to keep religious harmony and peace.¹³⁵

Immediately after the riot, the Catholic Church took a less active role in politics, in part due to the traumatic events that resulted in the injury of a priest. This diminished role was evident with regard to the biggest political issue in the second half of the century, union with Canada. However, lack of active involvement in the 1869 campaign was not the same as indifference. Unlike in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the Church

¹³² Colonel Grant remarked that despite the best efforts of the clergy, the people would not disperse. Testimony of Colonel Grant, *JHA 1861*, Appendix, 131.

¹³³ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 169.

¹³⁴ Newfoundlander, 8 September, 1864.

¹³⁵ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 171-2.

in Newfoundland did not support union.¹³⁶ One reason was that, like the merchants, Mullock and Bishop Dalton of Harbour Grace did not see it as beneficial in terms of advancing economic development.¹³⁷ Mullock's main concern, however, was safeguarding the interests and power of the Church, specifically the denominational education system.¹³⁸ His concern was that the denominational system might be changed to an anti-Catholic Protestant Canadian one: "education is to be taken out of the hands of the local Clergy and transferred to a Board in a remote Province notorious for its anti-Catholic spirit."¹³⁹ Mullock reminded Catholics of the sectarian troubles in places like Toronto, and he warned them that such discord could be easily introduced if Newfoundland was to join Canada.¹⁴⁰

After Mullock's death in 1869, the Church's involvement changed due to the fact that his successor, Bishop Thomas Power, was not as vocal about political matters as either Fleming or Mullock. He was much more reserved and, while he could exert influence when he desired, he generally chose to stay in the political background.¹⁴¹ However, he still took an interest in ensuring that both Catholic and Church interests were represented. In the 1870s, he reportedly tried to broker a deal with William Whiteway, whereby Power would be able to name any government appointment of his choosing in return for the Church's political support.¹⁴² It is not clear, however, if this actually

¹³⁶ Hiller, "Confederation Defeated," 72-3.

¹³⁷ Cadigan, Newfoundland and Labrador, 132.

¹³⁸ Newfoundlander, 12 March 1865 (House of Assembly debate, 26 February 1869).

¹³⁹ Mullock's pastoral Letter, 1866, AASJ 104/1/42.

¹⁴⁰ Brian Clarke, Piety and Nationalism (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 158-9, 185-7.

¹⁴¹ O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 132.

¹⁴² O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 132; C.O. 194/199, f. 192.

occurred, but many Catholic Liberals believed it to be true.¹⁴³ Certainly, the Church still had a measure of political influence, but by the 1870s and 1880s it was also concerned with improving the educational and social life of the community. Catholics were assured an equal share of political power under the denominational compromise, so the focus was not on attaining or keeping it, but on how best to use that political influence to improve the other aspects of community life.

7.6 Conclusion

Newfoundland historians argue that sectarianism was rife in Newfoundland in the nineteenth century as Catholics battled Protestants for political ascendancy, the result of which was a colony that resembled a "trans-Atlantic Tipperary" or "transatlantic-Ulster."¹⁴⁴ Part of the reason for this characterization is due to the fact that historians have examined the activities of the Catholic community in the political context of a specific time. Certainly, religious divides permeated politics in the 1830s and early 1840s, something that was reinforced by the interference of Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming and the Catholic Church. Religious divides, however, were not general or absolute. Class interests interceded as middle class "mad dog" and native Catholics broke away and joined forces politically and socially with the Protestant elite. The formal outcome the alliance was the establishment of the non-denominational Natives' Society in 1840. The NNS proved that, even in the political context, religious differences could be overcome

¹⁴³ Slattery Papers (SP), #52, Holland to Hoare (9 December 1878), Archives of Mount St. Francis, St. John's (AMSFSJ); Baker, "Government," *ENL*, vol. 2, 611.

¹⁴⁴ Gunn, The Political History of Newfoundland, 182, 185, 187; Patrick O'Flaherty, as a chapter title in Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843 (St. John's, Long Beach Press, 1999), and O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 132.

and that Catholics and Protestants could unite under an umbrella of embryonic nationalism. Natives showed that "love of country" could transcend all class and religious differences. The irony was that while unifying Catholics and Protestants, it caused an intra-Catholic split that was more destructive to the community internally than any conflict with Protestants could produce.

The establishment of the NNS also showed that in the 1830s and 1840s class played just as important a role in politics as religion. The leaders were members of their respective middle classes and believed that, in part, the political system required change to accurately reflect the class structure of the colony. Protestant Conservative Henry Winton and his paper, the *Public Ledger*, have been characterized by historians as being anti-Catholic. However, a closer examination of his rhetoric shows that this is somewhat inaccurate. His arguments were based on two things: that the Catholic Church had no place in politics and that structural flaws, such as universal suffrage, were the bane of the political system. One cannot deny that Winton believed in Protestant superiority to Catholics in terms of wealth and intelligence, as he often pointed out that "in wealth and commercial enterprise they are far in advance of their fellow colonists of another religion; and in education and general intelligence and independence of character, they are at least not inferior."145 However, Winton considered one class of Catholics, those he referred to as "respectable Catholics," as possible political allies.¹⁴⁶ He felt that an alliance was possible because they were of the same opinions as Protestants not only in terms of franchise reform, but the place of the Catholic Church in politics. These Catholics were

¹⁴⁵ Newfoundland Express, 19 October 1854.

¹⁴⁶ Public Ledger, 3 June 1851.

those middle-class political independents, particularly natives, who abhorred Church interference as much as the Protestants. Winton's paradigm was not Catholic versus Protestant, but the middle class versus the lower class.¹⁴⁷

In the second half of the century, politics followed a course that was close to what the Natives' Society envisioned. Under responsible government issues such as constituency representation were addressed. After 1861, the Catholic Church became less involved in political matters and, from both above and below, religion and ethnicity was largely extracted from politics as issues concerning the economic progress of the colony took precedence. Governments were based on inter-denominational and class alliances, such as that of the former political foes of merchant and Catholic Liberals in 1869 to fight confederation. Although for different reasons, it showed, as NNS President Catholic Edward Kielley suspected in 1840, that class differences could be overcome in the name of nationalism. This development was furthered by complete support of the Church, particularly Bishop Mullock, a Newfoundland nationalist who used his political influence to further the economic progress of the colony.

Ethnicity and religion were still used as a political tool by Catholic and Protestant politicians, however. This was evident during the Confederation campaign and the election of 1885, which Protestant Robert Thorburn fought on no amalgamation with Catholics. On the surface at least, the 1885 election appeared to represent a deep-seated sectarian sentiment and the political power of the Orange Order. However, before and after 1885, Catholic politicians were part of governments that included Orangemen. The sectarian cries were simply an election tool to mobilize Protestant support. The fact that

¹⁴⁷ Public Ledger, 7 March 1854.

Thorburn secretly planned to bring Catholics into his administration after the election showed that the sectarian vote was not enough to keep Protestants in power. Contemporaries noted that in this sense not much had changed since the 1830s. C.F. Bennett, a leading Protestant Conservative, stated that such rhetoric was used for political ends: "Religion [...] has been made the scape-goat of all designing politicians," he stated in 1851, "and in their hands has been sanctioned, for political ends, the most cruel, the most bloody, and the most unhappy of all the afflictions."¹⁴⁸ This was the opinion of Catholics as well. In 1874 E.D. Shea, Ambrose's brother, suggested that sectarian cries were merely election rhetoric and that when the dust of the political contest settled, "we find the people of different denominations mixed up amicably in the general affairs of life, as good citizens should be."149 In 1886, Shea lashed out at the use of sectarian arguments by his Protestant allies Thorburn and Frederick Carter, which flew in the face of more 'normal' relations: "I fail to comprehend the effect of sectarian intolerance on the minds of these people, changing the whole apparent bent and spirit of their former lives."150

The Catholic-dominated Liberal Party of 1886 was also very much like what native Catholics wished for back in 1840. It was no longer dominated by immigrant-born leaders, but was under the leadership of a native Catholic, Ambrose Shea, and its members were also largely native-born. The ideology, support base and tactics of the Party had changed as well. Politics for Liberal Catholics was no longer a religiouslydriven quest to gain power and crush Protestant mercantile interests. It was not possible,

¹⁴⁸ Public Ledger, 2 May 1851.

¹⁴⁹ Newfoundlander, 13 February 1874 (Legislative Council debate, 6 February).

¹⁵⁰ Evening Telegram, 1 March 1886.

however, for leaders like Shea to escape the fact that, historically, the Liberal Party stood for Catholic rights and, in the eyes of the electorate and the Church, always would. As a member of the NNS, however, Shea could never accept this fact, preferring to believe that religion and ethnicity had no place in electoral politics. It was this belief that drew him to the society in 1840 and justified, in his mind at least, his support of confederation. Shea was labeled a traitor to the Liberal Catholic cause on both counts. Never quite "Irish" or "Catholic" enough for his fellow Liberals or supporters, he would again be under scrutiny in 1886 for both. As leader, the issue of formal Liberal Catholic support for Home Rule in Ireland put Shea and the Liberals to the test one last time as the formal champions of Ireland and Catholic rights.

Chapter 8

Irish Nationalism

Active involvement in Irish political causes was one of the main activities of Irish immigrants and their descendants. This included the more radical forms of Irish nationalism, including republicanism, which found support amongst Irish communities throughout the North American diaspora.¹ This was partly due to the context of their migrant experience. Believing themselves to be exiled from Ireland by the British government during the Famine in the late 1840s and early 1850s, Irish migrants brought with them a sense of grievance and hatred of the British.² It was these feelings of exile that fuelled their support for Irish republicanism. The diaspora became an important link in various Irish political movements in the nineteenth century and beyond, becoming a main source of moral, organizational, logistical and most importantly, financial support.

As Thomas Brown argued, however, nationalism was more than an export from Ireland, and had much to do with Irish Catholic experience in the their new homes in the United States. It was discrimination and poverty in America that resulted in Irish Catholic immigrants banding together within their community, thus fostering a strong sense of

¹ For Toronto see Brian Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 153. For America in general see Thomas Brown, *Irish-American Nationalism* (New York: Lippincott, 1966) and Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish* (New York: Longman, 2000).

² Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 7, 346.

Irish nationality.³ In addition, Brown suggested that Irish-American nationalism was directed at American and not Irish ends, as nationalism was used by immigrants for its practical and immediate value. In a tug of war between an abstract notion of "nationalism" for Irish ends, and concrete rewards such as jobs, the latter won out. Problems in Ireland were far removed from the everyday trials and tribulations of American life, and the pursuit of power and privilege in America took precedence. Support for Home Rule, for example, was more about what it would mean for the Irish in America, not in Ireland. Irish Americans hoped that a solution to the Irish problem would somehow ease religious and ethnic tensions.⁴

As a broad concept, Catholics in St. John's viewed Irish nationalism largely through the local political context. Between 1840 and 1886 Irish nationalism and a nascent Newfoundland nationalism were intertwined by Catholic politicians who used the former to cultivate the latter and garner support during political crises such as confederation in 1869. As a Catholic community with no Famine migrants, there was very little grievance to fuel nationalism for Irish ends. However, the less tangible aspect of nationalist sentiment remained: a romantic attachment to the "Fatherland." The question was whether this was sufficient to result in support for Irish nationalist causes and for Catholics in St. John's to provide the same moral and financial support as in other parts of the diaspora. If so, who led and organized this support? Was it directed at Irish or Newfoundland ends? Did the level of involvement change over time? What did their support, or lack thereof, say about the identity of the community?

³ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, 20.

⁴ Brown, Irish-American Nationalism, 24, 41, 153, 165.

8.1 O'Connell and Repeal

The first major Irish nationalist movement in the diaspora was the Repeal movement of the 1840s and, as elsewhere, Catholics in St. John's took up the cause. ⁵ Catholics in St. John's were familiar with Daniel O'Connell. He was known for his Liberalism and was also the good friend of Catholic Bishop Michael Fleming. It was his relationship with Fleming that led to his involvement in Newfoundland's political issues in the 1820s and 1830s, specifically regarding Catholic Emancipation for the colony and political reform.⁶ O'Connell also became embroiled in opposition to the Newfoundland Bill in 1842.⁷ Acting as Newfoundland Catholics' political champion was not the only reason they admired him. They had great respect for the peaceful and constitutional principles that guided O'Connell's politics, his admirers terming him "the moral King of Ireland," and "the greatest benefactor of Irishmen and their descendants, the friend of civil and religious liberty all over the world."⁸ His means and his political message resonated with Irishmen in the city who believed themselves to be amongst the most loyal colonists in the Empire.

Despite such admiration for O'Connell, organized public support for the Repeal movement took time to build in Newfoundland. Although the movement gained strength

⁵ Kevin Kenny, The American Irish, 86-7.

⁶ The Relief Act of 1829 did not apply to Newfoundland because the laws that the Act repealed were never applied officially in the colony, "leaving Newfoundland as the only British colony still under penal rule." Petitions were sent to the House of Commons through O'Connell, and Fleming lobbied on the issue as well. John FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture in Irish Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850" (PhD Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), 88-9, 104, 106, 110-113, 363.

⁷ The British Government undertook a review of the 1832 Newfoundland Constitution in 1841, and in 1842 a new constitution was implemented resulting in an Amalgamated Legislature which lasted until 1848. Gertrude Gunn, *The Political History of Newfoundland, 1832-64* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 77-86; FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture," 361-3.

⁸ Newfoundlander, 6 September 1832 and 1 July 1847.

at the end of 1842 in Ireland, there was initial apathy by Catholics towards the issue in St. John's. A divided and distracted community due to political and social divisions caused by the NNS, it would take an external push to spur action. In May 1843, the *Waterford Chronicle* remarked that no action had yet taken place on Repeal in Newfoundland, arguing that a place with so many Waterford Irish could do better.⁹ This indeed shamed many "Waterford Irish" and the following month the cause was officially taken up in St. John's. However, only one large meeting was held on 29 June 1843 with around 200 people in attendance. It was at an outdoor venue and a sum of money was collected for the cause.¹⁰ It was decided at the meeting that an organization to be named the Loyal Repeal Association of Newfoundland be founded. The donation, with a letter of introduction and an address to O'Connell, was promptly sent to Ireland. An official thanks from the Loyal National Repeal Association in Ireland was received by the end of August along with reports from a meeting in Ireland where O'Connell praised supporters in Newfoundland for their contribution.¹¹

While the Repeal Association did not hold many meetings in the city members made sure that they kept up with events in other parts of the diaspora. There was some connection between the local Repeal association and those elsewhere. In the summer of 1843, a few Repealers from Newfoundland, accompanied by Halifax Repealers, went to

⁹ The Weekly Waterford Chronicle, quoted in the Patriot and Terra Nova Herald (Patriot), 24 and 31 May 1843.

¹⁰ Patriot, 5 July 1843; Public Ledger, 30 June 1843.

¹¹ On the 30th the Patriot reprinted another letter from the Loyal National Repeal Association to Rev. J.P. Gleeson of Harbour Grace thanking him for the £10 in donations that he passed on to them. In return contributors received Repeal cards. *Patriot*, 23 August 1843.

Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, to establish a Repeal organization there.¹² The local association also took part in the universal demonstration of the Friends of Repeal, consisting of all of the North American Repeal associations. The idea was for the associations to hold "simultaneous meetings" on the third Monday in January to express continent-wide support for Erin's cause. On the third Monday, 15 January 1844, a Repeal meeting did indeed take place in St. John's at Kielty's long-room.¹³ Resolutions were passed supporting O'Connell and Repeal, condemning "Her Majesty's Ministers' mismanagement of Ireland's affairs," and that thanked their fellow Repealers in Halifax for proposing "Ireland's Monday."¹⁴ Money for the Repeal Fund was also collected at the meeting and the Association sent petitions to the House of Commons and to the Queen, as well as an address to the people of Ireland. ¹⁵

Given the lack of meetings and seeming initial apathy towards Repeal, participation in Ireland's Monday seems as if it was more about keeping up outward appearances than true interest. However, there are indications that nostalgia was a powerful factor in creating support for O'Connell and Repeal in the 1840s. In a speech given by builder and prominent member of the BIS Patrick Kough in 1844 after O'Connell was convicted of sedition, he recounted to those assembled his own experience of migrating from Ireland. Although he left Ireland some forty years before, he stated that leaving did not mean forgetting the land of his birth and that he still dreamt of returning

¹² Terrence Punch, "Larry Doyle and Nova Scotia," *Talamah An Eisc: Canadian and Irish Essays* (C.J. Byrne and M. Harry, eds. Halifax: St. Mary's University, 1986): 175.

¹³ In addition to Halifax and New York, Charlottetown held a similar meeting the following Monday with the same purpose in mind. Brendan O'Grady, *Exiles and Islanders* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004): 190.

¹⁴ Unfortunately, the text of the speeches given were not printed in the papers. *Patriot*, 17 January 1844. ¹⁵ *Patriot*, 17, 24, 31 January 1844.

to Ireland one day. He appealed to others in the audience who dreamt the same and who, like him, remembered Ireland's history of trouble: "shall we not all, however, show that separation has not created forgetfulness of our fatherland and that we are ready to sympathize with those who suffer for Ireland."¹⁶

8.2 Republicanism: Young Ireland and the Fenians

In the late 1840s nationalist politics were changing in Ireland. News of O'Connell's death reached St. John's in late June 1847, devastating the city's Catholics. For two days the *Patriot* was published with thick, black lines on its columns as a sign of mourning.¹⁷ Friends and admirers of O'Connell gathered on the evening of 26 June 1847 to pay tribute to him. Leading Catholic politicians attended, offering their condolences to the O'Connell family and the Irish nation. A Mass was held on 1 July for the repose of O'Connell's soul. Businesses were closed, window blinds of private houses were drawn and supporters wore crepe on their hats.¹⁸

O'Connell's death marked a decided change in the way Catholics in St. John's viewed Irish nationalist politics. Support for Repeal in the 1840s has as much to do with O'Connell the man and his style of politics as it did the cause itself. The change in the direction of nationalist politics in the late 1840s was not welcomed by Catholics in St. John's as the news from Ireland brought word of the Young Ireland movement. Members of Young Ireland were mostly educated and middle-class romantic nationalists who had

¹⁶ Newfoundlander, 4 July 1844.

¹⁷ Newfoundlander, 24 June 1847; Patriot, 24 June 1847.

¹⁸ Though suggested at the meeting, nothing seems to have come of the idea of common colonial activity on O'Connell's death. *Newfoundlander*, 1 July 1847.

supported O'Connell and Repeal, but split with him over many issues.¹⁹ Young Ireland represented a new direction in Irish nationalism that injected the acceptance of separatism and the use of violence.

Catholics were concerned by the fact that political matters there were becoming volatile. In 1848 they read of John Mitchel's arrest and conviction of treason and William Smith O'Brien's address to the Irish people on the occasion of Mitchel's sentencing. In early August news of the arrest of leading Young Irelanders had reached St. John's including that of Thomas Francis Meagher, grandson of the well-known Newfoundland merchant Thomas Meagher.²⁰ In August 1848 a rumor circulated that fighting had broken out in Ireland, apparently started by a letter written by a Harbour Grace merchant who claimed to have read of it in a London paper. Catholic papers initially denied it, but by the end of the month they confirmed that there were outbreaks of violence and a failed Young Ireland rebellion.²¹

The reaction of the Catholic papers in St. John's to the failed rebellion was the same as papers elsewhere. The *Newfoundlander* stated that it was an "insane encounter" that was doomed from the start due to lack of support, thus making failure inevitable. The editor noted that "with this being now over, Ireland "is again well-nigh consigned to the Slough of Despond." However, the only remedy, he argued, was Repeal and hoped that

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of Young Ireland see Richard Davis, *The Young Ireland Movement* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987).

²⁰ On 22 April 1848 Meagher was named in an article in the *Times* with Smith O'Brien; both were charged with seditious libel for speeches at the Music Hall in Dublin. News of his arrest came on 2 August. A short biography article did not mention the Newfoundland connection, nor did the *Times and General Commercial Gazette* list of prisoners. *Times and General Commercial Gazette*, 8 July, 2 and 30 August 1848; *Patriot*, 2 and 16 August 1848.

²¹ Patriot, 18 August 1848; Times and General Commercial Gazette, 19, 23 and 26 August 1848.

agitation on that question would quickly resume.²² However, the editor did not address the issue of who would lead the cause or how this was to be achieved. Just how conservative Catholic newspaper opinion in the city was concerning Irish political issues in the 1840s was evident in the similarity of opinion with their Protestant Conservative counterparts. The *Times and General Commercial Gazette* used similar language to denounce the Young Ireland rebellion, minus any encouragement for Repeal of course, as "a mad and wicked measure [that] has brought confusion and ruin upon the leaders of the insurgents."²³

The reaction of Catholics in St. John's to the failed rebellion appeared somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, it was characterized by a condemnation of its violent methods, even leading constitutional nationalists in St. John's to support British government coercion. As tension built in Ireland in the summer of 1848, the *Newfoundlander* made its position clear: "We do not deny that the state of things in Ireland [necessitates] the enforcement of stringent measures for the protection of life, and the punishment of violence and outrage."²⁴ On the other hand, after the rebellion, Catholics in St. John's immediately forgave Young Irelanders, fuelled by the belief that, while misguided, it was love of country that had motivated their actions. This was proven beyond mere rhetoric in 1859 when William Smith O'Brien, traveling by the steamer *Prince Albert* from Galway to New York, arrived in the colony. The city was abuzz and Catholics in particular were eager to see him, given that he was the most famous Irishman to ever set foot on the island. As such he received special treatment, staying as the guest

²² Newfoundlander, 7 September 1848.

²³ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 13 September 1848.

