Irish Identity in 1840s Halifax

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Abstract

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The nineteenth century witnessed global migration of the Irish. The Irish settled in many places and one of the many destinations was Atlantic Canada. They played a pivotal role in informing the region's economic, social, and cultural development. Here they established an identity. This thesis offers insight into Irish migration to Atlantic Canada by focusing on religious identity among settlers in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and assesses the extent to which religious antagonism developed as a consequence of their desire to preserve their identity. It focuses on the decade starting in 1840 and is informed by a close analysis of Nova Scotian newspapers. This thesis demonstrates that this was a period of increasing religious and political hostility in Halifax, and that Irish migrants were effective in preserving their religious identity, but with this, religious antagonism could sometimes occur.

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INTRODUCTION

The existence of an Irish Diaspora is a striking result of one of the most well-known examples of global migration since 1700. According to Kevin Kenny, a historian of Irish Diaspora Studies and empire, between nine and ten million people left Ireland. [1] One of the many destinations of the migrants was Atlantic Canada and over the course of the nineteenth century, this region's population expanded greatly due to the high volume of immigrants from Ireland and their descendants. They played a pivotal role in informing the region's emerging identity and its economic, social and cultural development.[2] Establishing an identity in this region, however, was not an easy matter. An important part of this identity was religion and while religion could bring comfort and consistency to the lives of the settlers and help them to adapt to their new surroundings, it could also cause tension and hostility with other groups.[3] In preserving their identities, immigrants from Ireland formed their own communities throughout the Atlantic region, and one place this occurred was Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The primary purpose of this thesis is to explore and examine Irish immigration and identity among settlers in Halifax and assess the extent to which religious antagonism developed as a consequence of their desire to preserve and participate in the construction of an identity in that region. The main question it considers is to what extent religious

[1] Kenny Kevin. *Diaspora: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 28.
[2] Patrick Mannion, *A Land of Dreams: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Irish in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Maine 1880-1923* (Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 18.
[3] Donald M. MacRaild, "'Wherever Orange Is Worn': Orangeism and Irish Migration in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries" *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 28:2 (2002): 100-102.

identity among the Irish settlers in Halifax was preserved and how far this provoked religious antagonism in the 1840s.

Halifax is located on the Eastern seaboard of North America and played a major role in the North Atlantic trading world and the British military.[4] It was incorporated as a city in 1841 and as Susan Buggey, a historian of landscape and culture argues, at this time, it was a 'modest colonial town with a population of about 15,000'.[5] The earliest settlers in this region were the Mi'kmaq people and this area later received settlers from the Rhine, Switzerland, New England and Britain.[6] Founders of the city of Halifax were initially attracted to its natural harbour and its sea port played a major role in the British military as it offered defence and shelter. The location of Halifax also played a role in commercial shipping. [7] As the middle of the nineteenth century approached, Halifax experienced an era of prosperity as its population and wealth grew.[8] Its economic growth was centred on international shipping, trade and privateering. [9]

An Irish presence in Halifax has been evident since the founding of the city in 1749 by Edward Cornwallis who brought 2,547 settlers from Britain. [10] Terrence Punch, a genealogist and historian of the Irish in Halifax, argued that amongst these first settlers there were 66 Irish families and their servants, amounting to around two hundred in total.

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[4] The Canadian Encyclopedia, "Halifax". Retrieved from: https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/halifax (Accessed 27/11/2018).
[5] Susan Buggey, "Building Halifax 1841-1871" *Acadiensis, 10*:1 (1980): 90.
[6] Terrence Punch, "'Gentle as the Snow on a Rooftop': The Irish in Nova Scotia to 1830", in *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada,* ed., Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, (Toronto: Celtic Arts *of Canada, 1988),* 218.
[7] Peter Cumming, 'Halifax and the Maritimes Transportation System' in *The Maritimes: Tradition, Challenge & Change, ed.,* George Peabody, Carolyn MacGregor and Richard Thorn, (Halifax: Maritext Limited, 1987), 343.
[8] The Canadian Encyclopedia, "Halifax".
[9] Ibid.
[10] Len Canfield, Bryan Elson and Leo Deveau, "Early Settlements and Settler Experiences in Nova Scotia 1605-1763", *Halifax Military Heritage Preservation Society*, 6. (2017): 8.

[11] Britain viewed Halifax as a strategic foundation to advance its imperial dominance and aimed to populate the area with Protestant settlers to limit the influence of Catholic Acadians and the French in Nova Scotia. [12] This did not mean, however, that all early settlers in Halifax were Protestant; in fact by 1760 there were around one hundred English-speaking Catholics, a large number of whom were Irish Catholics living in Halifax.[13] By the 1840s, the Catholic population of Halifax had reached around 7,000, with the Irish again representing a large proportion of this number.[14] Also by 1760, the Irish presence in Halifax was notable with many concentrated in an area informally known as Irishtown, located in the south of the town proper. As time progressed, the Irish gradually emerged as a large minority group within the population of Halifax. [15] In fact, by 1871, in the first federal census, it was noted that the Irish accounted to 38.9% of the Nova Scotian population and showed that the majority resided in Halifax.[16]

On the 13th of November 2012, the Charitable Irish Society, an organisation in Halifax, celebrated this Irish presence. This society invited members to witness the unveiling of a sign formally naming part of downtown Halifax as Irishtown. [17] This referred to the area between Lower Water Street and Barrington Street and was