²⁴ Newfoundlander, 6 July 1848.

of Bishop Mullock at the Episcopal Residence during his one-day unscheduled visit. Upon his arrival, he was greeted by the BIS and Mechanics' societies, "in the true spirit of Irish Verse, *Ceade-Mille-Failtha*" and a crowd that enthusiastically greeted Smith O'Brien with "loud and hearty cheers."²⁵

The societies then formed a procession followed by thousands of people that marched along with him to the schoolroom of the Presentation Convent. The evening of his arrival Smith O'Brien spoke with representatives from both the BIS and the Mechanics' societies, along with the Colonial Secretary.²⁶ The tone of the BIS address was almost worshipful, and certainly contained no hint of the disapproval of the violent actions of which he had been a part of in 1848:

To us, Irishmen, some by birth, and others by descent, the name of William Smith O'Brien has long been intimate and venerated. We have deeply sympathized with you in your struggles and misfortunes. We have mourned for you during your eight years of penal exile at the Antipodes and we rejoice with that warmth which true devotion and love can only excite.²⁷

In fact, the BIS discreetly avoided the more illegal parts of Smith O'Brien's past by focusing on his personal merits: "We refrain from any expressions of opinion as to your political career, but we tender to you our warm admiration of your private virtues and of your self sacrificing devotion to your opinions and principles."²⁸ The Mechanics' society address was similar in tone, and they too extolled his virtues. "As Irishmen and

²⁵ Newfoundlander, 28 February 1859.

²⁶ Newfoundlander, 21 February 1859.

²⁷ BIS Minutes, 18 February 1859; Newfoundlander, 21 February 1859.

²⁸ BIS Minutes, 18 February 1859.

sons of Irishmen," the society offered "respect and admiration," as well as regret that his time here was so short, as they would have wished to have given him a grander welcome. These were strong words of praise for a man whose methods were denounced by the Catholic community in the late 1840s. Nevertheless, the BIS assured O'Brien that "you will ever live in the hearts of the Members of this Society."²⁹

Standing next to Bishop Mullock, Smith O'Brien was visibly affected by the addresses. Taking a cue from his hosts, his reply also avoided direct references to his involvement in Young Ireland and 1848, stating only that the Irish in St. John's were no doubt aware of his past political career. He kept his remarks generic, thanking those present for the warm welcome and strong Irish spirit he had found in St. John's, declaring that he saw in the city "all the best characteristics of the Irish race."³⁰ Late that night, Smith O'Brien was accompanied back to the ship by the Bishop and his clergy and an immense crowd followed him down to the harbour.³¹

On the surface at least, the warm welcome that Smith O'Brien seemed to indicate that the Catholic community were firmly behind the direction in nationalist politics after O'Connell's death. However, in reality it was a show put on for the most famous Irishman to ever visit the colony in that period. Events only a few years after Smith O'Brien's visit would offer more proof that this was indeed the case.

Reaction to the Fenian activities of the 1860s was much the same as that in the late 1840s. The Fenians were republican revolutionaries and, not surprisingly, their tactics and political mantra found no visible support amongst Catholics in St. John's. A

²⁹ Newfoundlander, 28 February 1859.

³⁰ BIS Minutes, 18 February 1859; Newfoundlander, 21 February 1859.

³¹ Newfoundlander, 21 February 1859.

Newfoundlander editorial in 1865 was almost identical to that of 1848, stating that violence was not the means to freedom, and whatever outbreaks occurred would serve only to show "the worthlessness of all concerned in the movement." Fenian use of violence to achieve Irish independence was a "wretched conspiracy" that had no chance of success. ³² When news of the Fenian raid on Canada reached St. John's in June 1866 it was denounced in the Catholic press as "practically nothing more than a hopeless, insane waste of human life."³³

As in British North America, St. John's experienced its own share of Fenian scares in 1865 and 1866. In early 1865, rumours of a Fenian presence caused much excitement amongst citizens and led Imperial officials to double the guard on barracks and double-man the guns.³⁴ In 1866, tales of potential Fenian attacks and activity persisted, including one that James Stephens, the head of the Fenian organization, was on board the *William Penn* bound for New York when she passed through St. John's harbour.³⁵ Fear was further heightened by the raid on Canada. Protestants in St. John's became increasingly anxious. In October 1866, the Protestant newspaper *Telegraph and Political Review* reported with alarm that "midnight meetings" and "solemn conclaves" of

³² Newfoundlander, 5 October 1865. On the Fenians see R.V. Comerford, *The Fenians in Context* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1998) and John Newsinger, *Fenianism in Mid-Victorian Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1994).

³³Newfoundlander, 21 June, 1866; Patriot, 16 June 1866. In addition to the well-known attack on Canada, there was also a series of smaller clashes in New Brunswick during that spring; Gary W. Libby, "Maine and the Fenian Invasion of Canada, 1866," *They Change Their Sky: The Irish in Maine* (Michael C. Connolly, ed. Maine: University of Maine Press, 2004).

³⁴ Newfoundlander, 19 January 1865.

³⁵ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 2 May 1866.

Fenians were being held in St. John's for the purposes of revolution. The editor feared that violence would soon "hold high carnival."³⁶

There is no proof that any Fenian meetings or activity ever occurred in St. John's, but, nevertheless, the mere suggestion offended the Catholic press, which defended the peaceable character of the city. The loyalty of the Catholic population "has been often proven and never doubted," pointed out the *Patriot.*³⁷ The *Newfoundlander* protested that "A baser or more diabolical calumny upon the Catholic community could not have been forged or conceived [...] Not only is there no such society here [...] were it proposed, it would be met with universal reprobation." To as so much as accuse Catholics here of being Fenians, "the enemies of peace and good-will," was offensive. ³⁸ They would not be compared to a group who, as Ambrose Shea had characterized, were "the vilest of the vile."³⁹ The *Patriot* was swift to condemn the spreading of rumours at a time when sister colonies were under real threat of invasion.:"[Creating] fearful apprehension in the public mind," wrote the editor, "[would] disrupt the harmony which now happily prevails in this community among all classes and creeds."⁴⁰

After all the rumours of Fenian activity abroad, and the upset about possible Fenian members in St. John's, there was only one event which seemed to transcend mere fear mongering. In late September 1866 it was reported in the press that a man who resided in Newfoundland had been present at a Fenian meeting in America and heard that the Fenians planned to cut the Atlantic Cable. On the surface this seemed to be just

³⁶ Telegraph and Political Review, 18 October 1866.

³⁷ Patriot, 17 January 1865.

³⁸ Newfoundlander, 12 January 1865.

³⁹ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 14 April 1866.

⁴⁰ Patriot, 20 October 1866.

another fanciful tale. However, in the fall of 1866, James Ryan, keeper of the Baccalieu lighthouse, was on leave in St. Louis, Missouri where he stayed with his cousin Bishop Feehan. Ryan reported there were Fenians staying in the same house and he heard all the details about their supposed plans to cut the Atlantic Cable. "I could get a small fortune just now," he wrote, "to go to New York and pilot a craft that the Fenians are fitting out at New York to go to cut the Cable as soon as Stephens lands in Ireland. The Cable will be cut if they can get it. This is their whole intention." Ryan decided to pass the information along to the Colonial Government for fear that what he had heard was true – "if this letter was known I would not have a minute to live." Addressing the letter to Ambrose Shea, he placed it in an unsealed yellow envelope to make it conspicuous. When the Postmaster in Halifax opened it and read the letter he passed it on to Lieutenant Governor Sir Fenwick Williams who raised the alarm.⁴¹

Anthony Musgrave, Newfoundland's Governor at the time, questioned Ryan about the veracity of the letter upon his return to the colony in early December 1866. Ryan repeated everything he had written based upon what he could find out about the man in question, and Musgrave believed that he was indeed telling the truth. Musgrave made Vice-Admiral Sir James Hope in Halifax aware of the alleged threat to cut the Atlantic Cable. The threat was not against the shore end of the Cable, but rather would be cut at the mouth of Trinity Bay, or some forty or fifty miles out to sea. Although Musgrave admitted that Ryan could have been fooled into believing a tall tale, or worse, been paid to spread one on the Fenians' behalf, he believed that no chance could be taken: "nothing is incredible of an Irish Fenian." Vice Admiral Hope made the Atlantic

⁴¹ Colonial Office Documents, CO 194/175, 320-1, 326-31, 336-6, 339-42, 363-5.

Telegraph Company in New York aware of the possible danger. The ultimate resolution is unclear, but the Cable was never cut.⁴²

It may have possibly more than fear of violence that fuelled rumours of Fenianism, as it was used a political tactic to serve local political ends. The *Newfoundlander* claimed that the "bug-a-boo of Fenianism" was being used to distract public attention from the ongoing confederation debate in 1865.⁴³ However, it also helped the anti-confederate campaign. The campaign itself was, in part at least, based on the argument that Canada was a bastion of Orange sectarianism. The *Patriot* pointed out that the specter of Fenianism was already being used in politics in Canada West, claiming that it played a role in the re-election of the "Orange" mayor of Toronto. The *Newfoundlander* argued that the "Fenian hoax" in St. John's was intended to fool Protestants into thinking that "self-protection" in the form of a political Orange Society was needed.⁴⁴ These events proved that if Newfoundland were part of Canada, not only would it be more susceptible to the threat of Fenians, but the sectarianism that accompanied it. These possible developments, the paper pointed out, would make any sensible citizen of the colony rethink the idea of union.⁴⁵

8.3 The O'Connell Centennial and Parnell

In the 1870s and 1880s the focus of nationalist politics in Ireland shifted to Home Rule and the land system. However, Catholics had not forgotten Daniel O'Connell. In

⁴² Colonial Office Documents, CO 194/175, 320-1, 326-31, 336-6, 339-42, 363-5.

⁴³ Public Ledger, 17 and 20 January 1865.

⁴⁴ Newfoundlander, 16 January 1865.

⁴⁵ Patriot, 24 January 1865.

1875, Catholics in St. John's once again professed their love for the Liberator by joining their fellow Irishmen at home and abroad in celebrating the centennial anniversary of Daniel O'Connell's birth. The BIS organized the event and prepared a circular that, addressed to all fellow countrymen, referred to O'Connell's great humanitarian efforts within the Empire and for his undying love of Ireland.⁴⁶ All the Catholic societies, Bishop Power, the clergy and the Governor attended, along with thousands of others. The festivities spanned two days in early August and included processions, fireworks, a picnic and a lecture about the life of O'Connell delivered by Philip Little.⁴⁷ The events culminated with a mile-long torchlit procession of approximately 2000 people through the principal streets of the city, accompanied by fireworks.⁴⁸

Catholic admiration of O'Connell was not matched by similar sentiments for the other leading Irish nationalist political figure of the century, Charles Stewart Parnell. Parnell did not garner the same respect amongst Catholics in St. John's. This was not because they were not well-informed of his abilities as a politician or his political activities in the 1880s. As in earlier decades, the local press carried reprints from American, British and Irish papers, printing biographies of Parnell and chronicling his movements in both Ireland and North America.⁴⁹ Unlike in the 1840s, however, papers offered very little commentary on his role as leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party or the

⁴⁶ Newfoundlander, 18 July 1875.

⁴⁷ BIS Minutes, no date given but found after the entry for 25 July 1875; Newfoundlander, 10 August 1875; Patriot, 21 August 1875.

⁴⁸ BIS Minutes (see footnote 231); Newfoundlander, 10 August 1875; Patriot, 21 August 1875.

⁴⁹ Morning Chronicle, 9 March 1880; Newfoundlander, 30 January, 17 February and 28 May 1880; Morning Herald, 28 January 1880.

direction of the nationalist movement. For example, while the press carried news of both Parnell's and Michael Davitt's arrest in 1881, they offered no opinion.⁵⁰

In the early decades of the 1880s, the papers instead focused on the broader issue of land reform, specifically the agrarian violence and mounting evictions in Ireland.⁵¹ Editorials sympathized with the plight of tenants in Ireland and wished for a fair and equitable outcome of the land question. When a Land Bill was passed in 1881, papers expressed the hope that it would solve the Irish land issue, calling it "the most advanced form of land legislation for the benefit of the residential tenantry of Ireland."⁵² It was within the greater context of the Land question in 1880 and 1881 that papers placed Parnell. The *Morning Herald*, for example, argued that Parnell should be supported by "friends of Ireland and all lovers of liberty on this side of the Atlantic" to fight with him against the tyranny of landlords and unjust land laws.⁵³ The latter point was the main theme of editorials, as commentary specifically concerned the operation of the land system itself and the relationship between landlords and tenants. The Land League's call for the "3 F's," fair rent, freedom of sale and fixity of tenure, was fully supported by St. John's papers.⁵⁴ However, the *Evening Telegram* argued that the land system was only

⁵⁰ Evening Telegram, 25 February and 1 March 1881. Davitt was a member of the Fenian movement, an advocate for agrarian reform, and was the founder of the Land League in Ireland. For more on Davitt see Fintan Lane, *Michael Davitt: New Perspectives* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009).

⁵¹ See for example *Newfoundlander*, 12 November and 7 December 1880; *Evening Telegram*, 13 February, 18 and 24 December 1880, 22 and 26 January, 1 March, as well as 1, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 18 June 1881. ⁵² Evening Telegram, 5 August 1881.

⁵³ Morning Herald, 28 January 1880.

⁵⁴ For more on the Land League and the Land War see W.E. Vaughan, Landlords and Tenants in Ireland, 1848-1904 ([Dublin]: Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, 1984); James S. Donnelly, Jr., The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork: the Rural Economy and the Land Question (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1975) and Samuel Clark, Social Origins of the Irish Land War (Princeton University Press, 1979). Evening Telegram, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28 July and 5 August 1881.

one aspect of the Irish question, pointing out that "what they really want is national autonomy."⁵⁵

By the mid-1880s it was indeed the issue of Home Rule that took precedence in the local press. When the Home Rule Bill was introduced in the House of Commons in April 1886 the local papers were jubilant, but did not credit Parnell with the achievement. The *Evening Telegram* reported that "even through the cold fogs of Newfoundland the shout for Ireland's freedom was lifted heavenwards last night by the children of the wide-scattered race."⁵⁶ Catholics in Newfoundland had tangible proof that political independence within the Empire was effective. Ireland now had a chance of attaining the privileges that Irishmen in Newfoundland had enjoyed for so long under that system.⁵⁷

8.4 Loyalism

Catholic's view of Irish nationalist politics was framed by their local context as members of a British colony that supported the Crown and Constitution. This was, in part, why they rejected the goals of Irish republicanism. However, their response was due to other reasons. First, the community comprised second and third generations that were at one remove from political and social events in Ireland. The attachment to O'Connell was in large part because many migrants left Ireland in the 1820s when both he and the Catholic Emancipation campaign were at their height. By the 1880s, however, all that remained was a romantic attachment to Ireland, and Catholics had little, if any, immediate connection to the agrarian conflicts or the Home Rule crisis in the latter part of the

⁵⁵ Evening Telegram, 24 and 28 October 1881.

⁵⁶ Evening Telegram, 12 and 13 April 1886.

⁵⁷ Evening Telegram, 12 and 13 April 1886.

century. They had not lived through the post-Famine land troubles or were forced to migrate because of evictions and land agitation as so many Irish Catholic tenants did.⁵⁸ More importantly, since there was little Famine era migration the exile experience and resultant growth of anti-British feeling amongst Famine migrants which, according to Kerby Miller, made migrants "faithful and vengeful children" was not injected into the group.59

The clearest expressions of Catholic loyalty to the Crown came from the middleclass leaders of the BIS. Perhaps this was in part because it contained many middle class Catholics who, it might be argued, had to be since they were members of the government. Nevertheless, as the eldest Catholic society their addresses were intended to speak for other societies and the entire Catholic community. On the occasion of the Consecration of the Cathedral in 1855, for example, the address to visiting Catholic Archbishop Hughes of New York proclaimed that "loyalty to their sovereign is an instinct and a tradition of Irishmen [...] Our present gracious Queen fills the throne she adorns with Imperial dignity and womanly virtues, may she long reign over her boundless Empire, in the affections of her subjects." The members then drank to her health.⁶⁰ Toasts to the Oueen. as well as to Prince Albert and the rest of the royal family, were annually given at the

⁵⁸ For more on the land issue after the Famine and leading up to the Land War see James S. Donnelly, Jr., The Land and the People of Nineteenth-Century Cork: the Rural Economy and the Land Question (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1975) and W.E. Vaughan, Landlords and Tenants in Ireland, 1848-1904 (Dundalgan Press, 1984).

⁵⁹ Miller argues that Irish Catholics were unable to assimilate and adapt successfully to American society partly because they viewed themselves as exiles from Ireland, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 7, 346. ⁶⁰ BIS Minutes, 11 September 1855.

BIS's St. Patrick's Day dinner,. In fact, it is telling that the toast to the Queen came before the toast to "Old Ireland as She Ought to Be" and even O'Connell.⁶¹

Proof that such sentiments of loyalty were more generally felt amongst members of the general community is evident in the fact that the dominant theme of all Repeal activities was loyalty to the Crown and the Empire. At the Repeal meeting in 1843 it was reiterated that despite rumours abroad, Repealers wished to remain a part of the British Empire, something which was not incompatible with "Justice to Ireland." This drew cheers from those present. The meeting ended with cheers not only for O'Connell and Repeal, but also for the Queen and Governor Sir John Harvey.⁶² Harvey himself acknowledged Catholic loyalty and respect for British laws during the Repeal agitation. Writing to London, he described Catholic Repealers in St. John's "as quiet, orderly, and well disposed and as I firmly believe as any Royal Subjects as any one to be found in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions."⁶³

Sentiments of loyalty were also expressed at a general meeting of Catholics after O'Connell was convicted of sedition in 1844. A resolution was passed that stated: "the people of Newfoundland distinguished as they have ever been for their loyalty to the Throne and their attachment to the laws and Constitution of the country, in supporting the Repeal agitation, will govern themselves by these patriot principles."⁶⁴ When O'Connell was released from prison that same fall, Catholics saw it as a vindication of these very principles. John Nugent argued that "it establishes the right of freemen to meet for

⁶¹ See for example, *BIS Minutes*, 17 March 1846, which saw the Queen in the second position after St. Patrick, while "Old Ireland as She Ought to Be" was seventh after toasts for the Army. Navy and the Lord

Lieutenant. O'Connell was fifteenth well after the Protestant Bishop and Clergy of St. John's.

⁶² Patriot, 5 July 1843.

⁶³ CO 194/120, 236-7.

⁶⁴ Patriot, 3 July 1844.

legitimate purposes – for the considering of subjects connected with their political condition [...] the privileges of British subjects recognized and guaranteed by the Constitution." ⁶⁵This was the heart of constitutional nationalism: using peaceful and legal assemblies as a means to achieve their goals could not be denied by law.

Outside of the Irish context, manifestations of loyalty were also noticeable in addresses, petitions, congratulatory messages sent to the Oueen, as well as the celebration of her birthday, which included a ringing of the Catholic Cathedral bells at noon. It was also evident in the warm reception of members of the Royal family, whose visits drew large crowds in St. John's.⁶⁶ In large part this was probably due to the celebrity-like status of Royalty, or perhaps the individual popularity of members of the Royal family.⁶⁷ In August 1845, for example, His Royal Highness Prince Henry was received a warm welcome, and the Catholic papers remarked that it was considered a great honor to have a person of such distinction visiting the colony.⁶⁸ Upon his arrival, he was received not only by the Governor and the Members of the Legislative Council and Assembly, but by the BIS and the Mechanics' Society, and the Catholic Bishop and clergy. Ambrose Shea, editor of the Newfoundlander, assured his Catholic readers that those who met the Prince were impressed by his "condescending and affable manner and by the lively interest he appears to take in the Colony, and the satisfaction he has expressed at the reception which he has received at our hands."69 Shea was ecstatic that the colony was fortunate enough to

⁶⁵ Newfoundland Indicator, 12 October 1844.

⁶⁶ This was also the case in Ireland. For a detailed examination of Irish loyalty to the Crown, see James H. Murphy, *Abject Loyalty: Nationalism and Monarchy in Ireland During the Reign of Queen Victoria* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press 2001), xxviii; *Patriot*, 30 May 1863.

⁶⁷ Murphy, Abject Loyalty, xxviii.

⁶⁸ Patriot, 13 August 1845.

⁶⁹ Newfoundlander, 14 August 1845.

be visited by the Prince and hoped that this may place the colony "on that footing in general estimation to which she is so fully entitled, but which she has not hitherto enjoyed."⁷⁰ As in other parts of British North America, the same extravagance and excitement accompanied the visit of the Prince of Wales in July 1860.⁷¹

Irish Catholic loyalty to the British Monarchy in the nineteenth century was complex, as nationalist arguments concerning the role of the British Monarchy in Ireland were ideologically based.⁷² In St. John's, seemingly anti-monarchical feeling was based less on contemporary issues, and more on historicized arguments. Parsons was disgusted that other Catholic newspapers, particularly the *Newfoundlander* and *Newfoundland Indicator*, were making laudatory comments about Prince Henry's 1845 visit.⁷³ He charged that the editors were making it seem as if there was a

popular manifestation [of support] – that Irishmen in Newfoundland [were] oblivious to the history of their Native country – forgetful of the misery and the poverty and the crime and the bloodshed which the mercenary interference of the House of Holland in her affairs inflicted on Ireland [...] forgetful to that Prince they owe the accursed Act of Union [...] To say that the People of Newfoundland – Irishmen and the descendants of Irishmen – could forget all these historical mementoes of the national evils conferred on Ireland by William Prince of Orange.⁷⁴

Parsons also argued that no liberal Irishman would welcome Henry to the shores of the colony because, wrongly stated, it was this House that established the Penal Code in

⁷⁰ Newfoundlander, 14 August 1845.

⁷¹ For an overview of his visit to British North America see Ian W. Radforth, *Royal Spectacle: the 1860* Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). Patriot, 11 and 18 June, 16, 23 and 30 July.

⁷² By the 1870s anti-monarchical feelings amongst Irish nationalist leaders were more evident, as signs of loyalism became linked with unionism. Nationalist politicians feared that support of the Monarchy might make the Union more palatable and, in turn, make Irish nationalists more comfortable with the idea of concessions short of Home Rule. Murphy, *Abject Loyalty*, xv, xxiv, xxix, xxxiii.

⁷³ Patriot, 20 August 1845.

⁷⁴ Patriot, 27 August 1845.