[11] Punch, "'Gentle as the Snow on a Rooftop': The Irish in Nova Scotia to 1830", 218.
[12] Jerry Bannister, "'Atlantic Canada in an Atlantic World?' Northeastern North America in the Long 18th Century" *Acadiensis*, 43:2. (2014): 170.
[13] Mary Liguori, "'Haliburton and the Uniackes': Protestant Champions of Catholic Liberty. A study in Catholic Emancipation in Nova Scotia" *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association*, 20 (1953): 41.
[14] Terrence Murphy, "'Religion Walked Forth In All Her Majesty': The Opening of Holy Cross Cemetery and The Transformation of Halifax Catholicism", *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society,* 18. (2015): 77.
[15] Punch, "Gentle as the Snow on a Rooftop", 219.
[16] Judith Fingard, Janet Guildford and David Sutherland, *Halifax: The First 250 Years* (Halifax: Formac Publishing Company Limited, 1999), 68.
[17] Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, "Historical Irishtown Signage Unveiled" (November 22, 2012). Retrieved from: http://www.charitableirishsocietyofhalifax.ca/historic-irishtown-signage-unveiled/ (Accessed: 11/03/2018).

established to honour the contribution of Irish immigrants to Halifax and their role in forming the foundations of the city. [18] One member of the society said that the naming of Irishtown allowed people to remember the hardship and difficulty that the Irish had overcome to make a substantial contribution to Halifax.[19] New immigrants to Halifax faced many challenges upon their arrival, from adjusting to their new settlement area to establishing new institutions. Linked with this, was the desire of Irish immigrants to maintain their identity overseas by influencing the socio-economic development of the new communities. Their efforts to do so, could provoke religious antagonism and this was evident in Halifax.

The 1840s has been selected as a central focus of the thesis as this was an extremely significant decade for the Irish in Halifax. This decade witnessed the arrival of 1,200 famine migrants in 1847, the expansion of the Catholic religion in Nova Scotia, an increase in support for Repeal, and was a period of increased religious and political hostility and the Irish were often closely related to this hostility.[20] By the 1840s, Catholics in Halifax also experienced more religious freedoms and liberty than the earlier settlers to the colony and they began to benefit from some of these developments. The *Nova Scotian,* a newspaper, summed up this idea in several articles when it stated in 1840 that 'in the early history of this country, many of the first settlers of the wilderness were shut out from the benefits of society and the public privileges of religion'.[21] It also claimed in

[18] Halifax Metro, "New Irishtown District unveiled in downtown Halifax" (November 2012). Retrieved from: http://www.metronews.ca/news/halifax/2012/11/13/new-irishtown-district-unveiled-in-downtown-halifax.html (Accessed 11/03/2018).
[19] Ibid.
[20] Margaret M. Mulrooney, *Fleeing the Famine*: *North America and Irish Refugees, 1845-1851* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 62.
[21] The *Nova Scotian*, 30 January 1840.

1843 that Nova Scotia was 'new and flourishing' and 'if some of its original settlers had to undergo hardships of a discouraging character, their posterity, are now enjoying blessings which have seldom fallen more profusely in any other portion of the globe'.[22] This makes the 1840s an interesting period of focus, with more religious freedom in Halifax and because the Irish were growing in number.

By the 1840s, some of the more restrictive laws limiting Catholics in preserving their identity had been removed. In the earlier years of colonisation, penal restrictions were imposed upon Roman Catholics in an attempt to suppress 'popery'.[23] Laws were introduced to prevent the practice of Catholic priests, limit Catholic education, restrict their right to hold land, and to deny Catholics of the right to vote. [24] Much of the success of the removal of these penal restrictions could be attributed to the increasing Irish Catholic population that petitioned for repeal in an attempt to preserve their religious rights and identity. [25] This makes the 1840s an important period as there was more religious freedom, but with this, it became a period of increased religious and political hostility.

A challenge, presented in researching the Irish and their religious identity in Halifax, however, is the lack of secondary sources that directly address the main question this thesis aims to analyse. More generally, Patrick Mannion, a historian of the Irish diaspora, argues that the historiography of the Irish in Halifax is sparse. He adds that only

[22] *The Nova Scotian*, 23 September 1843.
[23] NS Legislature, Vol.1 (1758) p.2 c.11. Retrieved from: https://nslegislature.ca/sites/default/files/legc/scanned/at_large/volume1/1758.pdf (Accessed: 20/03/2018).
[24] Ibid. A. J. B. Johnston, '"The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia': An Inquiry into Mid-Nineteenth-Century Anti-Catholicism" (M.A thesis, Dalhousie University, 1977), 6.
[25] Terrence Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism 1781-1830", *Acadiensis* 13:2, (1984): 31.

a few articles discuss the Irish in nineteenth and twentieth century Halifax and that no substantial and in-depth studies of the Irish have emerged, with the majority of the literature being dominated by historian Terrence Punch.[26] While Mannion aimed to address the lack of scholarly attention of the Irish in Halifax in his comparative study of the Irish diaspora, a lack of scholarship still exists on the Irish in Halifax and more specifically in relation to their religion and religious antagonism. This thesis therefore aims to analyse an area which has been largely understudied.

As previously stated, Terrence Punch made considerable contributions to the study of Irish settlers in Nova Scotia and is greatly valued in the field because his work included a genealogical approach. In his work 'The Irish in Halifax, 1836-1871: A study in Ethnic Assimilation' and 'Gentle as the Snow on a Rooftop: The Irish in Nova Scotia to 1830', Punch aimed to prove that Irish settlers were successful in attaining acceptance into mainstream Nova Scotia society by assessing the extent to which Irish migrants were able to form a sense of belonging and influence the areas they settled. [27] In his work Punch also provided population statistics and data on the religious fabric of Halifax, information that is crucial to understanding the Irish in Halifax. [28]

During the same time period when scholars such as Punch were expanding knowledge of the Irish in Halifax, transformations were also occurring within the study of Atlantic Canadian history. A number of books attempting to focus exclusively on Atlantic Canada's religious history were published. These included J.M. Bumsted's *Henry Alline*,

[26] Patrick Mannion, "The Irish Diaspora in Comparative Perspective: St. John's, Newfoundland, Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Portland, Maine, 1880-1923" (PHD Thesis, University of Toronto, 2013), 23.
[27] Punch, "Gentle as the Snow on a Rooftop".
[28] Terrence Punch, "'The Irish in Halifax', 1836-1871: A Study in Ethnic Assimilation" (M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1976).

Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk's *A People Highly Favoured of God: The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution* and Judith Fingard's, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia*. [29] Prior to this, academic work on the Atlantic Canadian region tended to focus on the economic, political and military history with religion being rarely mentioned.[30] Since the 1970s, however, there has been an increase in scholarly attention on religion in Atlantic Canada, and the Irish have featured prominently. This has resulted in studies focusing on the rise of Catholicism, disagreements and conflict between Catholics and Protestants as well as other settler populations, the influence of religion in colonial settlements and the history of opposing groups of Protestant churches.[31]

One influential historian in the field of religion and diaspora in Atlantic Canada is Terrence Murphy. In the article "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism" Murphy argues that the period between 1781 and 1830 was an era of important change for Catholics living in the Maritimes. He considers topics of unrest, conflict and uncertainty, which were all at the centre of Catholicism, and provides a crucial overview of a growing Catholic community that Irish emigrants became a part of and one that Irish settlers used to maintain their identity.[32] Murphy, as co-editor of *Religion and Identity: The experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*, advances diaspora research in Atlantic Canada and argues that Irish and Scottish immigrants' religious faith intensified in the course of migration and immigrants considered the church as a way to

[29] Terrence Murphy, "'Reviews' The Religious History of Atlantic Canada: The State of the Art, *Acadiensis* 15:1 (1985): 152.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid, 153.
[32] Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism 1781-1830".

define and preserve their identity. [33] This is an important argument with which this thesis will engage.

Murphy's "Religion, Conflict and Consensus in the English-Speaking Colonies of British North America" also discusses religion and settler culture and he claims that in the formative years of British North America (1750-1815) a sense of cooperation existed but in later years of development (1815-1867) tensions started to expand.[34] He explores religion as a component of identity and as a way for immigrants to create stable societies but highlighted how differences in religion and competing demands for influence and loyalty later led to conflict, an argument closely related to themes of this thesis.[35]

Whilst these studies emerged in relation to the Irish and religion in Atlantic Canada, even fewer studies emerged that focused specifically on religious antagonism specifically in Halifax. Although religious antagonism in relation to Irish migrants in the Atlantic Canada region has been studied, historians such as Scott W. See, focus largely on religious tensions in New Brunswick and David Dawe considers clashes between English Protestants and Irish Roman Catholics in Newfoundland. [36] Nova Scotia, when compared to its neighbouring colonies, lacks research in relation to the Irish and religious tensions. While it may be the case that these other provinces experienced a greater degree of religious antagonism than Nova Scotia, it is also possible that there has just been more research conducted in relation to the Irish in these provinces.

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[33] Terrence Murphy and Cyril Bryne, *Religion and Identity: The experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada'* (Canada: Jesperson Printing Limited, 1987), 1.
[34] Terrence Murphy, "Religion, Conflict and Consensus in the English- Speaking Colonies of British North America" *Catholic University of America Press* 14:4 (Fall 1996): 25-38.
[35] Ibid.
[36] David Dawe, *Riots and Religion in Newfoundland: The Clash between Protestants and Catholics in the Early Settlement of Newfoundland* (Newfoundland: Flanker Press, 2011).

One scholar, however, who considers religious tensions in Nova Scotia during the 1840s and whose research is crucial to this thesis, is Canadian historian, A. J. B. Johnston. While his work does not solely focus on the Irish or Halifax, his articles "'Popery and Progress': Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia" and "The 'Protestant Spirit of Colonial Nova Scotia: An Inquiry into Mid-Nineteenth-Century Anti-Catholicism" offer insight into religious tensions and anti-Catholic rhetoric in Nova Scotia.[37] He analyses Nova Scotian newspapers and argues that the religious animosity that occurred in Nova Scotia between Catholics and Protestants was kept to a 'war of words'.[38] This argument will be considered in the chapters that follow.

Whilst the historiography of religion and Atlantic Canada developed during the second half of the twentieth century and even more so in recent decades, changes were also present within Irish diaspora studies. The 1980s and 1990s, witnessed a substantial increase in emigration studies as a growing body of scholarly work that discussed Irish emigration emerged. [39] This saw the widening of the field as the concept of diaspora developed within emigration studies. Developing this concept were three pioneering historians of diaspora, Donald Akenson, David Fitzpatrick and Kerby Miller. These early historians discussed Irish migration and the formation of Irish identities in the various locations where the Irish settled.