Ireland, put down her trade and robbed it of political independence.⁷⁵ In attempt to appeal to the sensitivities of native-born Catholics, Parsons used a Newfoundland nationalist argument, stating that if Newfoundland were struggling for political independence, as Ireland had done a century and a half before in the battle of Aughrim, "we might expect at the hands of the Dutch Prince, the same regard for us that Ireland then experienced."⁷⁶

Parsons' attitude, however, does not seem to have been widespread as there were no reports of public protests at either celebration. Catholics in Newfoundland still followed O'Connell's brand of nationalism that emphasized loyalty to the Queen and members of the Royal family.⁷⁷ If Parsons was out of step with Catholic sentiment in St. John's, he was joined in his disgust by Catholics in other parts of the diaspora. This was clear in an editorial in a Catholic American New York paper and the official organ of the Archbishop of New York, the *Metropolitan Record*, took notice of Newfoundland's welcome of the Prince of Wales in 1860. He cautioned that while the Prince was young and had not yet taken the Throne, his lineage was "stained with the crimes perpetrated against the people of Ireland and India."⁷⁸ Parsons' tirade aside, the editor's interpretation of the event highlighted the difference between moderate, conservative Catholic opinion in Newfoundland, and the more hard-line arguments that permeated parts of the northeastern United States.

⁷⁵ Patriot, 27 August 1845.

⁷⁶ Patriot, 20 August 1845.

⁷⁷ Murphy, Abject Loyalty, 29, 35.

⁷⁸ Metropolitan Record, 4 August 1860.

8.5 Organization and Leadership

On the surface it would appear that the Irish Catholics of St. John's were unified in their support of their beloved Erin. Beneath the surface, however, there were tensions in the community that often prevented unified action on Irish causes. What occurred was the inevitable by-product of being an established ethnic group: local differences were splitting the group into rival factions fighting over domestic power.⁷⁹ Class and political divides in the community had a role to play in determining leadership on Irish issues and it was not always the middle class elite that took the initiative. This was evident in 1843 over the leadership of the Repeal movement in the city. It was the Mechanics' Society, drawn from the Catholic working class, as opposed to the middle-class led BIS, that was the driving force behind the establishment of the Repeal Association of Newfoundland. In fact, the executive consisted of the politically "independently minded Catholics."⁸⁰ The fact that the leadership of Association was not under the control of the established Catholic elite was one thing, but that these men were also the political opponents of Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming and his Liberal allies was entirely another.

Despite being himself an ardent Repealer and friend of O'Connell, Fleming denounced Repeal Association's meetings from the pulpit twice. His argument was twofold. First, men of both lower class and social rank were unfit to be followed as the leaders of the cause. He stated that he would not permit people "who came to this country without a shoe or a stocking" to run meetings and collect money. Second, it was "an

⁷⁹ For discussion of this concept see Jeffrey Reitz, *The Survival of Ethnic Groups* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1980): 24-5, 127-8.

⁸⁰ John FitzGerald, "Irish Fraternities in 19th Century St. John's: The Mechanics' Society," Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Website, 2001; updated February 2003; http://www.heritage.nf.ca/society/irish mechanics.html>.

absurdity to think that a parcel of blackguards could be friends to Ireland who are enemies to the politics of Newfoundland!"⁸¹ The latter was certainly the bigger objection. Like all his political tirades from the pulpit in the 1840s in which he urged Catholics to stay away from the "mad dogs," he argued "let every good Catholic avoid those meetings - let them have nothing to do with them [...] [he] charged them, in the name of Jesus Christ, to keep away from these meetings, for he did not like to have them go with those people."⁸² Although the intra-Catholic political divide was the motivating factor behind this scathing attack, some Protestant contemporaries wondered if Fleming may also have been concerned about his own political position. While supporting Repeal unofficially, Fleming may have wished to distance himself from the cause to bolster his position with the colonial Protestant elite and Governor John Harvey, perhaps even winning the latter's favour by denouncing the meetings.⁸³

Meeting the day after Fleming's public attack on the Association, the executive members made clear that, as in political matters, they would not be bullied by the prelate. However, two officers did resign their positions. William Walsh resigned as Chairman explaining to the members "it should not be said that he…had sternly refused to obey the will of his spiritual advisor." Secretary William Beck also resigned, although he gave no explanation. Replacements were swiftly chosen. The new Chairman, Thomas Meagher, who was also President of the Mechanics' Society, boldly stated that "no consideration should induce [me] to abandon [my] post until the objects for which they were associated

⁸¹ Public Ledger, 3 November 1843.

⁸² Public Ledger, 7 November 1843.

⁸³ Public Ledger, 3 November 1843.

should be obtained [...] Repeal of the Union.³⁸⁴ William Hogan became the new secretary. A resolution to proceed with their activities was passed unanimously, and the defiant meeting closed with three cheers for O'Connell and for the Queen. There were, however, no cheers for Fleming.⁸⁵ It is unclear if the rest of the Catholic community heeded Fleming's warnings, but Repeal meetings continued.

Why did the established Catholic elite and their society, the BIS, not assume the leadership role in the Repeal movement? Most likely it was due to the fact that the key players of the emerging Catholic middle class either held political office or aspired to it, and were protecting their own careers. Men like John Kent and John Nugent had no doubt read newspaper reports stating that Irish magistrates as well as members of Parliament, such as Lord French, O'Connell himself and his son Maurice had lost positions because of their Repeal support. News also reached the city that in Ireland the Commission of the Peace had been weeded of men sympathetic to the cause, and that others had voluntarily resigned.⁸⁶ On 5 September 1843, the *Public Ledger* reprinted a Treasury Minute ordering that civil servants who contributed to Repeal, or who were associated with it in any way, were to be cautioned to desist immediately or be dismissed.⁸⁷ For Liberal Catholic politicians in St. John's, therefore, holding government positions was incompatible with

⁸⁴ Patriot, 8 November 1843. He was not the son of the famous Newfoundland merchant, also named Thomas. John Mannion has dealt extensively with the Newfoundland connections of the Meagher family in two articles: "Migration and upward mobility: The Meagher family in Ireland and Newfoundland, 1780-1830," Irish Economic & Social History, 15 (1988), 54-70; and "From comfortable farms to mercantile commerce and cultural politics: the social origins and family connections of Thomas Francis Meagher," Decies, 59 (2003), 1-29.

⁸⁵ Patriot, 8 November 1843.

⁸⁶ Public Ledger, 15 August 1843.

⁸⁷ Public Ledger, 5 September 1843.

formal pro-Repeal activities.⁸⁸ Support for O'Connell was obviously not lacking amongst them as they had organized the O'Connell Tribute and were members of that committee in 1843 until 1845.⁸⁹ The Tribute was essentially non-political as it was more like contributing to O'Connell's salary. That was as far as they would go, but it was not good enough for some. Meagher and others sniped that those Irish-born Liberal MHA's had no need for the people now that they had been elected. On the same night that Meagher was elected Chairman of the Repeal Association, fellow member Thomas Murray was loudly cheered when he declared that "unlike the patriotic magistrates of Ireland, who yielded place and pension to their country's weal, the sham patriots of Newfoundland clung to the parlieurs of Government house and pitched Repeal to the winds."⁹⁰

The political rift in the Catholic community was not healed until the imprisonment of O'Connell in 1844. In part it was due to the fact that the event was so traumatic for Catholics in St. John's that local differences were forgotten. The changed political context, however, also had a role to play as the political threat of Catholic participation in the Natives' Society had come to naught. Public speeches, including those of John Kent and John Nugent, called for Catholics to bury the hatchet at home for the "greater good of Erin." BIS member John O'Mara summed up the general mood stating "he saw around him the friends of Ireland of all shades of local politics [...] friends who ought never have been separated from them [...] they had not allowed any petty differences to prevent the

⁸⁸ Patriot, 8 November 1843.

⁸⁹ The Chairman for both years was John Kent, the Treasurer in 1843 was Laurence O'Brien and the Secretary was John Nugent, who was succeeded by Edward Morris in1845. *Patriot*, 8 February 1843; *Newfoundlander*, 27 April 1846.

⁹⁰ Patriot, 8 November 1843.

amalgamation of all lovers of their fatherland."⁹¹ Unfortunately, shared romantic sentiment had not been strong enough to prevent the rift in the first place, and would not be enough to prevent problems in the future.

Apart from the Repeal Association, members of the community did not establish Irish nationalist societies, radical or otherwise. There was no middle-class or Church initiative, and the result was that organized support for Irish nationalist issues was slow in starting, came from public pressure, and was mostly ad hoc. For example, organized support for the Repeal movement took time to build in Newfoundland, despite public support and calls in the press. Members of the Catholic community besieged the press with letters calling for action to be taken on the issue, and it was only once the pressure culminated into a petition that a meeting was held.⁹² In part, shame was the underlying cause for action. In May 1843, it was the Waterford Chronicle that shamed the Waterford Irish in Newfoundland to do better.⁹³ The other cause for action sprang from a concern that Newfoundland was not keeping up with other parts of the diaspora. One letter pointed out that efforts had already been made in America and other colonies such as Halifax, while in Newfoundland nothing was currently being done. As the letter urged, "let each one say to his neighbour that he is as patriotic and as Irish as his countrymen in any other portion of North America, and that in love and service to the great cause he ought to feel ashamed of being behind them. What will they say of us in Ireland when they receive aid and sympathy from every other quarter, and nothing from us."94 When

⁹¹ Newfoundlander, 4 July 1844.

⁹² Patriot, 10 May 1843 and 28 June 1843; Newfoundlander, 6 July 1843.

⁹³ The Weekly Waterford Chronicle, quoted in the Patriot, 24 May 1843; Patriot, 31 May 1843.

⁹⁴ Patriot, 10 May 1843.

action was finally taken in June, the editor of the *Patriot* hoped that, finally, "[we will] show to our suffering fellow-men of Ireland, that the Irish of Newfoundland have not forgotten the loved land of their birth."⁹⁵

The same arguments were made in the mid-1870s with regard to the O'Connell Centenary. The BIS circular for the O'Connell Centennial contained two warnings implicitly urging that both the slowness of action and intra-Catholic squabbles evident during the time of Repeal in the 1840s should not be repeated. First, it stated that Newfoundland should not lag behind other parts of the British Empire in commemorating O'Connell's achievements, and second, to put aside "all differences, forgetful of everything" in order to honor the Liberator.⁹⁶

While Catholics did come together on that occasion, the détente did not last. The importance of domestic politics was again evident in the 1880s over the issue of support for Home Rule, but with far greater consequences. While Catholic in-fighting in the 1840s impeded unified action, it did not stop it altogether. Such was not the case, however, in the 1880s. In April 1886 the Irish Home Rule Bill was introduced in the House of Commons and the news was met with great enthusiasm by the press in St. John's. The *Evening Telegram* reported that Ireland was now finally going to enjoy the privileges that Irishmen in Newfoundland had enjoyed for so long.⁹⁷ The following month the local press printed resolutions passed in other parts of the diaspora supporting Home Rule, and the *Colonist* asked its more distinguished readers to send in their views

⁹⁵ Patriot, 28 and 30 June 1843.

⁹⁶ Newfoundlander, 16 and 18 July 1875.

⁹⁷ Evening Telegram, 12 and 13 April 1886.

regarding the Home Rule Bill.⁹⁸ There was not much response from leading Catholics, however. The only politician to submit a letter supporting the cause was Thomas Talbot, High Sheriff of Newfoundland, stating that "that nothing short of a free Parliament [...] can ever satisfy the just and honourable aspirations of the Irish people [...] By a free Parliament I mean not a Parliament severed from, but resting upon the Crown and Parliament of England [...] [it is] a policy at once of justice to Ireland, and of increased strength and stability to the British Empire."⁹⁹

That Catholic politicians were not making their support publicly known, should have been an ominous sign of the firestorm that was about to occur. On 10 May 1886 George Emerson, a Protestant MHA for Placentia St. Mary's, gave notice that he would introduce into the House of Assembly a series of resolutions supporting Gladstone and Home Rule. The editor of the *Colonist* stated that Emerson was right to do so because of the support for the issue among the local press and the Catholic clergy.¹⁰⁰ Oddly enough, some Catholics did not agree. The Liberal leadership took exception to Emerson's plans and called a meeting themselves, at which Catholic leaders Ambrose Shea and Robert Kent passed a resolution not to support Emerson's resolutions in the House. One hour before the meeting of the House on 13 May, party member Michael Carty, an Irish Catholic, let Shea know that he would break party ranks and second Emerson's resolutions. Carty's decision was likely spurred by an ultimatum from his father, a native

⁹⁸ Colonist, 3 May 1886.

⁹⁹ Colonist, 10 May 1886.

¹⁰⁰ Colonist, 15 May 1886. This is the grandson of the G.H. Emerson who had served in various capacities in the 1840s-50s.

of Ireland, who had reportedly advised his son that "you need not return to this House if you do not show yourself to be an Irishman."¹⁰¹

Emerson opened his address by noting that legislatures in other colonies had passed similar resolutions in support of Home Rule. He was, however, dismayed to learn that there were Irishmen and descendants of Irishmen in this colony who were opposed to Newfoundland doing the same. He hoped that their patriotism would win out over jealousy and the resolutions would be supported. If rejected, Newfoundland would be the only Colonial legislature not to send its support for the cause.¹⁰² His reference to jealousy is an interesting one, and would seem to refer to the fact that he, a native Protestant who was already distanced from the Liberals over an internal clash with fellow-Liberal Edward Morris, had beaten Catholic leaders Shea and Kent to the table with a pro-Home Rule motion. The latter, in fact, had claimed that they planned to pass a motion themselves at some point.¹⁰³

There was no reason for Liberals to oppose Emerson's moderate resolution. It simply supported the principle of Home Rule and asserted that such a measure would strengthen the Empire. As Emerson was speaking, however, the majority of the government party members left. When Carty stood to second Emerson's motion, Shea and the entire opposition Liberal party left as well.¹⁰⁴ Without sufficient numbers House business could not proceed, and the resolution failed. Carty declared that this humiliating behavior was "an insult to both to Ireland and this Colony, and they [the members] will

¹⁰¹ Fleming to Holland, *Slattery Papers (SP)* #100, 24 May 1886, Archives of Mount St. Francis, St. John's (AMSFSJ).

¹⁰² Colonist, 17 May 1886.

¹⁰³ Fleming to Holland, *SP* #100, 24 May 1886.

¹⁰⁴ Fleming to Holland, SP #100, 24 May 1886; Colonist, 17 May 1886.

have to account for it in their constituencies [...] As a member of this legislature, and an Irishman, I have much pleasure in seconding the motion."¹⁰⁵

Catholics in St. John's were shocked. Letters to the press stated that it was thought that the representatives in the House "would feel an honest pride in following the example of Canada, America and Australia."¹⁰⁶ Enraged at the actions of their elected representatives in confounding support for Home Rule, calls appeared in the papers for the resignation of Liberal Robert Kent as President of the BIS. The day after derailing Emerson's resolution, the BIS held a meeting at which all the Liberal MHAs were present. It was agreed that the Society would adopt two pro-Home Rule measures, one sent to Parnell and one to William Gladstone. This, of course, was far less official than a House resolution and it was clearly damage control. Although the Liberals were trying to smooth things over, they still expelled Carty from the Party for seconding the Home Rule motion.¹⁰⁷

As some letters to the papers noted, however, the issue was bigger than the local political context, and it was not Emerson and Carty who were hurt, but "Ireland and her cause that were humiliated."¹⁰⁸ The failure of leading Irish Catholic politicians to support Home Rule was viewed by many electors as a slap in the face to the Irishmen and their descendants in Newfoundland who felt a deep connection to the land of their forefathers.¹⁰⁹ One letter to the editor expressed disgust, vowing that it would not soon be forgotten: "This is an act that the thousands of Irish descent and all the liberal minded

¹⁰⁵ Colonist, 17 May 1886.

¹⁰⁶ Evening Telegram, 14 May 1886.

¹⁰⁷ Fleming to Holland, SP #100, 24 May 1886; Evening Telegram, 28 August 1886.

¹⁰⁸ Colonist, 15 May 1886.

¹⁰⁹ Colonist, 15 May 1886.

men of the colony shall look upon with feelings of unfeigned disgust, and shall shrink back from in lively horror." These men were put in the House by these Irishmen and their descendants, and all they had done was "proved themselves recreants to the land of their forefathers in her hour of anxiety and misgiving!"¹¹⁰

The Home Rule debacle raised the larger issue of the connection between the Liberal party MHAs, their Catholic constituents, and Irish causes.¹¹¹ Reverend M.A Clancey, a Catholic priest in Placentia, wrote a letter expressing his dismay at what had occurred: "We should have hoped that broader and more enlightened views would have characterized any party pretending to profess Liberal principles." The actions of the Liberals were, in his opinion, not in accordance with any Irish feeling in the colony. ¹¹² Those who strongly supported Home Rule railed against the Liberals and their leader, Ambrose Shea, arguing that he had acted out of "personal pique." Their constituents branded them as "traducers," the "Shea-avenging, ever-twisting, vacillating, compromising, office-seeking party." Some asked how as not only Irishmen, but Liberals, who had fought for responsible government could turn their backs on Home Rule. One letter sneered, "T'd rather be a dog and bay at the moon than such an Irishman [...] their smallness and spleen are such as to lead them into a political bungle which will stand forever as a blot on their names and a reproach to this country."¹¹³

Perhaps much of the disbelief stemmed from the perception that the episode was brought about by petty jealousy over who tabled the resolution, as Emerson himself

¹¹⁰ Evening Telegram, 17 May 1886.

¹¹¹ Patrick O'Flaherty, Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843-1933 (St. John's; Long Beach Press, 2005), 160-1.

¹¹² Colonist, 20 May 1886.

¹¹³ Evening Telegram, 14, 18 and 21 May 1886.

believed it was. Yet, as the Repeal movement had shown, political squabbling was a potent motivator for such behaviour. There is, however, another possible reason for the Liberal actions, one that may have weighed on leaders Shea and Kent. While their constituents' perception of the Party as a champion of Catholic and Irish causes had not changed, the leaders' perception of it had. Experienced politicians like Shea were aware that political power no longer rested on getting elected alone, but on coalitions with Protestant Conservatives. The episode took place within a larger political context of heightened tension in the aftermath of the Harbour Grace Affray in 1883 and the 1885 election victory of Thorburn based on a no amalgamation with Catholics plea. By the summer of 1886, however, Thorburn did just that and brought Catholics like Shea into the fold.¹¹⁴ At such a time of increased tension, perhaps the Liberal leadership felt that supporting a pro-Home Rule resolution would be too inflammatory to Protestant Conservatives and hurt their chances at an alliance.

At least a few people at the time suspected that political intrigue was behind the Home Rule debacle. In a letter to the editor, a BIS member pointed to the Society's concealment of the replies to the resolutions sent to Parnell and Gladstone. They were dated 6 June, but the executive had denied receiving them, and only produced them to the members in late August, after Thorburn asked Catholics into his government. In his opinion, the letters were concealed because they "might mitigate against the Shea, Winter, Fenelon & Co. Amalgamation Bubble Scheme." This was a reference to the fact

¹¹⁴ O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 147-51, 155-6, 160.

that Shea and the others were key players in the political dealing that took place that summer.¹¹⁵

As in the 1840s, support of an Irish political cause fell victim to the middle-class Catholic leadership's unwillingness to put their own political careers at risk. In both cases, their supporters branded them as traitors and sham patriots, who had disgraced themselves and Ireland. However, if this was true, then so too was the fact that the leadership did not reflect the wishes of the majority of the community, as seen by the prolific amount of angry letters that followed. Clearly, had the matter of a resolution been left to the Catholic electorate, the results would have been different.¹¹⁶

8.6 Financial Support

The fact that the Repeal movement in the 1840s was the only occasion of largescale organized support for an Irish political issue, suggests that Catholics in St. John's were not generally supportive of Irish nationalist causes. In terms of strictly political causes, this is true. However, Catholics in St. John's willingly donated towards the O'Connell Tribute, They were also very aware of the social and economic distress in Ireland and offered both moral and financial support during both the Famine in the 1840s and the beginning of the Land War in 1880. As can be seen in a comparison of total donations for each type of cause, detailed in Appendix H, Table H1, Catholics were indeed willing to spend much more to provide relief to the Irish poor than to support Irish nationalist political activity. For example, the greatest amount raised between 1840 and

¹¹⁵ Evening Telegram, 28 August 1886.

¹¹⁶ There were several letters to the editor which expressed a desire for a public meeting on the issue to circumvent the Liberal leaders. *Evening Telegram*, 18 and 21 May 1886.

1880 was for distress caused during the initial stages of the Land War in 1880, which totaled £1800.¹¹⁷ The sum raised for Repeal between 1843 and 1845, however, was only about half that amount. This contrast is even more glaring given that the former was the result of one campaign spanning a couple of weeks, while the latter spanned a couple of years. The initial Repeal meeting in 1843, for example, only yielded £270.¹¹⁸

Part of this was due to the fact that by the 1880s St. John's had a larger middle class that could give greater sums of money. However, this only partly explains the difference. Famine relief in 1847, just two years after the conclusion of Repeal contributions, still yielded a larger sum, £850, which was raised in less than one month. Much had to do with a difference in leadership and organization between the two causes. The Repeal movement in the 1840s was not unified and did not have the formal support of the middle class or the Catholic Church. This can be seen in the list of donors, which did not include the Bishop, clergy or prominent politicians.¹¹⁹ Aid for Famine distress, however, was a philanthropic endeavour and was supported by the Church and the BIS, who spearheaded a concerted campaign, the society itself donating £300.¹²⁰

Greater moral and financial support was due to the very fact that Famine and Land War relief were charitable and not political causes. At the initial public meeting to address Irish distress on 21 February 1880, members of the Liberal Party such as Ambrose Shea, Edward Morris and Robert J. Kent were not afraid to speak and addressed

¹¹⁷ There were no subscription lists published in the press, however, and the Treasurer M.J. O'Mara stated that he did not keep a list. *Evening Telegram*, 7, 8, 9 and 19 October 1880.

¹¹⁸ Patriot, 28 and 30 June 1843; Public Ledger 30 June 1843.

¹¹⁹ Patriot, 17, 24 and 31 January.

¹²⁰ They were also the medium through which other main Catholic society at the time, the Mechanics,' contributed money. *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1874

the crowd.¹²¹ Other Catholic leaders also took an active role. Joseph Little, for example, was a member of the Relief Committee.¹²² As an act of charity and benevolence, relief was supported by men of every faith, which further increased the amount of money raised. For example, the public meeting for Famine relief on 25 February 1847 was attended by all citizens and clergymen of all denominations, all of whom donated money towards the fund.¹²³ This was also the case at the 1880 meeting, which was chaired by Governor John Glover and attended by the clergy and members from all denominations.¹²⁴ William Whiteway's government also donated £400 for relief.¹²⁵

Changes within the Catholic community also affected funding. In the 1840s, there were only two Catholic societies, the BIS and the Mechanics' Society, that could organize a fund. By the 1880s the proliferation of Catholic Societies and their experience organizing fundraising efforts for the local Church and poor made raising relief funds for Ireland much easier. For example, in 1880, the largest associations, the Star of the Sea Association and the Total Abstinence and Benefit Society took the lead role. The Star of the Sea Association was the first to organize a meeting and donate money, raising a total

and 10 March 1847; CO 194/127, 122-3.

¹²¹ Newfoundlander, 24 February 1880.

¹²² The majority of committee members, however, comprised Catholics such as Charles Kickham and James Fox who, while involved in politics and active in societal life, were not from the established Catholic families such as the Sheas, Morris' and Kents. *Morning Chronicle*, 18 March 1880; *Newfoundlander*, 24 February 1880.

¹²³Also present were the Judges of the Supreme Court, all the members of the Executive Council, several members of the Legislature and merchants. The totals given included £18 from the Wesleyan Chapel, £15 from St. Thomas' Church, and a day's pay from all ranks of the Royal Newfoundland Companies, totaling £24. Bishop Fleming donated £5 because he had lost much of his belongings due to the Great Fire the year before. It is not clear if they contributed more at a later date. *BIS Minutes*, 17 February 1874; *Newfoundlander*, 4 March 1847; *Morning* Post, 2 March 1847; *Times and General Commercial Gazette*, 6

¹²⁴ Newfoundlander, 24 February 1880; Evening Telegram, 23 February 1880.

¹²⁵ The amount listed was \$2000. At this time, Newfoundland's currency was changing to dollars with \$5 equaling about £1. Brother Joseph B. Darcy, Noble to Our View: The Saga of St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's Newfoundland Canada, The First 150 Years 1856-2006 (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2007), 29 fn. 27; Newfoundlander, 12 March 1880.

of £100.¹²⁶ In addition to their own subscription list, the Total Abstinence and Benefit Society also held entertainments at their Hall to benefit the relief fund.¹²⁷ Due to the fact the BIS was in financial straits due to the building of their school and Hall they did not make a societal donation. Instead individual members donated to the general relief fund.¹²⁸

By 1880, the Catholic Church was also stronger in terms of personnel and could take a lead role in organizing support. In addition, it was led by a recently arrived Irish bishop, Thomas Joseph Power, who had Irish connections and made the first attempt to organize a general relief fund in February 1880.¹²⁹ Power also established direct ties with Ireland, as that same month he was appointed a member of the Mansion House Committee in Dublin, handling subscriptions and correspondence to the Lord Mayor in Dublin.¹³⁰

As with political causes, sparking initial action in St. John's in aid of Irish distress could still be difficult. The general call from the Dublin Mansion House Committee to the United States and Canada appeared in the St. John's papers in the latter part of January 1880.¹³¹ While the Catholic press believed that the call would be answered quickly in Newfoundland, this did not occur. ¹³² One editorial argued that it was not the fault of the public, but a lack of leadership that was causing delay.¹³³ Again, the press used the

¹²⁶ Evening Telegram, 24 February 1880; Newfoundlander, 2 March, 1880.

¹²⁷ Evening Telegram, 2, 4, 6 February 1880 and 1, 6 and 15 March 1880.

¹²⁸ BIS Minutes, 17 February 1880.

¹²⁹ Morning Herald, 19 February 1880.

¹³⁰ Morning Herald, 19 February 1880; Evening Telegram, 17 February 1880; Morning Chronicle, 25 March 1880; Newfoundlander, 2 March and 16 April, 1880; Evening Telegram, 28 February 1880.

¹³¹ Evening Telegram, 21 January 1880; Newfoundlander, 23 January 1880.

¹³² Newfoundlander, 23 January 1880; Morning Herald, 31 January 1880.

¹³³ Morning Herald, 31 January 1880.

argument that Newfoundland could not be the only colony not to act, "while all over the United States and the Dominion of Canada and wherever else the wail of Irish distress reached, measures of relief were being actively organized and carried out. No such disgrace should lie at our door."¹³⁴ The press also reminded the citizens of St. John's that they were indebted financially to Ireland, because after the devastating fire in the city in 1846, Ireland sent monetary assistance.¹³⁵ The first meeting did not occur until a month later and was spurred by a general petition, presented by Bishop Power to the Sheriff of the Supreme Court, Irishman Thomas Talbot, requesting that a public meeting be held to discuss the distress in Ireland.¹³⁶

While relief was rooted in charitable and humanitarian impulses, the rhetoric concerning the cause of the distress was rooted in a nationalist context. In discussing both the Famine and tenant distress in 1880, Catholic papers placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of "oppressive landlords." In May 1846, the *Newfoundlander* characterized evictions as an "extermination system" perpetrated by "Landlords with unrelenting barbarity."¹³⁷ In 1880, papers once again railed against oppressive landlords, termed "the scourges of Old Erin" in defense of tenants, who were little more than their "persecuted slaves." It was the classic nationalist argument that oppressive landlords were indiscriminately evicting tenants from their land, not only causing destitution but getting rich by then profiting from the improvements and raising the rent.¹³⁸ As loyal subjects,

¹³⁴ Newfoundlander, 24 February 1880.

¹³⁵ Waterford and Cork donated money after the fire. *Newfoundlander*, 18 February 1847; *Evening Telegram*, 6 February 1880.

¹³⁶ Morning Herald, 19 February 1880; Newfoundlander, 13 February, 1880.

¹³⁷ Newfoundlander, 7 May 1846.

¹³⁸ Evening Telegram, 21 and 23 July 1881.

however, St. John's Catholics would not go so far as to cast any blame on the British government.

Even though Catholics strongly supported providing relief to Ireland, as local political considerations began to take precedence over Irish ones, so did the precedence of local relief efforts. In the 1840s and 1880s, some argued that distress in Newfoundland and not Ireland should be the priority. Editorials suggested that citizens should save their money for relief at home. In the 1840s, the BIS countered by arguing that even the poorest Newfoundlander was better off than the mass of starving Irish.¹³⁹ In 1880, in the context of great economic distress and poverty in the colony due to bad fisheries, there were once again many letters to the editor arguing that charity begins at home.¹⁴⁰ Letters to various papers from native-born Catholics, often signed "an Irishman's son," argued that the priority was Newfoundland and not Ireland. One pointed out that while he was of Irish descent and sympathized with the people of that "dear old country, the land of my fathers," he urged those who were organizing relief efforts to give the proceeds to local charitable societies. They could buy fuel, blankets, and warm clothing for the poor who every day begged from door to door.¹⁴¹

In the 1840s such arguments did not materialize into any formal effort to organize local relief, but in 1880 Catholic leaders responded. Joseph Little, treasurer of the Irish Relief Fund, wrote a letter to the papers in which he replied personally to the charge that Catholics were ignoring the poor at home. He stated that having helped the poor in

¹³⁹ Times and General Commercial Gazette, 20 February 1847.

 ¹⁴⁰ For example, Morning Herald, 9 February 1880; Morning Chronicle, 18 March 1880; Newfoundlander, 2 March 1880.

¹⁴¹ Morning Herald, 9 February 1880.

Ireland, he now believed that it was time to help those in the city. To this end he contributed £25 for the purchase of coal and signed the letter 'a sympathizer with the local poor.'¹⁴² Little's action sparked a general collection the next day, amounting to ± 100 , which was divided between the different denominations to assist the poor in their respective communities.¹⁴³ Little's concern for the local poor, however, may well have been due to a sense of political expediency.

8.7 Conclusion

If support for Irish political causes was one marker of Irish ethnic identity did the fact that Catholics in St. John's were not very active mean that they were not as "Irish" as their co-religionists in other parts of the diaspora? The answer, however, lies not so much in quantifying their support for Irish nationalism alone, but in the very reasons why Irishmen in the diaspora supported such causes. If support primarily arose from feelings of exile and vengefulness because of their Famine experience, then this did not apply to Catholics in Newfoundland. The vast majority of the Catholic community in St. John's migrated before the 1840s, and the colony received very few of Miller's "vengeful children."¹⁴⁴ If strong support for Irish nationalism was a result of feelings of isolation and loneliness, then again, this did not apply. Catholics in St. John's were not recently arrived migrants and, while they were mostly lower class, they were not ghettoized or persecuted by the host society because of their religion or ethnicity. Therefore, Catholics

¹⁴² Morning Chronicle, 18 March 1880.

¹⁴³ Morning Chronicle, 20 March 1880.

¹⁴⁴ Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, 7, 346.

in St. John's had no reason to support republicanism, or band together in ethnically-based societies that bred feelings of national identity.

Why did they respond to some Irish causes and not others? The reason was due to their experiences in Newfoundland and their changing identity as Catholics. The community supported O'Connell because, as loyal colonists, they supported his belief in the use of peaceful methods to achieve political autonomy within the British Empire, as they themselves had done. Catholics saw themselves as part of the British Empire, upholders of the British Constitution and its laws. Under the leadership of the Liberal Party in 1855, they had supported the 'Home Rule' O'Connell had fought for in the 1840s and Parnell was fighting for in the mid-1880s. The responsible system offered Catholics tangible proof that self-government and loyalty to the British Crown were not mutually exclusive. It was adherence to this principle that meant that they would not support the methods or goals of Irish republicanism. However, Catholics did understand republican motivations, believing that republicans acted out of love of country and desire for independence. They understood this because their political actions were also based on feelings, only for Catholics it was their love of Newfoundland.

Perhaps it was because Irish nationalism and Newfoundland nationalism had become so entwined in politics during the nineteenth century that the former was, in some ways, adversely affected. In fact, it was in safeguarding Newfoundland independence that Catholics used the strongest Irish nationalist arguments. In some respects this fits with Brown's theory that Irish-American nationalism was used for American and not Irish ends. It was the same in St. John's in so far as leaders and politicians did not see Irish nationalism as an end in itself, so much as a means to an end. However, class self-interest was an important factor as well in limiting organized nationalist activity. Middle class Catholic political leaders were much more concerned with attaining and protecting their own local political power than fighting for Ireland's.

Chapter 9

Conclusion: The Irish Catholic Community of St. John's in Comparative Context

In September 1885 the Colonial Office appointed native-born Catholic Ambrose Shea as Governor of Newfoundland to replace John Glover. Shea was chosen because he was a pro-confederate and had proven ability as a statesman, having represented the colony on both the Confederation issue in the 1860s and other diplomatic issues such as his visit to Washington to negotiate a renewal of the fisheries clauses of the Treaty of Washington in 1885.¹ However, as a Catholic and as leader of the Liberal Party, local political opposition soon emerged to the appointment. Partly, this was based on the fact that as a local politician he was not neutral, as governors were intended to be. In addition, Shea's political friends such as Frederick Carter opposed the appointment for their own reasons. Carter, for one, wanted the post himself.² Shea's supporters wanted him as governor because he was a native "son of the soil" and was qualified for the post.³ Due to the vociferous opposition, however, the Colonial Office withdrew the appointment, leaving Shea quite bitter.⁴ The new governor was Sir George William Des Voeux, who arrived in

¹ J.K. Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB)*, vol. 13; Patrick O'Flaherty, *Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843-1933* (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 2005), 156-7.

² Evening Telegram, 27 February and 1 March 1886.

³ Evening Telegram, 22 April 1886.

⁴ Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," DCB, vol. 13; Evening Telegram, 27 February, 1 March and 22 April 1886.

the colony to a cold reception due to the Shea affair.⁵ However, the Colonial Office was keenly aware of Shea's abilities as a statesman and appointed him Governor of the Bahamas in 1887, a post he held until 1894.⁶

Although Shea did not become the first native governor of Newfoundland, the appointment itself revealed something about the evolution of the Catholic community between 1840 and 1886. The fact that a native Catholic was considered for the highest post granted in the colonies showed that by that time there was no limit to what they could achieve in Newfoundland. But how representative was this level of success compared to other Irish Catholic communities in the diaspora? If the overall experience of the Catholic community in St. John's between 1840 and 1886 is compared with other urban areas in North America, would it be considered better or worse? These are questions that most diaspora studies address implicitly, if not explicitly, and one of the underpinnings of case studies. For example, in his study of the Irish in San Francisco, Raymond Burchell concludes that their experience was "by contrast with that elsewhere, comparatively successful and fortunate."⁷ In an article collection examining the Irish in Maine, the editor suggests that any future research must include an examination of whether or not Maine's experience was unique or similar to other areas in the United States.8

⁵ Des Voeux only remained for fourteen months. William Des Voeux, *My Colonial Service in British Guiana, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Fiji, Australia, Newfoundland, and Hong Kong, with Interludes*, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1903), 133-6, 148.

⁶ Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," DCB, vol. 13.

⁷ R.A. Burchell, The San Francisco Irish, 1848-1880 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 184.

⁸ Epilogue, *They Changed Their Sky: The Irish in Maine* (Michael C. Connolly, ed.; Orono, Maine: University of Maine Press, 2004), 342.

Catholics in St. John's did well compared to other urban areas in North America. By 1886 Newfoundland Catholics were an integral part of the social, economic and political fabric of the city at all levels. Catholics did still face many problems as the community still relied heavily on the capricious cod fishery, the many failures of which caused periods of great poverty and distress. As in Ireland, this fuelled large-scale emigration to the United States and elsewhere and, in the 1880s, large numbers of Catholics continued to leave for New England in search of work.

As in the rest of the diaspora, it was a combination of migration patterns, as well as local forces and circumstances specific to St. John's, that largely determined the development of the Catholic community. The migration pattern was unique in a couple of ways. Large-scale Irish migration ended before 1840, and the colony did not receive an influx of Famine Irish.⁹ Secondly, migrants were overwhelmingly Catholic. There was no large migration of Irish Protestants to Newfoundland, unlike the rest of British North America, such as parts of Atlantic Canada and Ontario. Newfoundland Protestants were overwhelmingly of English rather than Irish descent. While there were a small number of Irish Protestants in the colony, that they were few in number that they did not form an identifiable group.¹⁰

These factors had profound repercussions for the evolution of the community in the second half of the century. Lack of replenishment meant that generational change occurred earlier than elsewhere, with native-born Catholics dominating at a much earlier

⁹ See Appendix A.

¹⁰ John Mannion, "Tracing the Irish: a Geographical Guide," *The Newfoundland Ancestor*, 9:1 (May 1993),
4; Kildare Dobbs, "Newfoundland and the Maritimes: an Overview," *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, vol. 1(Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds; Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988), 181.

period than in other communities that experienced continuous migration. Like San Francisco, the community was "a generation ahead" of many other areas in the diaspora.¹¹A lack of Famine migrants also meant that St. John's did not experience the social and economic upheavals caused by their arrival, as was the case in New Brunswick.¹² This might also help explain the late establishment of the Orange Order in Newfoundland compared to Ontario and New Brunswick. The Order was not established in St. John's until 1863, while Saint John had ten Orange Lodges by 1846.¹³ The other reason for this absence of sectarian mobilization was also probably due to the lack of Irish Protestants in the colony, and because of this the lack of transference of anti-Catholic sentiment from Ireland. Thus, the Order did not act as a barrier to the assimilation of Irish Catholics in St. John's as it did in places like New Brunswick.¹⁴ The fact that the Order was absent also meant that the city did not experience the same violent, sectarian troubles as was common in Saint John and Toronto, where sectarian riots caused Catholics to

 ¹¹ Burchell points out that only by 1900 were Irish communities "beginning to emerge from the immigrant community, which the first and second generation had created."Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish*, 185.
 ¹² Peter Toner, "The Irish of New Brunswick at Mid-Century: the 1851 Census," *New Ireland Remembered* (Peter Toner, ed.; Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1988), 106. See also Peter D. Murphy, *Poor Ignorant Children: Irish Famine Orphans in St. John, New Brunswick* (Halifax: A Publication of the D'Arcy McGee Chair of Irish Studies, St. Mary's University, 1999) and Scott See, *Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

¹³ T.W. Acheson, "The Irish Community in Saint John, 1815-1850," New Ireland Remembered (Peter Toner, ed.; Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1988), 42, 45.

¹⁴ See, Riots in New Brunswick, 69.

guard their churches and convents against Orange attack.¹⁵ No events occurred in St. John's even after the Order was established.¹⁶

The fact that St. John's did not experience the same sectarian violence in the second half of the century was also due to the unique fact that in St. John's Catholics outnumbered Protestants. However, there is enough contemporary evidence to suggest that peace was due to more than simple denominational arithmetic, and that there was a genuine sentiment amongst the denominations for toleration and peace. There were no clearly sectarian acts committed in St. John's between 1840 and 1886, and this was also the case before and after that time.

If "sectarian" is taken starkly to mean simply the division of society due to a dogmatic adherence to a religious sect, then St. John's was indeed divided along sectarian lines. Catholics and Protestants had separate churches and schools, and increasingly separate community associations. Structurally, before 1861 political parties and electoral districts were divided, although not exclusively, based on religion and the unofficial denominational compromise in the 1860s ensured that each religion was equally represented in all levels of government.

¹⁵ The troubles in Toronto were real enough; for a detailed account of this see Brian Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), Chapter 8; *Patriot and Terra Nova Herald (Patriot)*, 17 January 1865.

¹⁶ It is true that there was a sectarian clash between Protestants and Catholics in Harbour Grace in 1883. However, this was due more perhaps to social, political and economic circumstances particular to that area. Such an instance was not common and was not repeated. It might also have been due to demographic change and residential pattern. See a recent article by Willeen G. Keough, "Contested Terrains: Ethnic and Gendered Spaces in the Harbour Grace Affray," *The Canadian Historical Review*, 90:1 (March 2009), 29-70 and also James K. Hiller, "Political Effects of the Harbour Grace Affray, 1883-1885," ([Newfoundland Historical Society], 1971).

It is, however, another definition of sectarianism, that of the aggressive pursuit of one religious doctrine at the expense of another, that pervades Newfoundland historiography. For example, Gertrude Gunn suggests that in the 1830s Catholics battled Protestants for political ascendancy, and John FitzGerald suggests that the creation of such a sectarian state "became the only acceptable way of ensuring that opposing denominational rivalries did not clash in civic unrest."¹⁷ While deep political divides existed, outside of the political context of the 1830s there was no attempt by one side to intimidate or eradicate the other. Individual Protestants did much to advance the religious, social and political situation of Catholics and, for their part, Catholics were more than willing to accept Protestant goodwill. The Protestant elite formed political alliances that allowed Catholics like Philip Little to assume power and assisted in financing the expansion of the Catholic Church, donating money to bazaars, hauling wood for convents and sending their children to the Christian Brothers' schools.¹⁸ Anglicans. Methodists and Presbyterians also attended Catholic social events such as the Benevolent Irish Society balls and dinners.

Like other parts of the diaspora, however, Catholics initially struggled to wrest political power from a Protestant elite. In terms of the formal political structure, St. John's was much the same as other colonies, which meant that in the 1830s Catholics had to contend with an entirely Protestant colonial elite. Kerby Miller and other American historians have suggested that in areas where such an established elite did not already

¹⁷ John FitzGerald, "Conflict and Culture in Irish Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850" (PhD. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1997), iv.

¹⁸ For examples of Protestant assistance in wood hauls see Newfoundlander, 16 and 20 February 1864.

exist, such as frontier societies, Irish Catholics did well.¹⁹ This was evident in some areas on the east coast of the United States such as Maine, and in the mid-west and frontier west, notably San Francisco.²⁰ This was also the case in rural areas that resembled frontier societies.²¹ Despite the fact that Newfoundland lacked an official political and judicial system in the early part of the century, it was not a frontier society, however, when the majority of Irish immigrants arrived in the 1820s it was far from being an established colony. Permanent settlement had only begun in earnest in the first two decades of the century, and the island was only granted colonial status by the British government in 1824. When many migrants were arriving in the early decades of the century, there existed only a nascent local political, legal and social structure. Middle class Irish Catholic migrants quickly joined with their Protestant counterparts in lobbying for political and legal reform in the 1820s and 1830s. Irish Catholic immigrants such as John Kent and Patrick Morris stepped off the steamer and onto the political soapbox.

¹⁹ Lawrence McCaffrey argues that there were two contrasting cultures in America, namely Anglo-Saxon Protestant and Catholic, *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1976), 9. Kerby Miller points out that Irish Americans did better in younger, rapidly-growing urban environments like Detroit and San Francisco, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 315. This is also a central argument in other American ethnic studies. For example, Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan argue in their famous work *Beyond the Melting Pot: the Negroes, the Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1963), 14-5, that immigrant culture was different from the existing "homogenous" elements of American society, namely those who were white, of British origin and Protestant. This resulted in a hierarchy based on race, religion, occupation, and class. It was this group that decided what 'American' meant. It was this pre-determined hierarchy into which immigrants had to 'fit.'

²⁰ Epilogue, They Changed Their Sky, 342.

²¹ Grace McDonald, *History of the Irish in Wisconsin in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Arno Press, 1976); Jo Ellen Vinyard, *The Irish on The Urban Frontier: Nineteenth Century Detroit, 1850-1880* (New York: Arno Press, 1976).