Miller's *Emigrants and Exiles* advances the controversial thesis that the Irish, especially Irish Catholics, often considered their emigration as involuntary exile and that

[37] A. J. B. Johnston "'Popery and Progress': Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Nova Scotia" *Dalhousie Review,* 64:1 (1984). Johnston, "'The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia'.
[38] Ibid, 156.
[39] Andy Bielenberg, *The Irish Diaspora* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 5.

the Irish Catholic religion and Gaelic culture hindered Irish emigrants' ability to adapt and thrive in their new lives abroad.[40] Akenson criticises this thesis in *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer*. He argues that the Irish were not hampered by their religion or Gaelic culture and that viewing them in this way undermined their ability to adapt and advance in their new countries. He views Irish emigrants as ambitious people. [41] An argument which this thesis will aim to advance. However some historians of diaspora, such as Willeen Keough, who focus on Newfoundland, note that with a progression away from viewing Irish emigration in terms of exile and alienation, historians must be wary not to mute the negative parts of diaspora. [42]

Historians, such as Arthur Gribben, credit Akenson's work in this field claiming that he 'waged an almost single-handed battle for recognition of the Canadian Irish in the immigration stream to North America'.[43] Other work emerged that aimed to separate Canadian Irish emigrants from American Irish emigrants, such as Cecil Houston and William Smyth's *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters*. Houston and Smyth argue that religious diversity was reflected in the group composition of the emigrants and that a single Irish identity was impossible for emigrants to create in Canada as their identity was influenced by the areas in which they settled and their religion. [44]

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[40] Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 8.
[41] Donald Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Toronto: P.D Meany Company Inc, 1993), 238.
[42] Willeen Keough, *The Slender Thread: Irish Women on The Southern Avalon, 1750-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 27.
[43] Arthur Gribben, ed. *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999), 10.
[44] Cecil Houston and William Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 5.

Historical debate also emerged over what constituted Irish ethnic identity. Historians have long acknowledged that ethnicity is an extremely complex concept and this adds to the complexity of this study. Some view ethnicity as a source of identification, one that nationality is based on, whilst others believe that ethnicity encompasses many different attributes such as religion, language, history and custom. [45] Akenson argues Irish ethnicity includes anyone who had an ancestral or an individual link to Ireland[46], whilst, Lawrence McCaffrey, a historian of Irish diaspora, challenges this and argues that place of birth alone was a poor criterion for ethnic identity as it did not consider cultural or historical aspects and states that the majority of Irish Protestants had a different kind of Irish identity to that of Irish Catholics.[47] McCaffrey understood Irish diaspora identity to be more complex in nature than Akenson and linked it to religion, meanwhile Akenson criticised McCaffrey's attempts to equate Irish identity with Catholics, even claiming that this was racist. [48]

In more recent years historians' work has tended to support McCaffrey's stance. Consequently, this has led many to view Akenson's definition as outdated and have instead aimed to understand and acknowledge that ethnic identity is complex, believing that the term 'Irish' does not refer to all people of 'that national origin'.[49] Andy Bielenberg sums this up by claiming that as 'issues of multiculturalism, multi-ethnicity and hybridity are being explored; in the process the supremacy of a unitary, place-based

[45] T.W Acheson, "The Irish Community in Saint John, 1815-1850" in *Historical Essays on the Irish in New Brunswick: New Ireland Remembered*, ed., P.M Toner (New Brunswick: New Ireland Press, 1989), 27.
[46] Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora*, 10.
[47] Lawrence McCaffrey, *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997), 4.
[48] Ibid.
[49] MacRaild, 'Wherever Orange Is Worn': 101. Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 1.

ethnic identity is being called into question'.[50] T.W Acheson who specialises in Maritime history, supports this and argues that there were four different cultural groups in the early nineteenth century, all of which classified themselves as Irish. [51] These four distinct groups were Presbyterians who lived on the Northern fringe of the country, Gaelic-speaking Catholics clustering in the West, and the Anglo-Irish Church of Ireland minority and English-speaking Catholics who concentrated in the East and South of Ireland. [52] In recognising this, the term Irish refers to all four of these groups and it must be noted that Irish ethnic identity was closely entwined with their religious identity. Since this thesis aims to consider religious identity, the close association and complexity of Irish ethnic identity will be examined and will support the claim that ethnic identity did not simply refer to all people who had an ancestral link to Ireland.

Jim MacPherson and Mary J. Hickman, in their edited book, *Women and Irish Diaspora Identities*, provide insight into how historians in recent years have perceived ethnic identity. They argue that ethnic identity is interrelated with other aspects of identity such as gender, class and religion and claim 'ethnic identity cannot be seen as given or fixed, despite evocations of tradition rooted in the distant past' and claim ethnicities can change and are temporal.[53] They believe Irish ethnic identity was complicated and multi-layered and had the ability to change when people migrated. This debate reflects a progression in diaspora studies as it shows a movement away from considering ethnic identity simply in terms of being Irish but instead shows that ethnic identity could be

[50] Bielenberg, *The Irish Diaspora, 2.*
[51] Acheson, "The Irish Community in Saint John", 27.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Jim MacPherson and Mary Hickman, *Women and Irish Diaspora Identities: Theories, Concepts and New Perspectives,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 56.

connected very closely and even be inseparable, to other identities such as religion and this thesis will focus heavily on this.

Another progression within diaspora studies can be observed through efforts to define the term. As stated by Mary McAuliffe et. al., in their study of the Irish, the word diaspora was used 'sporadically' and was unfamiliar to many throughout the 1970s and 1980s as this concept had a number of titles. [54] Akenson even argues that his early work suffered because 'there was no concept of what is today called the "Irish diaspora" but instead a long and doleful historiography on Irish emigration'.[55] Efforts emerged in the 1990s to define the term. Rogers Brubaker, a historian of immigration and ethnicity, sums up the development of the word 'diaspora' in its use by academics by arguing that in the 1970s the word diaspora and its 'cognates' was mentioned only once or twice a year in dissertations, around thirteen times a year towards the end of the 1980s and almost 130 times in 2011 alone. [56]

Robin Cohen, a historian of diaspora, was one of many historians who aimed to define diaspora. He proposed a list of 'common features' of diaspora. Cohen includes the following: the dispersal from homeland to two or more foreign regions, the expansion from a homeland in relation to work, trade or colonial purposes, collective memory and myth about the homeland, a strong ethnic group consciousness, a troubled relationship with host societies and the possibility to enrich life in a host country. [57] Others, such as

[54] Mary McAuliffe and Katherine O'Donnell and Leeann Lane, ed. *Advances in Irish History* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 128.
[55] Donald Akenson, *Irish in Ontario, Second Edition: A Study in Rural History* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 15.
[56] Rogers Brubaker, "The 'diaspora' diaspora", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28:1 (2005): 1.
[57] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 17.

Rogers Brubaker define diaspora as having three core elements and classified these as dispersion in space, orientation to a homeland and boundary maintenance. [58] Through a consideration of these definitions it can be confirmed that studies of Irish migration to Halifax falls within diaspora studies. Rogers Brubaker, however, criticises other historians of diaspora by arguing that there had been a diaspora of the word diaspora, meaning it had expanded in definition and as a consequence was being applied to groups of people that should not be placed in a diaspora context. He states that as a term it had become 'stretched to the point of uselessness'. [59]

Kevin Kenny's *Diaspora: A Very Short Introduction* aims to define and examine the concept of diaspora by analysing how its origins and meaning had changed over time. Kenny also argues that the term diaspora has been overused in recent years and this reduces its effectiveness as a means of study. [60] He links diaspora to identity and culture formation and argues that diaspora should be considered less in terms of migration itself and more on the networks that migrants created abroad and the types of culture and identity they formed.[61] This idea is crucial to this thesis.

Considerations of the best way to approach diaspora studies also arose among scholars. Most historians in this field tend to approach diaspora from a transnational or comparative framework and discussions over the limitations of each have emerged.[62] Lawrence McCaffrey in his study of diaspora, questions the efficiency of the comparative

[58] Brubaker, "The 'diaspora' diaspora": 5.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Kenny, *Diaspora,* 106.
[61] Ibid, 12.
[62] Alvin Jackson, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 137.

approach and argues that there is still work to be done in expanding the regions discussed in relation to diaspora before the comparative approach should be adopted. [63]

Others such as Mary Hickman, in her consideration of the Irish overseas, divides diaspora studies into two general categories. The first being those constructed in a comparative framework largely grounded on the historiography of ethnic groups and the second being those constructed around post-modern definitions of diaspora. [64] Hickman argues that both approaches to diaspora are valuable as a comparative approach reveals information about the multiple experiences of an ethnic group while the diaspora approach helps uncover more about inclusion and disruptions experienced by migrant populations.[65] She does, however, acknowledge drawbacks within each category. Hickman states that diaspora studies could be limiting because they could 'undermine notions of the nation state' but also states that the comparative framework has its disadvantages because it could assume that conclusions and data collected about the Irish experience in one country could easily be transferred to a different nation. [66]

Kevin Kenny in a manner similar to Hickman, splits diaspora studies into two main groups. Kenny claims that the diaspora approach aimed to analyse the interactions and position of globally dispersed groups and the comparative approach aimed to consider different countries or regions to highlight the similarities and differences of migrants. [67] Kenny, however, argues that both of these approaches to migration are

[63] Lawrence McCaffrey "Diaspora Comparisons and Irish American Uniqueness" in *New Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora*, ed., Charles Fanning (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 21.
[64] Mary Hickman, "'Locating' the Irish Diaspora", *Irish Journal of Sociology,* 11:2 (2002): 16.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid, 12, 14.
[67] Kevin Kenny, "'Diaspora and Comparison': The Global Irish as a Case Study." *The Journal of American History,* 90:1 (2003): 135.

limiting but a combination of both has the potential to help fully understand global migration. [68]

With the focus of this thesis being specifically on Halifax, it mostly falls into the diaspora approach as it aims to uncover how Irish migrants influenced the socio-economic development of Halifax exclusively and how migrants were perceived in this specific region. Brief comparisons, however, to other places such as New Brunswick and Britain that are made throughout this study means this thesis also connects with the comparative approach noted by Kenny and Hickman. Understanding the drawbacks and benefits of each approach and connecting both categories of diaspora, as outlined by Hickman and Kenny, overcomes some of the challenges in Diaspora Studies that are outlined by Hickman.