This did not mean that Catholic migrants did not have to fight for political power, just that being champions of political reform in the earlier decades allowed them, and those who followed, an avenue into politics in the latter part of the century. Comparatively speaking, Catholics in St. John's reached the top of the political ladder quickly as the first premier of the colony in 1855 was Philip Little. In contrast, in Boston and New York, the first Irish mayors were not elected until the 1880s.²²As in parts of the United States and British North America, Catholics were skilled politically and used their majority in St. John's to fuel their success. They had very little in their way as they did not have to contend with anti-Catholic nativism as in Nova Scotia or the United States.²³ The situation in St. John's was unique in that the nativist movement was not anti-Irish or anti-Catholic. Instead of acting as a barrier to their political involvement, the nativist movement and the Natives' Society gave a section of the Catholic community a political voice. In fact, the movement caused intra-Catholic rather than Catholic-Protestant conflict in the 1840s.

In terms of its economic structure, St. John's was different from many of the other larger urban centers in North America in that it did not undergo heavy industrialization in the second half of the century. There was no proliferation of unskilled or semi-skilled jobs fuelled by massive urban growth as in Toronto or New York. In contrast, the lower classes were found working in the cod and seal fisheries, or skilled trades related to the

²² Burchell points out that San Francisco's first Irish mayor was elected earlier in 1867. Burchell, *The San Francisco Irish*, 6

²³ A.J.B. Johnston, "Nativism in Nova Scotia: Anti-Irish Ideology in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century British Colony," *The Irish in Atlantic Canada, 1780-1900* (T. Power, ed.; Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1991); Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish* (New York: Pearson, 2000), 80-2, 116; David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the South, 1815-77* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 107; Tyler Anbinder, *Nativism and Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

fishery. The St. John's economy did gradually evolve from being primarily a fishing station, in which the majority of residents were only engaged in the fishery in some way, to a city with an expanded manufacturing, secondary and service sector. By 1891 the number of persons in St. John's engaged in the fishery had fallen dramatically to just over five per cent. As in other parts of the diaspora, Catholics were part of this socio-economic diversification. They were concentrated in the skilled and semi-skilled trades such as tailoring, and well represented in small-scale business, especially in the grocery trade and sale of liquor. As in places like Toronto; this facilitated entry into the lower middle class and did much to help expand that previously small group.²⁴ Women were also well represented in the skilled trades such as bonnet making, like their counterparts in Toronto and cities in the eastern United States.²⁵ One major difference, however, was that they were not involved overwhelmingly in domestic service. This was most likely because the size of the elite in St. John's was much smaller than that in other urban areas and so there was not as much demand for them.

A more diversified class structure in the latter part of the century reinforced the residential division of St. John's by class. There never existed an "Irishtown" or Irish ghetto. As in Toronto, Catholics in St. John's did not segregate themselves, nor were they segregated, based on ethnicity or religion.²⁶ In the second half of the century, opportunity for improved economic status allowed many Catholics to move from the poor lower class tenement areas, to expanding areas of the city. They lived in both the middle-class and

²⁴ Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 20

²⁵ Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 20; Kenny, The American Irish, 186.

²⁶ Although there was segregation in the immediate post-Famine migrant period, Mark McGowan argues that by 1887 there is no evidence of Irish Catholics physically separating themselves in ethnic enclaves, *The Waning of the Green* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 18.

working-class areas of St. John's. In fact, members of the elite lived side by side with the Protestant counterparts in exclusive neighbourhoods. They also owned some of the larger cottages and estates on the outskirts of St. John's.

A Catholic community with better economic prospects and an expanding middle class could offer more financial assistance to the Catholic Church in St. John's. Catholics in the city, as has been said of those in New York and elsewhere, sacrificed financially to support their expanding church.²⁷ As in all other parts of the diaspora, in the second half of the century the Church became more formally institutionalized and built up its infrastructure.²⁸ As in Ireland, Irish-born ecclesiastics in St. John's sought to increase the religious, social and political power of the Church. Under the guidance of three Irish-born Bishops, church infrastructure and personnel increased, and its control over education was solidified. Unlike in the United States and British North America, however, the Catholic Church in St. John's did not have to wage a protracted battle to obtain funded denominational education.²⁹ Church control ensured that the majority of Catholic children were provided with a religious and moral education, facilitated by the fact that the vast majority of children were taught by the various teaching Orders. However, as in Toronto, the Church believed that a solid education provided children with an opportunity of social and economic advancement. They had the skills to enter the lower middle class or set

²⁷ Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, 230.

²⁸ Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 38-40; McGowan, Waning of the Green, 22; Terrence M. Punch, Irish Halifax: The Immigrant Generation, 1815-1859 (Halifax: St. Mary's University, 1981), 50.

²⁹ Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 40; Mark Wyman, Immigrants in the Valley: Irish, Germans and Americans in the Upper Mississippi Country, 1830-60 (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1984), 162-70; Dennis Clark, The Irish in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), 94; Glazer and Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, 234-8.

their sights higher, becoming the future leaders of the country and so, in a broader context, education was a key part of nation-building.³⁰

In terms of associational life, St. John's again differed from the wider North American diaspora. Elsewhere, ethnic associations acted as an immigrant defence against a hostile host society.³¹ The manifestation of ethnic societies was often the result of feeling alienated, especially in the United States where Irish Catholics confronted American Protestant nativism.³² Irish Catholics banded together to help each other adjust to their new, often harsh, lives. Societal life fostered kinship and camaraderie, alleviated homesickness, provided practical help in finding employment and housing, and met political, nationalist and leisure needs.³³ Irish ethnic societies also forged stronger ties to the Catholic Church. The Church in turn used them to encourage moral and respectable behaviour through such things as temperance.³⁴ Unlike many urban areas in the United States and Canada, however, there was no proliferation of Irish ethnic societies in St. John's. Mostly, this was because there was no functional need for them. The Catholic community in St. John's was not a besieged immigrant minority that needed to band together to protect itself against a hostile society, or to improve its political, economic or social interests. There was, for example, no perceived need for an Ancient Order of

³⁰ McGowan, The Waning of the Green, 286.

³¹ Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Ethnic-Identity Retention," *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City* (Raymond Breton, ed.; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 34-7; Kathleen Neils Conzen et al, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective From the USA," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12:1 (Fall 1992), 5-6.

³² McCaffrey, The Irish Catholic Diaspora, 139.

³³ Gleeson, *The Irish in the South*, 55; McCaffrey, *The Irish Catholic Diaspora*, 139; Matthew Jude Barker, "The Irish Community and Irish Organizations of Nineteenth Century Portland, Maine," *They Changed Their Sky*, 139.

³⁴ Barker, "The Irish Community and Irish Organizations," 139.

Hibernians to protect and promote Irish interests or culture, as there was in Worcester.³⁵ The only ethnic society in the city in the nineteenth century was the BIS and its primary concerns were charity and educating the poor at their Orphan Asylum School, not defending Catholic rights.

Other associations founded in the city were characterized by religion and class rather than ethnicity. They were mostly benefit societies, many either founded by or having strong ties to the Catholic Church, which used them to promote sobriety and respectability. In terms of their object at least, this bore some similarity to other parts of the diaspora. Large-scale involvement by the Church partly explains why there was also no proliferation of Irish nationalist associations in St. John's, alongside the lack of sectarian conflict and the fact that the Catholic community was not comprised of Kerby Miller's "vengeful children."³⁶ No feelings of exile or bitterness were present to fuel nationalist or republican activity. There were neither conclaves of Fenians in St. John's nor local branches of the Land League or the Clan na Gael, as there were in New York and Toronto.³⁷ On the contrary, even in the late 1870s, St. John's Catholics still believed Daniel O'Connell to be the greatest Irish nationalist leader and that Ireland's place was within the British Empire.

Catholic disapproval of political extremism and their attachment to the British Empire reflected the strong colonial and imperial identity of the community, and was an integral part of their Irish identity. Even those migrants who were still around in the 1880s had left Ireland well before the Famine and the Fenian troubles of the 1860s. Any

³⁵ Timothy J. Meagher, Inventing Irish America (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 241.

³⁶ Miller, Emigrants and Exiles, 7, 346.

³⁷ Glazer and Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, 243; Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 198-9, 226.

direct political memories of Ireland were of the Act of Union and O'Connell's fight for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal. The nationalist politics that had shaped their perspective continued to be one of fair and equal rights, the use of peaceful and constitutional means, respect for the Monarchy, with Irish political independence defined as a return of its parliament. They had not experienced the social, political and economic upheavals Ireland experienced in the second half of the century. They could not pass down a legacy that they themselves had not known. Instead, their legacy was one shaped by the previous generation of Irish Catholic immigrants who had fought for Catholic rights in Newfoundland, who won political reform in the 1830s and their "Home Rule" in 1855. The master narrative of native Catholics in St. John's was not a sad tale of lost political hopes and of British government betrayal and oppression towards Catholics in Ireland. It was a story of success in which Newfoundland Catholics won the day, securing the political freedom their countrymen in Ireland still strove for. While they sympathized with those in Ireland and other parts of the diaspora who continued the fight for Irish selfgovernment, this fight was not theirs. Both Irish-born and native-born Catholics in Newfoundland had won their struggle long ago.

As in Toronto, for later generations of Newfoundland-born Catholics in St. John's "Catholicism eventually displaced nationalism as the badge of ethnic allegiance."³⁸ As Thomas Meagher has pointed out, for the second and later generations, Catholicism provided them with an essential link to their Irish past.³⁹ In the second half of the century, the parameters of the Irish Catholic community in St. John's were defined by religion,

³⁸ Clarke, Piety and Nationalism, 224.

³⁹ Meagher, Inventing Irish America, 93-4.

rather than ethnicity. This evolution was much like that of Toronto where Irish Catholics adopted a Canadian Catholic identity that was more Catholic than nationalist, and more Canadian than Irish.⁴⁰ The same occurred in St. John's as Catholics created a Newfoundland Catholic identity and were less concerned with issues in the "old country," and more interested in the domestic concerns in their new home.⁴¹

In the second half of the century Catholics in St. John's were indeed "far from the homes of their Fathers."⁴²Any bitterness that Catholics felt towards the British government in the second half of the century was solely in the context of their experience as Newfoundlanders. From the 1890s onwards, battles would mostly be fought in the broad imperial context over Newfoundland issues such as international fishing rights and treaties, and the French Shore.⁴³ Catholics in the colony were embroiled in these fights as Newfoundlanders acting against perceived British government indifference and injustice to the welfare of Newfoundland, not as Irishmen acting against British government injustice towards Ireland. Such conflicts spurred a growth in Newfoundland nationalist sentiment in the later part of the century and into the twentieth. At what point Newfoundland nationalist sentiment substituted Irish nationalist sentiment, if completely at all, however, remains to be fully examined.

⁴⁰ McGowan, The Waning of the Green, 4-6.

⁴¹ McGowan, Waning of the Green, 4.

⁴² This quotation comes from an address Bishop Fleming gave to the BIS in 1847 in part stating "In this remote region, far from the homes of their Fathers seek thus to enshrine the virtues that are their inheritance..." *BIS Minutes*, 9 March 1847.

⁴³ The French Shore was a continuous source of conflict throughout the century. It was a strip of territory along the northern and western coasts of the colony where French fishermen enjoyed fishing and landing rights. Melvin Baker and Peter Neary, "Bond, Sir Robert," *DCB*, vol. 15.

One incident in 1890 indicated the extent of the shift that had taken place in the relationship between Ireland and Newfoundland over the previous century. It was in the summer and fall of that year that Newfoundland-born priest Michael Francis Howley embarked on an aggressive campaign to garner Irish Parliamentary Party support for Newfoundland against the British government in the French Shore dispute. He travelled around Ireland and wrote letters to the *Freeman's Journal* pleading the colony's case to Irishmen.⁴⁴ However, he found that there was very little support or even interest there on the issue, either amongst the Party or people in general. The Irish Party seemed to wish to use the issue for its own purpose as another example of British colonial misrule, but viewed it more as a national question between England and France. This indifference might not be surprising given that, unlike the United States or Canada filled with recent migrants, Irish representatives and the general population had no direct connection to Newfoundland, and didn't even seemed to know where it was.⁴⁵

The importance of Bishop Howley's visit, however, lay not so much in his unsuccessful attempts to get Irish political and moral support on the French Shore issue, but in the response to it at home. There was no outcry at Ireland's seeming indifference and, in fact, the opposite seemed true. One letter to the editor of the *Evening Telegram* wrote that "we Newfoundlanders ought to imitate the Irish in this. We ought to love our own country above all others, and regard the affairs of other countries simply and solely in so far as they may affect the interest of our own country [...] If such an expression would injure Newfoundland, let it be carefully avoided. That is what our Irish friends are

⁴⁴ Evening Telegram, 27 August and 27 September 1890.

⁴⁵ Evening Telegram, 27 September 1890.

doing, and that is what we should do, too.^{**46} How widespread a feeling this was within the Catholic community is uncertain, but it clearly represented that there existed an entirely un-hyphenated Newfoundland local nationalist identity.

Considering that in the early 1840s Bishop Fleming successfully convinced O'Connell to speak on Newfoundland's behalf in the House of Commons with regard to political reform, the events of 1890 seemed to be something of a complete reversal.⁴⁷ The episode speaks volumes about the evolution of the relationship between Ireland and Newfoundland over the previous century. It had evolved from being an integral part of the trade and migration history of both countries, to one in which Howley found it necessary to address his audience in Kerry with the following explanatory remark: "I belong to a country which has always claimed for herself the proud honour of being called 'The Ireland of the West!' I don't know whether some of you ever heard of the country or not. We call it Newfoundland."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Evening Telegram, 27 August 1890.

⁴⁷ FitzGerald, Conflict and Culture, 88-9, 104, 106, 110-113, 363.

⁴⁸ Evening Telegram, 27 September 1890.

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Appendix A

Migration Data

In the 1830s Irish migration to Newfoundland peaked, but in the second half of the nineteenth century it decreased substantially, and by the early 1860s it was virtually non-existent. An examination of Irish migration to Newfoundland in the second half of the century shows that migration to the colony was significantly lower than to other areas of British North America.¹ Of the Irish who migrated to British North America between 1841 and 1876, the vast majority went to Canada² and New Brunswick, with a lesser number to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, as shown in Table A1 and in full detail in Table A4. Prince Edward Island received a few hundred in the early 1840s but none thereafter, and data for that island were dropped altogether in the Commission Reports after 1868. The migration data for British North America shows that Newfoundland received only a very small proportion of the annual total migrants, usually hovering below 1 percent.

¹ The Irish migration data has been drawn from two sources: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, General Report [issued yearly; the data presented here was reported between 1841/2-1872]; and Report and Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration of United Kingdom, 1876, p.13; 1877 (5) LXXXV.621. There are gaps in this data, but a general pattern can still be seen.

² Canada is the term used in the sources and refers to both Canada West and Canada East, which are not distinguished.

Destination	#	%
Canada	319799	78.4
New Brunswick	77992	19.1
Newfoundland	4706	1.2
Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	4137	1.0
PEI	1421	0.3
Total Irish Migrants	408055	100%

Table A1 Total Irish Migration to British North America, 1841-76

Notes: Totals exclude years with no data.

Sources: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, General Report [issued yearly, 1841/2-72]; Report and Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration of United Kingdom, 1876, p.13; 1877 (5) LXXXV.621.

When examining the data for Newfoundland, given in full detail in Table A5, a different picture emerges. Of the total migration from the United Kingdom³ to the island in the 1840s, the Irish constituted the majority: 71 percent, totaling 3034 people. This was 65 percent of all the Irish who arrived in Newfoundland from the 1840s to the 1870s, as seen in Table A2 and Figure A1. Migrants from the UK numbered several hundred each year of the 1840s, but never over 1000. The largest influx was in 1847 with 993 individuals arriving, of whom 757 were Irish. The majority of these migrants were men, with a significantly smaller number of women, shown in Table A3, along with some children, suggesting that there were some family groups.

³ This refers to migrants from England, Scotland and Ireland, as was reported in the available data. The Welsh were never mentioned.

Decade	Total Irish Migrants	Total UK Migrants	Irish % of UK Total
1840s	3067	4308	71
1850s	1103	1903	58
1860s	531	874	61
1870s	23	140	16
Total	4694	7225	65

Table A2 Total Irish and UK Migrants to Newfoundland by Decade, 1840s-70s

Notes: Totals exclude years with no data.

Sources: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, General Report [issued yearly, 1841/2-72]; Report and Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration of United Kingdom, 1876, p.13; 1877 (5) LXXXV.621.

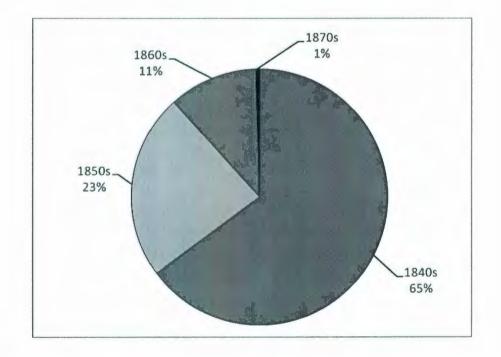


Figure A1 Percentage of Irish Migrants to Newfoundland by Decade, 1840s-70s

Notes: Totals exclude years with no data.

Sources: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, General Report [issued yearly, 1841/2-72]; Report and Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration of United Kingdom, 1876, p.13; 1877 (5) LXXXV.621.

Table A3 Irish Migration in 1847

Heaviest Migration	Year: 1847
Total UK Migrants	993
# Irish Migrants	757
Irish % of UK Total	76.2
1847 - Irish Brea	kdown
	13, sex
Cabin Passengers	not given
Men	432
Women	159
Boys	81
Girls	72

Sources: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, General Report [issued yearly, 1841/2-72].

In the 1850s, Irish migrants still accounted for about half or a little more of the annual UK migrant total to Newfoundland, but this number was steadily declining. In fact, 1861 was the last year that the migrant total was over 100. Of those who migrated that year the Irish still constituted the majority, comprising 103 of the 136 individuals. A short-lived increase in Irish migration to the island is noticeable from 1858 to 1860, most likely due to the prospects of economic opportunity in the cod fishery. This can been seen in the migrant flow for the period, illustrated in Figure A2. In the late 1850s the Newfoundland fishery was doing fairly well and, presumably, migrants wrote home with encouraging news. However, such an economic pull was limited as the success of the cod and seal fisheries were unpredictable and volatile, meaning that such prosperity could not be counted on from one year to the next. The disastrous consequences of this were made clear in 1860 when the seal harvest and cod catch were below average, fish prices decreased, and the potato crop failed. Poverty abounded in Newfoundland, leaving many

to rely on poor relief to survive.⁴ The dire situation was undoubtedly transmitted back to friends and relatives Ireland, and it is no surprise that migration fell off sharply in 1861, and virtually ceased thereafter.

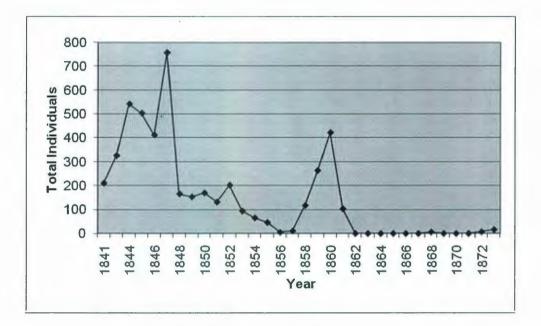


Figure A2 The Irish Migrant Flow to Newfoundland, 1841-76

Notes: Totals exclude years with no data. Sources: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, General Report [issued yearly, 1841/2-72]; Report and Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration of United Kingdom, 1876, p.13; 1877 (5)

LXXXV.621.

In many of the years after 1861, the number of migrants to Newfoundland was zero. The annual average Irish emigration to all parts of the world from the UK in the years from 1861 to 1870 was 81,858 people, yet during this 10-year period

⁴ Patrick O'Flaherty, *Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1833-1933* (St.John's: Long Beach Press, 2005), 87-8. This situation was also chronicled in local papers; see for example the *Patriot and Terra Nova Herald*, 22 October 1860 and 28 January 1861.

Newfoundland only received a total of 109 Irish migrants.⁵ This might have been due to changes in the general North American migration pattern. While European emigration to America declined sharply with the beginning of the Civil War, the Maritime region of British North America was profiting from the sale of potatoes and oats to the Union Army.⁶ This boom resulted in the increased Irish migration to this area in the early 1860s – migrants who probably sailed right past Newfoundland, where fish exports were suffering collateral damage from the blockade of Southern ports.⁷ Although there is no data on the migrant flow for the 1880s, there are several indications that Irish migration to the island had virtually ceased by that decade. In the *Papers Relating to Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions 1883-5*, Colonial Secretary Edward Shea reported that there had been no immigration to Newfoundland in those years.⁸ In addition, while reviewing possible colonial destinations for an immigration scheme in 1889, it was restated before the British Select Committee on Colonization that Newfoundland had not been receiving migrants from the United Kingdom for some time.⁹

Some idea of who comprised the Irish migrant group to Newfoundland in 1844-60 is provided by the data which, after 1844, is broken down into males and females. Among the Irish migrants, males outnumbered females in every year except for five, with a total

⁶ Marcus Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1940), 139-40. Overall Irish migration to the United States declined between 1860-5, while Irish migration to British North America increased. With the end of the American Civil War this was reversed. Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters* (Toronto: U. of Toronto P., 1990), 22.

⁵ Report and Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration of United Kingdom, 1877, p.6; 1878 (9) LXXVII.607.

⁷ Newfoundland's revenue for 1862 was down 30% from that of 1858. O'Flaherty, Lost Country, 94.

⁸ Papers relating to H.M. Colonial Possessions, 1883-85, p.65; 1886 [C.4842] XLV.1.

⁹ Select Committee on Colonization. Report, Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index, p.52; 1889 (274) X.1.

sex ratio of 1.8 to 1. This held true for the English and Scottish group as well. As shown in Figure A3, Irish women were arriving in numbers roughly half that of Irish men, and at times less. There is no way to determine the number of married women compared to single women.¹⁰ As for children, those under the age of fourteen are only listed separately from the adults for the years 1844-7, during which time the numbers of boys and girls are roughly even.

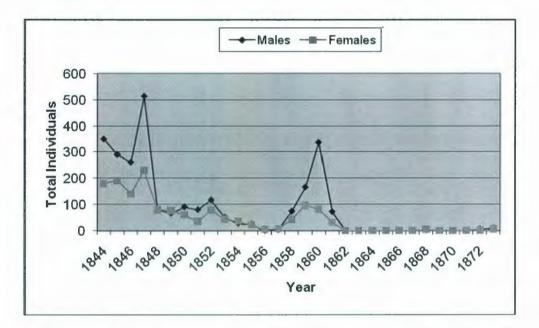


Figure A3 Irish Male and Female Migrants to Newfoundland, 1844-76

<u>Notes</u>: Totals exclude years with no data, as well as "Cabin Passengers" and "Not Distinguished" for whom sex was not stated. These total only 111 individuals of both sexes spread over a 17-year period. Males and female children have been included for the four years in which they were recorded separately from adults. <u>Sources</u>: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, General Report [issued yearly, 1841/2-72]; Report and Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration of United Kingdom, 1876, p.13; 1877 (5) LXXXV.621.

¹⁰ Donald Akenson points out that there is a general lack of data on the marital status of female Irish migrants, *The Irish Diaspora: a Primer* (Toronto: P.D. Meany, 1996), 166-7.

A separate designation is provided for "cabin passengers" from 1844-52. Since purchasing a cabin denotes wealth, it reveals something about the class of migrant who arrived in Newfoundland. In these years, Irish cabin passengers totaled only 107, versus steerage passengers who numbered 3034. Looking again at the same figures for the English and Scottish migrants provides an interesting comparison. The cabin passenger figures alone show that these two groups vastly outnumbered the Irish: the English by 5 to 1, and the Scottish by 4 to 1. Unlike the Irish, almost all the English and Scottish passengers were in cabins, which indicates that they were of a higher class.

Between 1853 and 1860 "cabin passenger" was replaced by "not distinguished" and included "infants, cabin passengers, etc." Unfortunately, one cannot use the "not distinguished" category to determine wealth among the three migrant groups for these years, as was possible with the "cabin passengers." There were no Irish in this category except for 4 individuals in 1860, and there is no way to tell if these were infants or adults. Had the number been higher, one could surmise the presence of adults.

Year	Canada	New Brunswick	Nova Scotia and Cape Breton	Newfoundland	PEI	lrish Migrant Total	% of total who went to NL
1841	16542	6683	33	210	621	24089	0.9
1842	24163	8048	241	325	633	33410	1.0
1843				1843: no data			
1844	9321	2169	197	542	167	12396	4.4
1845	13437	5888	120	503	0	19948	2.5
1846	21722	9414	190	412	0	31738	1.3
1847	54310	15050	1136	757	0	71253	1.1
1848	16535	4156	0	145	0	20836	0.7
1849	23714	2701	0	153	0	26568	0.6
1850	18131	1434	0	169	0	19734	0.9
1851	22287	1512	0	131	0	23930	0.5
1852	15701	15700	0	202	0	31603	0.6
1853	15022	1609	0	94	0	16725	0.6
1854	16250	532	0	65	0	16847	0.4
1855	4022	277	0	46	0	4345	1.1
1856	1768	322	0	5	0	2095	0.2
1857	2233	297	0	11	0	2541	0.4
1858	1212	203	45	119	0	1579	7.5
1859	414	177	0	263	0	854	30.8
1860	2337	238	79	422	0	3076	13.7
1861	2870	353	217	103	0	3543	2.9
1862	4417	311	206	0	0	4934	0.0
1863	5046	338	322	0	0	5706	0.0
1864	3720	315	241	0	0	4276	0.0
1865	4681	145	210	0	0	5036	0.0
1866	2200	64	417	0	0	2681	0.0
1867	3028	56	250	0	0	3334	0.0
1868	2578	0	9	6	0	2593	0.2
1869	2753	0	4	0	n/a	2757	0.0
1870	2529	0	6	0	n/a	2535	0.0
1871	2920	0	13	0	n/a	2933	0.0
1872	3258	0	103	7	n/a	3368	0.2
	5: no data	3.035.12	7	THE BURNER	1. 18 50	254 2 4	and an and a second second
1876	678	0	98	16	0	792	2.0
1877-	90: no data	1. 18 8		all and the state		Town -	

Table A4 Irish Emigration to British North American Colonies, 1841-76

Sources: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, General Report [issued yearly, 1841/2-72]; Report and Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration of United Kingdom, 1876, p.13; 1877 (5) LXXXV.621.

Year	Migra	int Breakdow	'n	Total Irish Migrants	Total United Kingdom Migrants	lrish %
132		Males	Females		N. 6 1 2 1	
	1841	n/a	n/a	210	336	62.5
	1842	n/a	n/a	325	490	66.3
	1843	n/a	n/a	n/a	448	n/a
	Cabin	Children <	14yrs. old	18 15 19	3. 3. S	alter for the second second
Art	Passengers 1844-53 only	listed separ 7 o	nly		a h dreese o 'm	
1011	10	273 + 76	137 + 44	540	204	70.0
1844	12	boys	girls	542	684	79.2
1845	21	243 + 47 boys	138 + 54 girls	503	618	81.4
1045	21	236 + 24	103 + 37	505	010	01.4
1846	12	boys	girls	412	523	78.8
		432 + 81	159 + 72			
1847	13	boys	girls	757	993	76.2
1848	3	82	80	165	343	48.1
1849	9	67	77	153	321	47.7
1850	16	91	62	169	325	52.0
1851	16	80	35	131	241	54.4
	5	117	80	202	299	67.6
1852	"Infants, cabin		80	202	299	67.6
1852	"Infants,		08	202	233	67.6
1852	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853-	51		94	3	54.3
	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only				5 . 24 4 - 44	
1853 1854	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0	51 28	43 37	94	ar 400 2	54.3
1853 1854 1855	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0	51	43 37 21	94 65	173 95	54.3 68.4
1853 1854 1855 1855	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0	51 28 25 1	43 37	94 65 46 5	173 95 94 215	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3
1853 1854 1855 1856 1856 1857	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0	51 28 25 1 4	43 37 21 4 7	94 65 46 5 11	173 95 94 215 42	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2
1853 1854 1855 1856 1857 1858	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	51 28 25 1 4 74	43 37 21 4 7 43	94 65 46 5 11 117	173 95 94 215 42 138	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2 84.8
1853 1854 1855 1856 1856 1857 1858 1859	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	51 28 25 1 4 74 166	43 37 21 4 7 43 97	94 65 46 5 11 117 263	173 95 94 215 42 138 281	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2 84.8 93.6
1853 1854 1855 1856 1857 1858	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 4	51 28 25 1 4 74 166 336	43 37 21 4 7 43 97 82	94 65 46 5 11 117 263 422	173 95 94 215 42 138 281 465	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2 84.8 93.6 90.8
1853 1854 1855 1856 1856 1857 1858 1859	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 4 1861	51 28 25 1 4 74 166 336 72	43 37 21 4 7 43 97 82 31	94 65 46 5 11 117 263 422 103	173 95 94 215 42 138 281 465 136	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2 84.8 93.6 90.8 75.7
1853 1854 1855 1856 1856 1857 1858 1859	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 4 1861 1862	51 28 25 1 4 74 166 336 72 0	43 37 21 4 7 43 97 82 31 0	94 65 46 5 11 117 263 422 103 0	173 95 94 215 42 138 281 465 136 34	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2 84.8 93.6 90.8 75.7 0.0
1853 1854 1855 1856 1856 1857 1858 1859	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	51 28 25 1 4 74 166 336 72 0 0	43 37 21 4 7 43 97 82 31 0 0	94 65 46 5 11 117 263 422 103 0 0	173 95 94 215 42 138 281 465 136 34 27	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2 84.8 93.6 90.8 75.7 0.0 0.0
1853 1854 1855 1856 1856 1857 1858 1859	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 4 1861 1862 1863 1864	51 28 25 1 4 74 166 336 72 0 0 0 0	43 37 21 4 7 43 97 82 31 0 0 0	94 65 46 5 11 117 263 422 103 0 0 0 0	173 95 94 215 42 138 281 465 136 34 27 33	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2 84.8 93.6 90.8 75.7 0.0 0.0 0.0
1853 1854 1855 1856 1856 1857 1858 1859	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	51 28 25 1 4 74 166 336 72 0 0 0 0 0 0	43 37 21 4 7 43 97 82 31 0 0 0 0 0	94 65 46 5 11 117 263 422 103 0 0 0 0 0 0	173 95 94 215 42 138 281 465 136 34 27 33 32	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2 84.8 93.6 90.8 75.7 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0
1853 1854 1855 1856 1856 1857 1858 1859	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	51 28 25 1 4 74 166 336 72 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	43 37 21 4 7 43 97 82 31 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	94 65 46 5 11 117 263 422 103 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	173 95 94 215 42 138 281 465 136 34 27 33 32 14	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2 84.8 93.6 90.8 75.7 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0
1853 1854 1855 1856 1856 1857 1858 1859	"Infants, cabin passengers, etc." 1853- 1860 only 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	51 28 25 1 4 74 166 336 72 0 0 0 0 0 0	43 37 21 4 7 43 97 82 31 0 0 0 0 0	94 65 46 5 11 117 263 422 103 0 0 0 0 0 0	173 95 94 215 42 138 281 465 136 34 27 33 32	54.3 68.4 48.9 2.3 26.2 84.8 93.6 90.8 75.7 0.0 0.0 0.0 0.0

Table A5 Irish Emigration to Newfoundland, 1841-76

Year	м	igra	nt Breakdov	Total Irish Migrants	Total United Kingdom Migrants	Irish %	
Alt. in	Carlo Star	Ann	Males	Females			854 - K *
	1870		0	0	0	13	0.0
	1871		0	0	0	44	0.0
	1872		6	1	7	62	11.3
1873-	5: no data	Se.	a line		ces la to		Son 2 me
	1876		10	6	16	21	76.2
1877-	90: no data		A straight straight				an consta

Sources: Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, General Report [issued yearly, 1841/2-72]; Report and Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration of United Kingdom, 1876, p.13; 1877 (5) LXXXV.621.

Appendix **B**

Occupational Data

<u>Table B1</u> Occupations in St. John's City Districts as Listed in the Newfoundland Census, 1857-91

Defente	18	157	18	69	18	374	18	84	18	891
Professions	East	West	East	West	East	West	East	West	East	West
Able-bodied Seamen engaged as fishermen in the colony & its dependencies	550	1361	535	666	446	370		not i	listed	
Catching & Curing Fish	785	1278	215	340	329	800	432	837	131	279
Clergymen or Ministers	10	1	12	3	16	3	21	6	23	9
Doctors & Lawyers	33	8	32	5	34	3	44	8	53	6
Employed in factories or workshops	not listed 121 3							339		
Engaged solely in Government service				not li	isted				225	43
Farmers	152	176	157	121	161	236	214	262	159	195
Fishermen and Other who Cultivate Land		not listed							22	15
Lumbering	28	61	0	102	0	0	3	0	0	0
Mechanics & Handicrafts	274	680	895	591	706	622	1215	1074	954	835
Merchants & Traders	236	164	216	58	147	33	218	46	106	96
Mining	not l	isted	0	3	not	listed	0	7	1	3
Miscellaneous	not l	not listed 1000 940 not listed 1138 948 not listed						listed		

Destant	1857		1869		1874		1884		1891	
Professions	East	West	East	West	East	West	East	West	East	West
Office or Shop-work								742	328	
Otherwise employed		not listed							1537	149-*
Teachers		not listed							100	35

<u>Notes</u>: * = The "otherwise employed" entry for St. John's West 1891 is partly illegible. In 1891 catching and curing fish was divided into men and women, which have been added together here. Doctors and lawyers were sometimes listed together, sometimes separately; these have been combined for all years. "Mechanics" and "mechanics and handicrafts" have also been combined. The Newfoundland Census for 1845 did not divide the city into districts.

Sources: Newfoundland Census, 1857, 1869, 1874, 1884, and 1891.

		Total		Irish Names		
Occupation	Years Names	Names	Total	Primarily Irish	Primarily English	% of Total
	1864-5	16	10	9	1	63
Bakers	1877	11	8	7	1	73
	1885-6	26	17	14	3	65
	1864-5	20	14	10	4	7(
Boarding Houses	1877	5	5	5	0	100
-	1885-6	11	5	4	1	45
	1864-5	8	7	7	0	88
Bonnet Makers	1877			not list	ed	
	1885-6			not list	ed	-
	1064.5	0.5	26	01	E	
Boot and	1864-5	37	26	21	5	70
Shoemakers	1877 1885-6	24 73	14 50	<u>11</u> 41	3	58
-				10000		
	1864-5	35	27	27	0	71
Butchers	1877	28	23	18	5	82
	1885-6	21	18	14	4	80
	1864-5	21	13	9	4	62
Coopers	1877	34	26	22	4	70
coopers	1885-6	130	104	84	20	80
	1864-5	3	2	1	1	67
Dressmakers	1877			not list	ed	
	1885-6	4	3	3	0	75
	1864-5	108	77	64	13	71
Grocers	1877	37	29	23	6	78
	1885-6	43	33	27	6	7
h.,.	10115					-
Liquors / Wines	1864-5	95	72	65	7	70
and Spirits	1877	82	67	59	8	82
	1885-6	32	27	23	4	84

Table B2 Irish Names in St. John's City Directory Business Listings, 1864-1886

Occupation		Total		Irish Names		
	Years	Namos	Total	Primarily Irish	Primarily English	% of Total
				STREET IS		
	1864-5	14	10	8	2	71
Milliners/Millinery	1877	7	4	4	0	57
	1885-6	6	3	1	2	50
			(STY)	1997 1 21 × 1	San of R	
	1864-5	42	29	27	2	69
Tailors	1877	25	17	16	1	68
	1885-6	38	29	25	4	76

<u>Sources</u>: Thomas Hutchinson, *Hutchinson's Newfoundland directory for 1864-65, containing alphabetical directories of each place in the colony, with a post office directory, and an appendix containing much useful information* (Hutchinson's Directory) (St. John's: T. McConnan, 1864),

http://www.ourroots.ca/e/toc.aspx?id=1276; John A. Rochfort, Business and General Directory of Newfoundland 1877 (Rochfort's Directory) (Printed by Lovell Print. and Pub. Co., for the compiler: Montreal, 1877), <<u>http://collections.mun.ca/u?/cns_tools,17422</u>; John Sharpe, Directory for the towns of St. John's, Harbor Grace, and Carbonear, Newfoundland, for 1885-86: containing much useful information relating to the colony (Sharpe's Directory) (St. John's: [s.n.], 1885).

		86			
		Tetal	Wom	en's Nar	nes
Occupation	Years Total Names		Total Women	Irish Names	Irish %
Bakers		·	none		
	1864-5	20	12	7	58
Boarding Houses	1877	5	3	3	100
	1885-6	11	6	0	0
	1064 5		-	-	0.0
	1864-5	8	8	7	88
Bonnet Makers	1877		not lis		
	1885-6		not lis	ted	-
Boot and Shoemakers			none		
Butchers			none		
Coopers			none		
	1864-5	3	3	1	33
Dressmakers	1877		not lis	ted	
	1885-6	4	4	3	75
	1064.5	100	-	-	0.0
~	1864-5	108	7	6	86
Grocers	1877	37	1	0	0
	1885-6	43	5	2	40
	1864-5	95	8	6	75
Liquors, Wines,	1877	82	12	12	100
Spirits	1885-6	32	6	5	83
	1864-5	14	10	6	60
Milliners/Millinery	1877	7	7	4	57
	1885-6	6	5	1	20
	1864-5	42		nona	
Tailors	1804-3			none	-
1 411015	1885-6	25	1	none 0	0
1	1003-0	38	1	U	

<u>Table B3</u> Women's Names in the St. John's	City Directory Business Listings, 1864-
01	

Sources: Hutchinson's Directory 1864-65; Rochfort's Directory 1877; Sharpe's Directory 1885-6.

<u>Table B4</u> Women with an Occupation in the Lists of Residents, St. John's City Directories, 1864-86

Occupation	Years	Total Women	Irish Names
D. I.	1870-1	1	1
Bakers	1885-6	1	1
			1
	1864-5	9	6
Boarding Houses	1870-1	10	8
	1885-6	9	4
in the second	10(4.5	7	7
Bonnet Makers	1864-5 1870-1	7	7
	18/0-1	3	L
Bookseller	1885-6	2	1
Cook, St. John's Hospital	1864-5	1	1
	1864-5	2	2
Dressmakers	1870-1	9	4
	1885-6	5	4
Dry Goods	1864-5	2	1
Eating House	1870-1	1	1
Fancy Goods	1885-6	1	1
Glass and Stoneware	1885-6	1	0
Glass and Stoneware	1005-0	1	0
Glassware	1864-5	2	2
Glassware and Crockery	1870-1	1	0
Groceries and Provisions	1870-1	11	9
<u> </u>			_
Groceries	1864-5	7	5
Groceries and Liquors	1864-5	2	1

Occupation	Years	Total Women	Irish Names
	1870-1	9	8
			e Marine and Salary and Salary
aanaa ahaa ahaa daa daalaa daalaa ahaa ahaa	1864-5	4	1
Grocers	1870-1	6	6
	1885-6	5	4
Gunsmith	1885-6	1	1
Housekeepers	1864-5	1	1
			A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A
anneth & See a talletter over a policie and a second second second to be	1864-5	1	0
Keeper, Colonial Building	1870-1	1	0
	1885-6	1	0
		A	
Keeper, [John Nugent's] Seaview Cottage	1870-1	1	0
			for dum of a second second second
Laundress	1870-1	1	1
		-27 	
	1864-5	5	5
Liquors	1870-1	1	1
	1885-6	6	4
an shi bi ta taon commune - a facolarizan se di sa tao sa Bara - e di sa ana sana			
Matron, Orphan Asylum School	1864-5	1	1
Milliner - Dressmaker	1870-1	1	1
	1864-5	13	8
Milliners	1870-1	3	3
	1885-6	8	5
Milliners and Bonnet Makers	1864-5	1	1
	-		
Millinery and Glassware	1885-6	1	0
Nurses	1864-5	3	3
Provisions	1885-6	1	1

Occupation	Years	Total Women	Irish Names	
	1005 (3.55	-	
Schoolmistress	1885-6	2	2	
Seamstresses	1070 1	2	1	
Seamstresses	1870-1	2	1	
an a	1870-1	3	3	
Shopkeepers	1885-6	2	2	
	1000 0	~		
Sorter at the Post Office	1864-5	1	0	
			24	
Sub matron, St. John's Hospital	1864-5	1	. 1	
		A. A.		
Superintendant of the Factory	1870-1	stir sangeral ni manatanan littar i na bandi 1	1	
n n 1 1 1 n nam Ball and a same than an the participant and a same of the same	1864-5	<u>5 × 14</u>	5	
Teachers	1870-1	14	4	
T cacher 5	1870-1	2	0	
	1005 0	~	~	
ne na se la lla esta sense esta de la construire en contre en contre de la construire de la construire de la c Internet de lla esta sense esta de la construire en contre en construire de la construire de la construire de la	1864-5	1	0	
Variety Store	1870-1	4	3	
	1885-6	1	0	
		24	20	
Wallpapers	1885-6	1	0	
	- 7 i.e.			
Washer Women	1864-5	2	0	
	1870-1	4	3	
	10(1 5	1	<u> </u>	
Wood Depot	1864-5	1	0	

Sources: Hutchinson's Directory 1864-65; Sharpe's Directory 1885-6; McAlpine's Maritime Provinces' Directory for 1870-71, containing directories of the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island (McAlpine's Directory) (Halifax: David McAlpine, 1871), <<u>http://collections.mun.ca/u?/cns_tools,16502</u>> (Extract: Newfoundland sections only).

<u>Table B5</u> Irish Names and Marital Status amongst Women with an Occupation in the Lists of Residents, St. John's City Directories, 1864-86

Years	Total Women with an Occupation	Total Irish Names	Irish names % of Total	Marital Status							
				Mrs. [married]		Widows		Miss [single]		No marital status indicated	
				Total	Irish names	Total	Irish names	Total	Irish names	Total	Irish names
1864-5	85	54	64	28	18	0	0	13	7	41	29
1870-1	79	56	71	23	18	0	0	13	7	43	31
1885-6	54	33	61	17	8	15	9	16	10	6	6

Sources: Hutchinson's Directory 1864-65; McAlpine's Directory, 1870-71; Sharpe's Directory 1885-6.