Historians also considered diaspora studies through imperialism and empire. Robin Cohen, in his breakdown of the main types of diaspora, places 'imperial diaspora' in a category of its own and defines it as having a 'continuing connection with the homeland, a deference to and imitation of its social and political institutions and a sense of forming part of a grand imperial design'.[69] Kevin Kenny, in his consideration of the Irish in the empire, argues, that themes of colonialism and imperialism took on a new and expanding meaning for the Irish when considered in the context of the British Empire. [70] While Ireland itself was significant to the British Empire, Irish migrants were also important in helping the empire populate, govern and conquer overseas territories. [71]

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 69.
[70] Kevin Kenny. "The Irish in the Empire" in *Ireland and the British Empire*, edited by Kevin Kenny, (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2005), 94.
[71] Ibid, 92.

Terrence Punch argued that the anti-Catholic laws in the empire were unable to have the same effect in Nova Scotia as they did in Great Britain.[72] Others such as J. R. Miller argue that anti-Catholic sentiment was crucial to Canadian history and often played a 'disruptive role'.[73] Miller considers how Catholics often met anti-Catholic attitudes in the British Empire and were sometimes limited by strict laws but also assesses how they managed to overcome some of the religious limitations that the Empire presented by outlining changes in political, economic and social rights that Catholics were able to achieve.[74]

Kevin Kenny's chapter 'The Irish in the Empire' also spoke of a 'spiritual Empire', in which he argues that although Irish Catholics met challenging obstacles in the Empire such as hostility from Protestants and secular governments, Catholic settlers were effective in expanding religious institutions in the places they settled thus preserving their identity through various institutions. He claims that the success of the Irish in doing so led Catholicism abroad to be largely associated with 'Irishness'. [75] He further acknowledges that the Irish overseas played an important role in the growth and working of the British Empire and conveys this by discussing early migration from Ireland and its role in the formation of an Atlantic British Empire.[76]

In terms of Atlantic Canada, S. Karly Kehoe and Darren Tierney contribute to studies of religious identity and Empire. Kehoe and Tierney's article "Like a Kind

[72] Punch '*Gentle as the Snow on a Rooftop'.*
[73] J.R Miller, "Anti-Catholicism in Canada: From the British Conquest to the Great War" in *Creed and Culture,* ed., Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1993).
[74] Ibid, 25.
[75] Kenny, *Ireland and the British Empire*, 14.
[76] Ibid.

Mother: Imperial Concerns and Britain's Changing Perception of Rome" argues that the British Empire benefitted from a relationship with Rome as it helped to secure loyalty to the state but through this, Irish Catholics in areas such as Halifax were able to play a crucial role in colonial development and therefore maintain their religious identity.[77] In a separate article, "Catholic Relief and the Political Awakening of Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1780-1830", Kehoe argues that Irish Catholics were able to use opportunities offered by the British Empire to improve their legal, religious and economic status in Nova Scotia and through this, help other Catholics to attain a feeling of belonging and citizenship in colonial settlements.[78]

As early as 1988, historians such as David Wilson were calling for historical attention to be placed on Atlantic Canada within the field of Diaspora Studies, recognising that Atlantic Provinces had a high percentage of people with Irish ethnicity and therefore deserved historical research. Wilson stated that it was crucial that historians do for the Maritimes what Akenson did for Ontario. [79] Historians also narrowed their focus by considering Irish settlers and religious diaspora and they began to apply this to Atlantic Canada.

One important contribution that aimed to do this and focus specifically on Halifax was the co-edited book by Mark McGowan and Michael Vance, *Irish Catholic Halifax: From the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War*. This contains a collection of essays and

[77] S. Karly Kehoe and Darren Tierney, "'Like a Kind Mother" Imperial Concerns and Britain's Changing Perception of Rome, 1783-1815" in *Irish Catholic Halifax from the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War,* ed., Michael Vance and Mark McGowan (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 2015), 31.
[78] S. Karly Kehoe, "Catholic Relief and the Political Awakening of Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1780-1830", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* (2017).
[79] David Wilson, "'Review Essay' The Irish in North America: New Perspectives, *Acadiensis,* 18:1 (1988): 213.

builds upon Terrence Punch's understanding that the Irish Catholics effectively integrated into Halifax but argues that there was still a lack of knowledge on the relationship between Irish Catholics and other religious groups.[80] Terrence Murphy's chapter 'Transformation and Triumphalism', argues that increased Irish immigration to Halifax and changes to Catholicism starting in 1839 meant that the middle decades of the nineteenth century were an important period of change and advancement for Irish Catholics in Halifax.[81] Other historians in their chapters, such as Bruce S. Elliott, considers the ways Irish Catholics advanced their religion through the building of a Catholic cemetery and church and argues that it showed the energy and organisation of the Catholic community in the early 1840s.[82] Katherine Crooks' contribution also examines the Charitable Irish Society and argues that this became an organisation that Irish Catholics who resided in Halifax turned towards as the Charitable Irish Society became a largely Catholic association. [83] Peter Ludlow's "Disturbed by the Irish Howl" examines clashes and differences among groups of Scottish and Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia and claims that a common identity of being Catholic was not enough to unite Catholics and instead influences of ethnicity, ideology and class had an impact on regional Catholic development.[84] Robert Choquette's "English-French Relations in the