Appendix C

St. John's MHAs, 1840-90

Table C1 St. John's MHAs, 1840-90

	Catholic	A Providence of the second sec		an a	an an an an an
0	Name	Birthplace	District and Years	Occupation	BIS Member or Officer
1	Barron, Pierce M.	Ireland	West, 1859-61	Tavern Owner	M
2	Brennan, Peter	Ireland	West, 1866-73	Merchant; Bonesetter	М
3	Callanan, James J.	St. John's	West, 1882-89, 1897- 1900	Cooper; Grocer	0
4	Casey, John	St. John's	West, 1857-66	Farmer	0
5	Day, James	unknown	West, 1889-93	Master Mariner	
6	Dearin, John Joseph	St. John's	East, 1873-78, 1882-85, 1889-90	Druggist	М
7	Dwyer, T.S.	unknown	West, 1859-61	unknown	0
8	Fenelon, Maurice	Ireland	West, 1871-8	Teacher; Bookstore Owner	0
9	Fox, James P.	St. John's	East, 1890-94, 1897-99	Merchant	M
10	Fox, John	Harbour Grace, NL	West, 1855-57	Merchant	0
11	Geran (Gearin), Laurence J.	St. John's	West, 1889-93	Laundry Owner; Grocer	

	Catholic	1	and the same of the	213	and the second
	Name	Birthplace	District and Years	Occupation	BIS Member or Officer
12	Halleran (Hallaren), Jeremiah	Halifax, NS	East, 1889-93	Builder	М
13	Kavanagh, John	unknown	East, 1857-69	Merchant	0
14	Kent, John	Ireland	St. John's, 1832-42, 1848-49, 1852-55; East, 1855-69	Merchant	0
15	Kent, Robert J.	Ireland	East, 1873-86	Lawyer	0
16	Little, Philip Francis	Charlottetown, PEI	St. John's, 1850-55; West, 1855-8	Lawyer	0
17	McLoughlin (McLoughlan), James	Ireland	West, 1879-82	Merchant	M
18	Morris, Edward Patrick St. John's		West, 1885-1917	Lawyer	М
19	Morris, Patrick	Ireland	St. John's, 1836-40	Merchant	0
20	Murphy, Thomas J.	St. John's	East, 1886-94	Lawyer	M
21	Nugent, John Valentine	Ireland	St. John's, 1842-48	Teacher	0
22	O'Brien, Laurence	Ireland	St. John's, 1840-50	Merchant	0
23	O'Mara, Michael J.	St. John's	East, 1878-82, 1885-89	Lawyer	0
24	Renouf, Henry	St. John's	West, 1861-69	Teacher	M
25	Scott, Patrick J.	St. John's	West, 1873-89, 1894-7	Lawyer	0
26	Shea, Ambrose St. John's		West, 1855-59; East, 1885-87	Merchant	М

	Catholic				
1.100	Name	Birthplace	District and Years	Occupation	BIS Member or Officer
27	Talbot, Thomas	Ireland	West, 1861-70	Teacher; Journalist	M
28	Walsh, William P.	St. John's	West, 1869-73	Grocer	0
29	Winser, Peter	Devon, England	East, 1855-57	Planter	М
			a na na tina ta na		
_	Protestant	an management floren and an an an an a	ang menang menang menang kang menang kang kang kang kang kang kang kang		3
30	Carson, William	Scotland	St. John's, 1833-43	Physician	n/a
31	Parsons, Robert J., Sr.	Harbour Grace, NL	St. John's, 1843-55; East, 1855-78	Journalist	n/a
32	Parsons, Robert J., Jr.	St. John's (?)	East, 1878-85	Lawyer	n/a
33	Tessier, Lewis	England	West, 1870-82	Merchant	n/a
	en e	1 the set of	in the second	The second s	
1	Religion unknown	·		an an an tha an tha an	An tan ing sa
34	Jordan, J.A.	unknown	East, 1869-73	unknown	n/a
35	White, P.D.	unknown	West, 1882-5	unknown	n/a

<u>Abbreviations</u>: O = officer, M = member.

Notes: St. John's had 3 seats from 1832 until Responsible Government in 1855. Thereafter, the city was split into the districts of St. John's East and St. John's West, each with three seats. There are numerous discrepancies in the sources regarding dates for individuals, usually due to overlooked byelections; these have been remedied here. Individual election results are provided in Bertram G. Riggs, "Elections," *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL)*, vol. 1, 679-749.

Sources: BIS Minutes, 1840-85; Melvin Baker, The Government of St. John's Newfoundland (PhD thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980), Appendix 2, "St. John's District Members of the House of Assembly, 1832-1912;" Robert D. Pitt, "Fenelon, Maurice," Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB), vol. 12; Melvin Baker, "Patrick J. Scott," DCB, vol. 12; James K. Hiller, "Dearin, John Joseph," DCB, vol. 11; Leslie Harris, "Parsons, Robert John,"

DCB, vol. 11; Allison C. Bates, "Winser, Peter," ENL, vol. 5, 585; Robert H. Cuff, "Renouf, Henry," ENL, vol. 4, 578-9; Robert H. Cuff, "O'Mara, Michael J.," ENL, vol. 4, 170; Peter A.N. Gard and Carla S. Krakun, "Kavanagh, John," ENL, vol. 3, 154-5; Betram G. Riggs, "Fox, John," ENL, vol.2, 361; Robert H. Cuff, "Geran (alt. Gearin), Laurence J.," ENL, vol. 2, 515; Iona L. Bulgin, "Talbot, Thomas," ENL, vol.5, 337; Bertram G. Riggs, "Elections," ENL, vol. 1, 679-749; Robert H.E. Cuff, "Barron, Pierce (1830-1887)," Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography (DNLB) (Robert H. Cuff, ed.; St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications Ltd., 1990), 15; Melvin Baker, "Tessier, Lewis (1820-1884)," DNLB, 336; Melvin Baker, "Callanan, James J. (1842-1900)," DNLB, 45-6; Melvin Baker, "Halleran, Jeremiah (1843-1925)," DNLB, 139; Michael F. Harrington and Robert H.E. Cuff, "Kent, John (1805-1872)," DNLB, 186-7; Robert H.E. Cuff, "McLoughlan, James (1830?-1913)," DNLB, 212.

General Election Years	Party Alignment / Issue	Exceptions / Deviations from Pattern
1837	Liberal	none
1842	Liberal	none
1848	Liberal	none
1852	Liberal	none
1855	Liberal	none
1859	Liberal	none
1861	Liberal	none
1865	Coalition under Sir Frederick Carter, or Opposed	Kent and Casey sided with the Coalition; Parsons Sr., Kavanagh, Talbot and Renout were Opposed
1869	Anti-Confederation under Charles Fox Bennet	none
1873	Bennett Government	none
1874	Bennett Government	none
1878	Opposed to Sir William Whiteway	none
1882	Support for Whiteway	none
1885	Liberal faction, versus the 'no amalgamation with Catholics' Reform Party under Robert Thorburn	none
1889	Liberals under Whiteway	none

Table C2 Party Alignments of St. John's MHAs, 1840-90

Sources: Bertram G. Riggs, "Elections," Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, vol. 1, 679-749.

Appendix D

Catholic Wills, 1840-86

Table D1 Occupation of Catholics leaving Bequests to the Church, 1840-86

Occupation not given	72
Fisherman	15
Cooper	12
Shopkeeper	12
Farmer	6
Merchant	5
Priest	4
Dealer	3
Blacksmith	2
Carpenter	2
Dealer	2
Labourer	2
Mason	2
Planter	2
Tinman / Tin Plate Worker	2
Accountant	1
Baker	1
Barrister	1
Bookstore Owner	1
Carriage Maker	1
Crier of the Supreme Court	1
Judge of District Court	1
Justice of the Peace	1
Master Mariner	1
Nun	1
Pensioner of H.M. Customs Dept.	1
Publican	1
Saddler	1
Sealer	1
Tailor	1
Undertaker	1
Victualler	1
Yeoman	1

<u>Sources</u>: Supreme Court, Newfoundland Wills from LDS FHC Microfilm 1830-1962, also referred to as *Newfoundland Will Books (NWB)*; Newfoundland's Grand Banks Genealogy Site, <<u>http://ngb.chebucto.org/index.html</u>>.

#	Name	Widow	Probate Year	Occupation	Bequests to the Catholic Church in Ireland	
1	Curran, John		1871	Farmer	Clergy of new Ross, Co. Wexford, £5	
2	Hennessey, Catherine	x	1863	not given	Friar's Chapel, Callon, £50	
3	Kelly, Richard		1862	not given	Parish Priest of Templeoram, Co. Kilkenny £7 for repairs and £2 for Masses	
4	Morrissey, Michael		1847	Sealer	Irish-born, Dungarvon in Waterford. Dungarvon: Parish Priest £7, Presentation Convent £6, Monks £6, Friars £6, Poor House £6, and erection of a new chapel £5; Waterford: Ursuline and Presentation Convents £6 each; Rev. William Abraham, Bishop of the Chapel of Waterford £5	
5	McGrath, Thomas, Rev.		1877	Priest	All Hallows College £400 for a bursary for St. John's diocese; Mt. Mellory Abbey £400, same purpose, plus an additional £500 for Masses	
6	Power, Patrick		1851	Fisherman	Superior of the Order of St. Francis in Waterford £5 for Masses	
7	Power, Edmond		1881	Publican	Parish Priest of Dunhill £40	
8	Power, William		1881	not given	Irish-born, in Waterford; residing their at the time of death. Waterford £150 for Masses plus £50 for an altar plate for the Waterford Cathedral; £10 for a church in Waterford, plus £50 for a railing; Rev. Robert Power £100 for Masses; Superioress of the Sisters of Charity, Waterford, £50 for the orphans, £19 for their chapel, £10 for the poor; Christian Brothers £25; Superioress of the Little Sisters of the Poor £10	

Table D2 Bequests to the Catholic Church in Ireland, 1840-1886

#	Name	Widow	Probate	Occupation	Bequests to the Catholic Church in Ireland
9	Roche, Henry		1865	Mason	Parish Priest of Tentrin, Co. Wexford, £15
10	Wade, John		1840	not given	Friars of the Franciscan Convent of Carrick on Suir, Co. Waterford, £10

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Sources: Sources: Supreme Court, Newfoundland Wills from LDS FHC Microfilm 1830-1962, also referred to as Newfoundland Will Books (NWB); Newfoundland's Grand Banks Genealogy Site, <<u>http://ngb.chebucto.org/index.html</u>>.

Appendix E

Education

Table E1 Catholic Schools established in St. John's, 1840-86

Year Established	Name	Туре	Managed By	Pupils	Level	Location
1826	Orphan Asylum School	Public	Benevolent Irish Society, until taken over by the Christian Brothers in 1876; building sold in 1880	Boys	Elementary	Across from the Cathedral on Military road
1833	Presentation Convent School	Public	Presentation Convent	Girls	Elementary	Moved into a new convent in 1844 but this was destroyed by the fire of 1846; moved to a new convent and school next to the Cathedral in 1853
1843	Our Lady of Mercy	Private	Mercy Convent	Girls	Elementary	Military Road

Year Established	Name	Туре	Managed By	Pupils	Level	Location Riverhead	
1852	Riverhead School	Public	Lay Teachers	Boys and girls until 1856, thereafter boys only	Elementary		
1856	Presentation Convent School, Riverhead	Public	Presentation Convent	Girls	Elementary	Riverhead	
1857	St. Bonaventure's College	Private	Catholic Priests, until taken over by the Christian Brothers in 1889	Boys	Secondary	Next to the Cathedral on Military road	
1863	St. Bridget's Public		Mercy Convent; closed in 1881 due to railway construction	Girls	Elementary	Maggoty Cove in the east end	
1881	St. Patrick's Hall Public		Christian Brothers	Boys	Elementary	Across the street from St. Bonaventure's, next to the Cathedral on Military road	
1881	Angels1881GuardianSchool		Mercy Convent; closed in 1896	Boys and girls	Kindergarten / Elementary	Maggoty Cove in the east end	

Year Established	Name	Туре	Managed By	Pupils	Level	Location On the corner of George and Queen's Street, west end	
1882?	St. Peter's	Public	Mercy Convent	Boys and Girls	Elementary		
1883	Littledale	Private	Mercy Convent	Girls	Secondary and some elementary	Littledale was the former country estate of Philip Little, in St. John's West	
1884	St. Joseph's	Public	Mercy Convent; destroyed in the 1892 fire	Girls	Elementary	Maggoty Cove in the east end	

Sources: Reports of the Catholic School Inspector, Journal of the House of Assembly, 1859-86; Sister Mary Paula Penney, A Study of the Contributions of Three Religious Congregations (PhD Thesis, Boston College, 1980); Katherine E. Bellamy, Weavers of the Tapestry (St. John's, NL: Flanker Press, 2006); Frederick Rowe, The History of Education in Newfoundland (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1952); Brother Joseph B. Darcy, Noble to Our View: The Saga of St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's Newfoundland Canada, The First 150 Years 1856-2006 (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2007); James M. Fleming Sr., Chronological History of the Irish Catholic Church in Newfoundland and Labrador: the Important Church Events of the Parishes, Bishops, Priests and Religious on the Island (Newfoundland: Transcontinental, 2006); BIS Minutes, Reports of the School Committee, 1830-86.

Report Year	Orphan Asylum School – boys		Presentation Convent Schools - girls				Riverhead School		St. Bridget's,		
			Military Road		Riverhead		- post-1856 boys only		Maggoty Cove - girls		
	Enrolled	Average Attend.	Enrolled	Average Attend.	Enrolled	Average Attend.	Enrolled	Average Attend.	Enrolled	Average Attend.	
1848	600	450	400	n/a	opened 1856 200 140		opened 1852				
1850	820	440	600	500-600							
1855	343	212	740	500			123 boys, 123 girls	62 boys, 57 girls	opened 1863		
1860	442	132	700	500			183	75			
1865	292	137	600	400	not given	250	269	135	338	120	
1870	170	57	not given	350	not given	270	144	63	300	130	
1875	no return		340+*	300	300	200	100	70	not given	123	

Table E2 Enrollment and Average Attendance at Catholic Public Elementary Schools, St. John's, 1848-75

<u>Notes</u>: * = no enrollment figure is given for the Presentation Convent at Military Road in 1875, but it must have been at least 340 because that many girls were taking needlework. Returns for 1880 and 1885 are not given in the *Journal of the House of Assembly*. Explaining fluctuations in enrollment and attendance is hindered by the fact that the Newfoundland Census did not break down age groups by denomination. <u>Source</u>: Catholic Board of Education School Reports, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1848-75.

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Table E3 Catholic School Board Members	, 1844-84, with years also served	on the Orphan Asylum School Committee

#	Name	Years served on Catholic Board	Years served on the Orphan Asylum School Committee, with Officer position if any	Also BIS Officer	MHA or MLC positions held, if any
1	Casey, John*	1871-7, 1879-84	1856, 1858-9, 1862	x	MHA St. John's West, 1859-69
2	Conroy, James G.	1874-7, 1879-84	None		MHA Ferryland, 1874-82
3	Cormack, James	1867-9	None		MLC 1855-58, 1864-69
4	Dillon, John	1844-5, 1847-54	None	x	
5	Forristal, Rev. John	1847-9	1843, 1847-8		
6	Fox, James	1883	1850	x	MLC 1879-83
7	Howley, Richard	1844-5, 1847-54, 1857- 8, 1860-2, 1864-9, 1871- 7	1843, 1845, 1848, 1851- 2	x	
8	Kent, Robert	1867-9, 1871-7, 1879-80	1862	x	MLC 1860-80
9	Kent, John	1844-5, 1847-54, 1857- 8, 1860-2, 1864-9, 1871- 2	1845, 1847, 1849-2, 1856, 1858-9, 1861	x	MHA St. John's, 1832-42, 1848- 55; East, 1855-69
10	Kent, Robert James	1879-84	1859; Secretary 1860-2		MHA St. John's East, 1873-86
11	Kough, Patrick, MLA	1844-5, 1847-54, 1857- 8, 1860-2	1843, 1845, 1850-1, 1856, 1858-9, 1861-2	x	MLC 1860-3
12	Morris, Edward	1871-7, 1879-84	1845-7, 1850-1; Secretary 1843		MLC 1858-86
13	Morris, Patrick, MHA	1844-5, 1847-9	None	x	MHA St. John's, 1836-40

#	Name	Years served on Catholic Board	Years served on the Orphan Asylum School Committee, with Officer position if any	Also BIS Officer	MHA or MLC positions held, if any
14	O'Brien, Laurence, MHA	1844-5, 1847-54, 1857- 8, 1860-2, 1864-9	1843, 1845-6, 1849-50, 1856, 1858-9, 1861-2	x	MHA St. John's, 1840-50
15	O'Keefe, Rev. Edward	1871	Not named, but as a clergyman may have served		
16	Ryan, Rev. J.	1881-2	Not named, but as a clergyman may have served		
17	Shea, E.D., MEC	1871-7, 1879-84	1856		MHA Ferryland 1855-65, MLC 1865-9, 1873- 1913
18	St. John, Edward	1867-8	1856		
19	Waldron, Rev. Thomas	1844-5	1843		

<u>Notes</u>: * = see note about John Casey in Table 4: Orphan Asylum School Committee Members, 1843-85. MHA = Member of the House of Assembly, by election. MLC = Member of the Legislative Council, by appointment. The Newfoundland Almanac is available for 1844-84 with the following years missing: 1846, 1855-6, 1859, 1863, and 1870. The *BIS Minutes* contain lists of OAS committee officers for every year between 1843-85, but committee members are not named in the years 1853-5, 1857, 1860, 1863-75, 1882, and 1884-5. <u>Sources</u>: *Newfoundland Almanac*, 1844-84; *BIS Minutes*, 1843-85.

Appendix F

Catholic Societies

	Total	Government		C	collections
Year	Income	Grant	Events	Total	Average Donation
1874	217	50	none listed	167	2-5 shillings
1875	257	57	Concert, 46	154	2-5 shillings
1876	379	57	Concert, 51	271	2-5 shillings
1880	309	57	Annual Concert, 61; St. John's Minstrel Concert, 4	187	2-5 shillings
1882	not given	57	TN [?] Minstrel Troupe, 15	?	2-5 shillings

Table F1.1 Ladies' St. Vincent de Paul Society Income, 1875-1882, in pounds

	Total	Co	llections	Government	Sale of	
Year	Income	Amount	Average Donation	Grant	Manufactured Goods	Special Amounts Listed
1874	452	196	2-5 shillings	115	132	none listed
1875	422	157	2-5 shillings	115	131	Terra Nova Skating Club, 7; Collections at Table, 1
1876	488	198	2-5 shillings	115	103	Three bequests, total 260; Victoria Skating Rink, 5; St. John's United Assistants Association, 4; Collections at meetings, 1
1879	513	226	2-5 shillings	115	131	Healey's Dramatic Company, 6; TAB, 1; Two bequests, total 17
1882	767	179	2-5 shillings	115	301	Special Grant, 12; Ensign Club, 2; Minstrel Troupe, 15

Table F1.2 St. Vincent de Paul Society Income, 1875-1882, in pounds

<u>Common Notes</u>: For the Ladies, the name of the event in 1882 is mostly illegible. For the men, some administrative amounts are not shown here. <u>Common Sources</u>: Ladies' St. Vincent de Paul Society Annual Reports, printed in the Newfoundlander, 27 November 1874, 26 October 1875, 27 October 1876, 2 November 1880, and 24 October 1882.St. Vincent de Paul Society Annual Reports, printed in the Newfoundlander, 1 January 1875, 31 December 1875, 12 January 1877, 9 January 1880, and 15 January 1883.

#	Name	Years	Birthplace	Occupation	MHA
1	Morris, Patrick	1840	Ireland	Merchant	x
2	O'Brien, Laurence	1841	Ireland	Merchant	x
3	Tobin, James William	1842-3	Halifax, NS	Merchant	
	Morris, P., re- elected	1844-5			
4	Kent, John	1846	Ireland	Merchant	x
	O'Brien, L., re- elected	1847-8			
5	Nugent, John V.	1849- 50	Ireland	Teacher	x
	O'Brien, L., re- elected	1851-6			
6	Little, Philip F.	1857-8	Charlottetown, PEI	Lawyer	x
7	Morris, Edward	1859- 74	Ireland	Cashier [general manager], NL Savings Bank	
8	Fenelon, Maurice	1875-9	Ireland	Teacher; Bookstore owner	x
9	Little, Joseph J.	1880-3	Charlottetown, PEI	Lawyer	x
10	Kent, Robert J.	1884-5	Ireland	Lawyer	x

Table F2 BIS Presidents, 1840-85

Sources: this table is drawn from Appendix F, Table 4: BIS Officers, 1840-85, for which a complete list of sources is given.

Decade	# times they Proposed Members	# times Active in Discussion	# years as Members on OAS Committees	# times served on Other Committees	In charge of annual election of Officers	# Motions - proposing, seconding, etc.	# Administrative Duties performed
1840s	6	2	5	0	0	0	0
1850s	0	2	2	0	0	1	1
1860s	1	4	2	1	0	0	1
1870s	0	3	4	1	0	4	6
1880- 85	1	1	6	0	5	1	4

Table F3 Clerical Involvement in BIS Matters, 1840-85

<u>Notes</u>: This table counts occurrences of priest involvement in BIS matters. In 1858-9, 1861-2 and between 1876 and 1885 the Minutes state that the members of the Orphan Asylum School Committee included the officers of the Society, the Bishop, and all "Clergymen Members of the Society residing in St. John's." "Administrative Duties" includes such things as helping organize and run meetings, finding teachers for the school, and arranging the support of other Catholic societies for the O'Connell Centennial. <u>Sources</u>: *BIS Minutes*, 1840-85.