[80] Mark McGowan and Michael Vance, ed. *Irish Catholics Halifax: From the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War* (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 2015), 8.
[81] Terrence Murphy, "'Transformation and Triumphalism': the Catholics of Halifax, 1839-1858" in I*rish Catholic Halifax: From the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War,* ed., Michael Vance and Mark McGowan (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 2015), 56-57.
[82] Bruce S. Elliot, "Cemetery Reform, Ultramontanism, and Irishness: The Creation if Holy Cross Roman Catholic Cemetery, Halifax, Nova Scotia" in *Irish Catholic Halifax: From the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War,* ed., Mark G. McGowan and Michael E. Vance (Montreal: Marquis Book Printing, 2015).
[83] Katherine Crooks, "The Quest for Respectability: The Charitable Irish Society in Victorian Halifax" in *Irish Catholic Halifax: From the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War,* ed., Mark McGowan and Michael Vance (Montreal: The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 2015).
[84] Peter Ludlow 'Disturbed by the Irish Howl' in *Irish Catholic Halifax from the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War,* ed., Michael Vance and Mark McGowan (Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 2015).

Canadian Catholic Community" is also a key contribution to Catholic religious identity. [85] He argues that Canada's English speaking Catholics, a large proportion of whom were Irish, 'accepted more readily a number of adjustments and compromises occasioned by their North American secular society' and claims that English speaking Catholics' identity was less threatened in relation to language or culture than it was by Protestant religion.[86]

In noting the recent trends in diaspora studies and the research in Atlantic Canadian history, with a specific focus on religion, it is evident that work on religious antagonism, in relation to the Irish in Halifax, while mentioned in some studies, is needed and so this thesis aims to make a contribution to this area of research. This thesis will aim to build upon the existing historiography in two ways; firstly, it will narrow the focus of interest to Halifax, Nova Scotia, thereby supply more information on the Irish and religious antagonism in one place, and secondly it will analyse diaspora in relation to religious identity and as a religious diaspora in which religious tensions will be considered.

This will be done through two main chapters. The first chapter considers the religious rivalry that existed in Halifax in the 1840s and the extent to which Irish Catholic migrants maintained their identity at a time of great competition between numerous religious groups. It analyses some of the mechanisms used by Irish Catholics to preserve and extend a religious identity by considering the creation of institutions, organisations and the advancement and increasing authority of Catholicism in Halifax. Tied in with this

[85] Robert Choquette, "English-French Relations in the Canadian Catholic Community" in *Creed and Culture*, ed., Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1993).
[86] Ibid, 20.

discussion, is the rise in religious antagonism and the belief that Irish Catholics were infringing upon the rights, power and influence of Protestants in the region.

The second chapter explores themes of social networks, organisations, and societies, and the role they played in assisting Irish immigrants to build religious identities. The nineteenth century was the golden age of religious organisations, charities and voluntary associations and this makes an examination of such organisations in Halifax valuable in understanding the role they played in the lives of Irish migrants. The analysis of this chapter is focused on two predominantly Irish organisations: the Charitable Irish Society and the Orange Order; and will also seek to investigate the extent to which they contributed to or undermined religious tensions.

The analysis of each chapter will be informed by newspapers published in the 1840s. These will be the main primary source and a basis for evidence to support the central arguments in this thesis. Since religion played such a heavy role in nineteenth century life, it is no surprise that a large portion of newspaper articles and press attention in 1840s Halifax was centred on religion, even in secular newspapers. Irish immigration and its influence across the British Empire was also a key talking point during this decade, meaning that the presence of articles relating to the Irish during this period was substantial.

A number of newspapers have been consulted, all of which were published in Nova Scotia and found in the Nova Scotia Public Archives. These include both religious and secular newspapers. The *Nova Scotian* was founded in 1824 and became the most influential and leading newspaper in Nova Scotia during the 1840s, with around 3000

subscribers. [87] It also held a strong interest in the political affairs of Nova Scotia, acting as a liberal voice to such affairs. The *Christian Messenger* is also a main source of evidence but this differs as it was a religious paper that endeavoured to promote and report the 'views and feelings of the Baptist denomination' and 'spread the word of Christianity'.[88] This paper frequently reported on politics and education in relation to the Baptist religion as well as providing updates of advancements of their religion in colonial areas. A Catholic newspaper, *the Cross,* is also referred to frequently throughout this thesis. This newspaper was founded in 1843 and aimed to devote its pages to the Catholic religion and included prayers, religious events and the progression of Catholicism. [89] Whilst these three newspapers are referenced frequently, other Halifax papers including *Halifax Register* and the *Halifax Morning Post,* have been consulted throughout. The *Halifax Register* was launched with the intention of presenting 'information interesting to the Catholics of North America' by publishing 'all events of moments' that took place in the Catholic world whilst also including a variety of the 'works of learned and distinguished Catholic Bishops and Priests'. [90] The *Halifax Morning Post,* like the *Nova Scotian,* however, tended to focus on politics and societal affairs and did not publish its articles for a certain religious audience, although discussion of religion was present within. While an examination of each of these newspapers helps to provide evidence and insight into religious relations and tensions in Halifax, a close consideration of the purpose of each newspaper, its editors and its political stance will be considered.