#	Name	Distinglass	Position	Occupation	MHA		Corr	elation	IS	
Ŧ		Birthplace	rostuon	Occupation	MHA	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS
1	Berney, Michael	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1867-70; Treasurer, 1873- 84	unknown		0				
2	Blundon, John Jr.	unknown	2nd Assistant VP, 1862-4	unknown						
3	Boggan, John Jr.	unknown	2nd Assistant VP, 1881-4; 1st Assistant VP, 1885	unknown						
4	Born, Henry V.	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1864-6; Secretary, 1867- 84; Vice President, 1885	unknown		М				-
5	Boyle, Francis	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1846	unknown						
6	Brazil, Patrick	unknown	Chairman OASC, 1847, 1849-52, 1854-5	unknown						
7	Brine, Maurice	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1863	unknown						
8	Burnham, Frederick	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1885	unknown						

Table F4 BIS Officers, 1840-86, with birthplace, occupation, and membership in other Catholic Societies

#	Name	Disting	Position	Occuration	MITTA		Corr	relation	IS	
Ħ		Birthplace		Occupation	MHA	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS
9	Callanan, James J.	St. John's	Chairman of RC, 1867-72; 1st Assistant VP, 1875-81	Cooper; Grocer	x				0	
10	Carter, John	unknown	Chairman of Charity, 1855-9	unknown						
11	Carty, Michael H.	Ireland	Secretary, 1885	Lawyer	x					
12	Casey, John	St. John's	Secretary OASC, 1844; Chairman of Charity, 1849- 50; Vice President, 1865- 72	Farmer	x	М				
13	Cullen, James	unknown	2nd Assistant VP, 1853	unknown						
14	Cusack, Nicolas	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1845	unknown						
15	Daly (Dealy), Michael	unknown	Chairman of Charity, 1841-5, 1849-50	unknown						
16	Dillon, J.	unknown	2nd Assistant VP, 1841-5	unknown						
17	Dillon, W.	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1840-1; Chairman OASC, 1842-5, 1848, 1856-9	unknown						

ц	Name	D'-the last	Desition	0	BATTA		Cori	relation	IS	
#	Name	Birthplace	Position	Occupation	MHA	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS
18	Doutney, William	unknown	Chairman OASC, 1862-73	unknown		0	0			
19	Doyle, Patrick	NL	Vice President, 1840	Merchant	x			M		
20	Duffy, Bernard	unknown	Chairman of RC, 1851-4	Bookstore Owner						
21	Dwyer, Thomas S.	unknown	Chairman OASC, 1853; Secretary 1856- 8; 2nd Assistant VP, 1859; 1st Assistant VP, 1860-74	unknown	x	0	0			
22	Fenelon, Maurice	Ireland	Vice-President, 1873-4; President, 1875- 9	Teacher; Bookstore Owner	x	0				
23	Fitzgibbon, Garret	unknown	2nd Assistant VP, 1875-80	unknown						
24	Fox, John	Harbour Grace, NL	1st Assistant VP, 1850; Vice President, 1851	Merchant	x					
25	Green, Randal	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1847-50	unknown		0				
26	Green[e?], Thomas J.	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1880-4; 2nd Assistant VP, 1885	unknown						

щ	Nama	Distingly	Desition	Occurretter	MILLA		Corr	elation	IS	
#	Name	Birthplace	Position	Occupation	MHA	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS
27	Healy, James	unknown	Secretary, 1859- 62	unknown						
28	Hogan, James	unknown	Chairman OASC, 1840	unknown						
29	Hogsett, George J.	St. John's	Chairman of RC, 1846-7; Secretary, 1848- 55	Lawyer	x					
30	Howlett, John	unknown	Chairman of RC, 1885	unknown		0				
31	Howley, Richard	Ireland	Chairman OASC, 1841; Vice President, 1846, 1850; Treasurer, 1847, 1865-8	Merchant						
32	Jordan, James	unknown	Chairman of RC, 1855-6; 2nd Assistant VP, 1857-8; 1st Assistant VP, 1859	unknown		M				
33	Kavanagh, John	unknown	Secretary, 1843- 7; Treasurer, 1849-61	Merchant	x			0		
34	Kent, John	Ireland	1st Assistant VP, 1840-3; President, 1846	Merchant	x					

#	Name	Distingly of	Position	Occurretion	MHA	Correlations					
Ŧ	Ivame	Birthplace	rosition	Occupation		SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS	
35	Kent, Robert	Ireland	Chairman of RC, 1848; 2nd Assistant VP, 1850-2, 1854-6; 1st Assistant VP, 1857-8; Vice President, 1859- 61	Merchant							
36	Kent, Robert J.	Ireland	Secretary OASC, 1860-2; Secretary, 1863- 6; 2nd Assistant VP, 1870-4; Vice President, 1875-83; President, 1884- 5	Lawyer	x	0					
37	Kickham, Charles	Ireland	Chairman of Charity, 1873; Chairman OASC, 1874-85	Builder		0	0	0			
38	Kitchen, John	unknown	2nd Assistant VP, 1860-1	unknown		0					
39	Kough, Patrick	Ireland	Treasurer, 1846, 1848; Vice President, 1847, 1849	Builder	X				0		

#	NT	Distingly	Desition	0	NATEA		Corr	elation	IS	
Ŧ	Name	Birthplace	Position	Occupation	MHA	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS
40	Kough, Thomas J.*	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1851-2	unknown						
41	Little, Joseph J.	Charlottetown, PEI	President, 1880- 3	Lawyer	x	0	0			
42	Little, John	Charlottetown, PEI	Vice President, 1862-4	Lawyer			0			
43	Little, Philip F.	Charlottetown, PEI	2nd Assistant VP, 1846-9; 1st Assistant VP, 1851; Vice President, 1852- 6; President, 1857-8	Lawyer	x					
44	Maccassey, Laurence	unknown	Chairman OASC, 1846	unknown			0			
45	Maher, Thomas	unknown	Chairman of Charity, 1846	unknown					0	
46	Mitchell, Thomas	St. John's	Secretary OASC, 1873-9	Baker						
47	Morris, Edward	Ireland	Secretary OASC, 1842-3; 1st Assistant VP, 1847-9, 1852-6; Vice President, 1857-8; President, 1859- 74	Cashier [general manager], NL Savings Bank		0				

#	Nome	Disthetes	Desition	Occurretion	MILLA		Corr	elation	S	
Ŧ	Name	Birthplace	Position	Occupation	MHA	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS
48	Morris, Patrick	Ireland	President, 1840, 1844-5	Merchant	x					
49	Mullowney, Patrick	unknown	Chairman of Charity, 1840	unknown				М		
50	Nowlan, Edward	unknown	Chairman of Charity, 1852-4	unknown						
51	Nugent, John Valentine	Ireland	2nd Assistant VP, 1840; Vice President, 1841- 5, 1848; President 1849- 50	Teacher	x					
52	O'Brien, Laurence	Ireland	President, 1841, 1847-8, 1851-6	Merchant	x					
53	O'Donnell, John	unknown	Chairman of Charity, 1860-3	unknown						
54	O'Dwyer, Richard	unknown	1st Assistant VP, 1846	Merchant						
55	O'Mara, John	Ireland	Chairman of RC, 1840-2; 1st Assistant VP, 1844-5	Merchant				М		
56	O'Mara, Michael J.	St. John's	2nd Assistant VP, 1865-9	Lawyer	x	0		0		
57	Power, John	unknown	Chairman OASC, 1860-1; Treasurer, 1862- 4	unknown					0	

щ	BT-	Distingly	Desition	Ormertien	MITTA		Cori	elation	IS	
#	Name	Birthplace	Position	Occupation	MHA	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS
58	Power, Patrick L.	unknown	Treasurer, 1840- 5	unknown						
59	Power, William	unknown	Secretary, 1840- 2; Chairman of RC, 1843-5; Secretary OASC, 1853	unknown						
60	Raftus, Richard	St. John's	Chairman of RC, 1873-5	Lawyer	x	0		0		
61	Rawlins, John	unknown	Chairman of RC, 1857-66	unknown			0			
62	Reardon, Denis V.	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1854-6	unknown						
63	Rice, Michael	unknown	Chairman of Charity, 1864-72	unknown						
64	Ryan, James D.	Ireland	Chairman of RC, 1876-84; Treasurer, 1885	Grocer	x				0	
65	Scott, Patrick J.	St. John's	1st Assistant VP, 1882-4	Lawyer	x	0				
66	Stafford, Terence	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1857-9	unknown						
67	Sullivan, D.	unknown	Chairman of Charity, 1851	unknown						
68	Tobin, James William	Halifax, NS	President, 1842- 3	Merchant						
69	Tobin, Michael	Ireland	Chairman of Charity, 1874-85	Merchant	x					

ш	N	Birthplace	Position	Occurretion	MILLA		Corr	relations		
#	Name			Occupation	MHA	SJCI	St.VdP	TAB	MS	NFS
70	Walsh, Thomas F.	unknown	Secretary OASC, 1871-2	unknown		0				
71	Walsh, William	unknown	Chairman of Charity, 1847-8	unknown				M		
72	Walsh, William P.	St. John's	Treasurer, 1869- 72; Vice President, 1884	Grocer	x	0				

<u>Notes</u>: * = in 1851 Thomas J. Kough was recored in the list of elected officers as "F. Kough." Some members served as MHAs either before or after the period 1840-86, but this has still been recorded here. In addition, Patrick Kough served as president of the Mechanics' Society before 1840, and that has been recorded here as well.

Common Abbreviations: M = member, O = officer, VP = Vice President, BIS = Benevolent Irish Society, SJCI = St, Joseph's Catholic Institute, St, VdP = St. Vincent de Paul Society, TAB = Total Abstinence and Benefit Society, Mechanics = Mechanics' Society, NFS = Newfoundland Fishermens' Society, Sources: BIS Minutes, 1840-85: Newfoundland Almanac, 1844; Melvin Baker, The Government of St. John's Newfoundland (PhD thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980), Appendix 2, "St. John's District Members of the House of Assembly, 1832-1912;" Robert D. Pitt, "Fenelon, Maurice," Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB), vol. 12; Melvin Baker, "Scott, Patrick J.," DCB, vol. 12; James K. Hiller, "Dearin, John Joseph," DCB, vol. 11; Leslie Harris, "Parsons, Robert John," DCB, vol. 11; Allison C. Bates, "Winser, Peter," Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL), vol. 5, 585; Robert H. Cuff, "Renouf, Henry," ENL, vol. 4, 578-9; Robert H. Cuff, "O'Mara, Michael J.," ENL, vol. 4, 170; Peter A.N. Gard and Carla S. Krakun, "Kavanagh, John," ENL, vol. 3, 154-5; Bertram G. Riggs, "Fox, John," ENL, vol. 2, 361; Robert H. Cuff, "Geran (alt. Gearin), Laurence," ENL, vol. 2, 515; Iona L. Bulgin, "Talbot, Thomas," ENL, vol. 5, 337; Bertram G. Riggs, "Elections," ENL, vol. 1, 679-749; Robert H.E. Cuff, "Barron, Pierce (1830-1887)," Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography (DNLB) (Robert H. Cuff, ed.; St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications Ltd., 1990), 15; Melvin Baker, "Tessier, Lewis (1820-1884)," DNLB, 336; Robert H.E. Cuff, "Carty, Michael H.," DNLB, 53-4; Melvin Baker, "Doyle, Patrick," DNLB, 88; Robert H.E. Cuff, "Hogsett, George James," DNLB, 159-60; Melvin Baker, "Kickham, Charles," DNLB, 189; Robert H.E. Cuff, "Kough, Patrick," DNLB, 192; Carla S. Krakun, "Morris, Edward," ENL, vol. 3, 622; for Richard Howley, see Barbara A. Crosbie, "Howley, Michael Francis," DCB, vol. 14; B. Wade Colbourne, "Little, John," ENL, vol. 3, 344; for Richard O'Dwyer, see Allison C. Bates, "O'Dwyer, Richard Horton," ENL, vol. 4, 156; Allison C. Bates, "O'Mara, John." ENL, vol. 4, 170; Allison C. Bates, "Raftus, Richard," ENL, vol. 4, 507; John Mannion, "Morris, Patrick," DCB, vol. 7; David J. Davis, "O'Brien, Laurence," DCB, vol. 9; for Bernard Duffy, see an ad for his shop, the Catholic Book Store, Newfoundlander, 4 March 1852; the appendices "List of Members" and "List of Officers, 1860-1908," St. John's Total Abstinence and Benefit Society, Jubilee Volume, 1858-1908 ([St. John's]: Chronicle Print, [1908]); the first meeting of the Newfoundland Fishermens' Society with members list, Newfoundlander, 8 February 1858; Minutes of St. Joseph's Catholic Institute, 2 March 1874.

				Income		Ex	penses	
Year	Total Income	Members Fees	OAS Fees	OAS Collection	Charity Ball - profit donated to charity	Total Expenses	Charity	OAS
1840							280	255
1841								
1842								
1843				76	17		115	197
1844								
1845				60	60			
1846				70				
1847	740			70		547	75	
1848						847		570
1849				75		502	115	
1850				70			40	
1851				52			110	265
1852				held, no amount listed	held, no amount listed	505	90	382
1853				held, no amount listed		423	65	380
1854							120	292
1855				held, no amount listed			175	280
1856				held, no amount listed			170	334
1857						620		
1858				55	71		50	437

Table F5 BIS Finances, 1840-85

				Income		Ex	penses	
Year	Total Income	Members Fees	OAS Fees	OAS Collection	Charity Ball - profit donated to charity	Total Expenses	Charity	OAS
1859				no collection held	a small amount, not listed	623	50	
1860			fees begin	43		582		
1861			17	no collection held	10	872		
1862	680		16			578		
1863	797	155	6			816	150	
1864	619	126	4			600	150	
1865	638		2		20	466	50	
1866	613					411	100	
1867	725					801	124	
1868	621					483	103	
1869	675					515	100	
1870	685					635	140	
1871	626					538	60	
1872	600					515	50	
1873	613					573	50	
1874	565					547		
1875								
1876	650					810	60	
1877	602					707	63	
1878	580					556		
1879	581					588		
1880	591					742		

				Income		Expenses				
Year	Total Income	Members Fees	OAS Fees	OAS Collection	Charity Ball - profit donated to charity	Total Expenses	Charity	OAS		
1881	1532					1610				
1882	1851					2025				
1883	561					1105				
1884	726					1049				
1885										

Notes: Only clearly-stated amounts from the annual meetings, held on or about 17 February of each year, are recorded here. Sources: BIS Minutes, 1840-85.

Appendix G

Newfoundland Natives' Society

Table G1 Natives' Society Officers, 1840-63

#	Name	Position	Religion	Occupation	Served as MHA	BIS Member, if Catholic
1	Barnes, John B.	Treasurer 1849-50	unknown	unknown		
2	Barnes, Richard [Jr.]	Treasurer 1840-42; President 1843-5	Congregationalist	Businessman (family shipping / carpentry firm)	x	
3	Barron, John	2nd VP 1849-52	Catholic	unknown		Member, joined 1851
4	Brooking, George T.	Treasurer 1852-3	Anglican	Merchant		and an and a second a second se
5	Carter, Frederick B.T.	2nd VP 1857-63	Anglican	Lawyer	x	
6	Carter, P.H.	Secretary 1846-8	unknown	unknown		
7	Carter, Lt. Robert, RN (retired)	1st VP 1840-1; President 1842	Anglican	Naval Officer (retired); Magistrate; Merchant (family firm)	x	

#	Name	Position	Religion	Occupation	Served as MHA	BIS Member, if Catholic
8	Clift, James S Old Resident	Secretary 1842-44; 2nd VP 1848; 1st VP 1849-51; President 1852-3; Treasurer 1857-63	Anglican	Merchant		
9	Clift, Theodore	Assistant Secretary 1854	unknown	unknown		
10	Dearin, Dr. John Joseph	Chairman of RC 1857-63	Catholic	Druggist	x	Member, joined 1875
11	Duggan, Phillip	Chairman of Charity 1840-52; 2nd VP 1853; Treasurer 1854; President 1857-61	Catholic	unknown		Member, remained a member throughout the years of NNS activity
12	Dunscomb, G.H.	2nd VP 1843-4, 1846-47; 1st VP 1845	Anglican	unknown		1
13	Fox, John	2nd VP 1854	Catholic	Merchant	x	Officer, joined 1849
14	Freeman, William	Chairman of Charity 1853-4, 1857-62	unknown	unknown		
15	Gill, Jr., Nicholas	Assistant Secretary 1846-8; Secretary 1849-50	Anglican	Merchant		
16	Green, Randal	Assistant Secretary 1852-3, 1857-63	Catholic	unknown		Officer, joined 1846

#	Name	Position	Religion	Occupation	Served as MHA	BIS Member, if Catholic
17	Hogan, James	2nd VP 1840-1	Catholic	unknown		Officer, resigned his officer position due to BIS refusal to let the NNS use its hall, 1840
18	Hoyles, Hugh W.	1st VP 1846-8; President 1849-51, 1854, 1862-3	Anglican	Lawyer	x	640
19	Hutchings, Monier	2nd VP 1845	unknown	unknown		
20	Kielley, Dr. Edward	President 1840-1; Vice President 1842	Catholic	Surgeon		Member, left the BIS in 1833 due to its politicization
21	Kough [Keough], Thomas J.	Assistant Secretary 1851; Chairman of RC 1852-3; Secretary 1854	Catholic	unknown		Officer, joined 1849
22	Lilly, William	Assistant Secretary 1842-3; Secretary 1845	unknown	unknown		ar N
23	McCalman, A.H.	Assistant Secretary 1845	unknown	unknown		fler Surren al a the second and a second and

#	Name	Position	Religion	Occupation	Served as MHA	BIS Member, if Catholic
24	Morry, G.	Assistant Secretary 1844	unknown	unknown		and the second
25	Morry, T.G.	Secretary 1841; Treasurer 1843-8, 1851; 1st VP 1852- 4, 1857-63	unknown	unknown		
26	Murch, H.	2nd VP 1842; 1st VP 1843-4	unknown	unknown		
27	Pitts, William	Assistant Secretary 1849-50; Secretary 1851-3, 1857-63	Wesleyan	Merchant		
28	Rogerson, James Johnstone	Chairman of RC 1845	Wesleyan	Merchant	x	
29	Ryan, John [Jr.]	Secretary 1840; Chairman of RC 1842	Catholic	Merchant		No
30	Shea, Ambrose	President 1846-8	Catholic	Merchant	x	Member, joined 1845
31	Thomas, Henry B. [H.C.B.]	Chairman of RC 1846-51	unknown	unknown		
32	Warren, John Henry - Old Resident	Chairman of RC 1843-4	non-Catholic	Merchant	x	
33	Winter, Dr. John - Old Resident	Chairman of RC 1854	Anglican	Physician	x	

<u>Abbreviations</u>: VP = Vice President, RC = Review and Correspondence.

<u>Old Residents</u>: James Shannon Clift was born in England c.1814 and was a merchant in St. John's. John Henry Warren was born in Devon c.1812 and was in business in St. John's in the 1830s as a merchant. John Winter was born in England in 1806 and came to St. John's as a boy, taking up a medical practice in Greenspond in the 1830s.

Notes: The officers for 1855-56 could not be located in the available sources. "Charity" is sometimes listed as "Relief." Many of the secondary sources contain errors concerning the Natives' Society, including such things as date of founding and the first president.

Sources: Newfoundland Almanac, 1841, 1844-5, 1847-54, 1857-68, 1871-86; Geoff Budden, The Role of the Newfoundland Natives' Society in the Political Crisis of 1840-2 (Honours Dissertation, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1984), 20-21; Patriot and Terra Nova Herald, 23 May 1841; Times and General Commercial Gazette, 22 June 1842, 2 September 1846; Newfoundlander, 22 June 1843; Melvin Baker, The Government of St. John's Newfoundland (PhD Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1980), Appendix 2, "St. John's District Members of the House of Assembly, 1832-1912;" BIS Minutes, 8 August 1840 has a letter from NNS Secretary John Ryan signed with "Jr." on his name; Pamela Bruce, "Barnes, Richard," Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB), vol. 7; for George T. Brooking see the entry for his father, Keith Matthews, "Brooking, Thomas Holdsworth," DCB, vol. 9; J.K. Hiller, "Carter, Sir Frederic Bowker Terrington," DCB, vol. 12; J.K. Hiller, "Carter, Robert," DCB, vol. 10; J.K. Hiller, "Dearin, John Joseph," DCB, vol. 11; Bertram G. Riggs, "Gill, Nicholas," Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL), vol. 2, 524; Frederick Jones, "Hoyles, Sir Hugh William," DCB, vol. 11; Patrick O'Flaherty, "Kielley (Kielly), Edward," DCB, vol. 8; J.K. Hiller, "Shea, Sir Ambrose," DCB, vol. 13; Melvin Baker, "Warren, John Henry," DCB, vol. 11; Ruth Konrad, "Winter, John," ENL, vol. 5, 591-2; David G. Pitt, "Pitts, William," ENL, vol. 4, 317; Kathleen M. Winter, "Johnstone, James Johnstone," ENL, vol. 4, 620-1; Robert H.E. Cuff, "Clift, James Shannon (1814?-1877)" Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography (DNLB) (Robert H. Cuff, ed.; St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications Ltd., 1990), 59.

Appendix H

Irish Nationalism

Irish Natio	nalism	Irish Relie	f	Other Collec	tions
Cause / Event	Amount	Cause / Event	Amount	Cause / Event	Amount
Repeal, 1843-5	£950	Famine ships in St. John's, 1846-7, 1850	£677*	O'Connell 'tribute,' 1843*	£200
O'Connell Tribute, 1845	£135	Famine donations, 1847	£850	Quebec Fire, 1845	£500
Mitchel Fund, 1848	£150	Suffering in Donegal, 1858	£30	Father Daniel Hearne's collection for the Catholic University, Dublin, 1851	£485
		Irish Relief, 1880	£1800	O'Connell Centenary: collection for the St. John's festivities, 1875	£104
		BALL Y		Poor relief in St. John's, 1880	£300
Total	£1235	Total	£3357	Total	£1589

Table H1 Money given to Irish and other Causes, 1840-86

Notes: * = the amount for Famine ships includes £490 from the Government. The O'Connell 'tribute' was a donation of thanks for O'Connell's presentation of the anti-Amalgamation petition, drawn up by Newfoundlanders opposed to the plan, to the British House of Commons. Several amounts are totals for a given cause or event, and may include donations from both Catholics and Protestants. Sources: CO 194/125, 386-7; CO 194/127, 122-3, 147; *Patriot and Terra Nova Herald*, 8 February 1843, 28 and 30 June 1843; *Public Ledger*, 12 July 1842, 30 June 1843; *Newfoundland Indicator*, 27 April 1844, 5 July 1845; *Newfoundlander*, 4 July 1844, 27 April 1846, 4 March 1847, 20 and 27 May 1847, 24 February 1848, 6 July 1848, 23 October 1851, 6 November 1851, 30 January 1880, 13 and 24 February 1880, 2 March 1880, 3 August 1875, 9 April 1880; *Times and General Commercial Gazette*, 6 and 10 March 1847, 1 and 12 July 1848; Patrick O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland to 1843* (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 1999), 195-6, 198-9; *Dublin Freeman* quoted in *Patriot*, 28 June 1843; *Morning Post*, 2 March 1847; *Morning Herald*, 18 and 19 February, 1880; *BIS Minutes*, 7 June 1846, 1 August 1850, 14 March 1858, 17 February 1874, 25 July 1875, 17 February 1880.