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[87] The Canadian Encyclopedia, "The Nova Scotian" Retrieved from: https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/novascotian/ (Accessed 21/08/2018).
[88] *The Christian Messenger,* 3 January 1840.
[89] *The Cross,* 17 march 1843.
[90] An advert posted in *the Nova Scotian* advertising a new paper in Halifax*: The Halifax Register*. Displayed in the *Nova Scotian,* July 8 1841.

These newspapers were published regularly and provide insight into the religious concerns and issues of people during this decade. By consulting a number of newspapers, it provides varying perspectives on religious related topics and by comparing and contrasting the views in each newspaper and understanding their political and religious preferences it helps to highlight when and why religious antagonism occurred in Halifax. Throughout this decade, newspapers in Halifax engaged with each other and sometimes attacked and challenged each other's opinions. Newspapers during this period also acted as the principle way to communicate, inform and influence individuals and this adds to their significance as sources.

Whilst newspapers will be as the main primary source for this study, these are supplemented by other documents such as the constitution of the Charitable Irish Society and the Orange Order and the minute book of the latter. These documents provide valuable insight into the functioning of associations in the nineteenth century and inform the rules, regulations and main aims of each society. Reference is made to some Nova Scotian laws and legislations to highlight the times when Catholics were restricted and faced with more challenges in preserving their identities in comparison to Protestants.

Further adding to the complexity of this study is the fact religious identity is a complicated term to define and before applying this to settlers in Nova Scotia, it is necessary to provide an understanding and definition of this concept. In the nineteenth-century, religion 'placed a heavy stamp' on people's lives and frequently proved to be a more powerful influence in a person's political, social and economic life than secular

matters.[91] In North America, religion acted as a basis for both community and self-identification and migrants brought their religion to their new settlement areas.[92] Religion, however, only refers to part of an individual's identity and was closely related to other identities such as ethnic, national, diaspora or cultural identities. [93]

In their study of religion and identity, Nicola Madge, Peter Hemming and Kevin Stenson broadly define religious identity as a 'complex concept embracing the religious affiliation or label a person chooses to give themselves, beliefs, a sense of belonging to a local, national or global religious community, acts of public worship, and private prayer or meditation'.[94] This broad definition of religious identity will be referred to throughout this thesis as religious identity, encompasses both a sense of religious belonging, affiliation and inclusiveness to a religious group, but also includes the preservation and participation of religious practices and rituals. [95]

In understanding this, it must also be noted that religious identities are fluid as individuals can construct and reconstruct their sense of self and their ideas about where they belong.[96] This was the case in areas of Irish settlement as a process of identity formation took place. This tended to be constructed on the preservation of old religious practises such as symbols, doctrine, rituals, moral frameworks, and ceremonies. [97]

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[91] Scott W. See, "'An unprecedented influx": Nativism and Irish Famine Immigration to Canada', *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 30:4, (2000): 435.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Acheson, "The Irish Community in Saint John", 25.
[94] Nicola Madge, Peter Hemming and Kevin Stenson, Y*outh On Religion: The Development, Negotiation and Impact of Faith and Non-Faith Identity* (Sussex: Routledge, 2014), 91.
[95] Pnina Werbner, 'Religious identity' in *The SAGE Handbook of Identities, ed.,* Margaret Wetherell, Chandra Mohanty (London: Sage Publications, 2010), 233.
[96] Jeffrey R. Seul, "'Ours is the Way of God': Religion, Identity, And Intergroup Conflict" *Journal of Peace Research,* 36: 5, (1999): 555.
[97] Ibid, 558.

Religious institutions and group membership also played a key role in the formation of a religious identity as these gave individuals a sense of belonging.[98] Religion provided settlers with predictability and continuity, and scholar of religion and conflict, Jeffrey R. Seul, argues that this was essential to 'individual needs to maintain a sense of psychological stability'. [99] This thesis will therefore refer to religious identity as a sense of belonging, association, stability, and the preservation and participation in religious practices.

Through the analysis of two chapters, a close examination of Nova Scotian newspapers and reference to the main arguments of leading historians of the Irish diaspora, Atlantic Canada, religion and identity, the following arguments will be presented. Firstly, that the Irish in Halifax were not only effective in preserving their religious identity throughout the 1840s, but that some groups of Irish, such as Irish Catholics, were successful in advancing their religion. The social networks, organisations, institutions, rituals and celebrations discussed throughout this thesis will provide evidence of this. Secondly, it will be argued that Irish migrants were sometimes faced with challenges in preserving their identity and their efforts to maintain their religion could sometimes be the cause of religious antagonism. This argument will be advanced through discussions of resentment, anti-Catholic/anti-Irish sentiment and suspicion that existed in Halifax. It will be further argued that Irish Catholics tended to meet more challenges in preserving their religious identity than their Protestant counter parts. Thirdly, there will be advancement in the argument that while religious antagonism emerged in relation to the

[98] Steward Harrison "Religion and Identity" *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 3:6, (2013): 13.
[99] Seul, "Ours is the Way of God", 558.

Irish and the preservation of their religious identities, there was the potential for more religious hostility to erupt in Halifax. There is no evidence of instances of major religious hostility, violence and rioting in Halifax, unlike other areas of Irish settlement. Instead it will be shown throughout this thesis that only minor instances of religious antagonism emerged and these tended to appear either verbally or in written form in Halifax newspapers and was often directed towards Irish Catholics. From this, it will be concluded that Irish migrants to Halifax were effective in preserving their religious identity but this sometimes caused religious antagonism.

CHAPTER ONE
IRISH CATHOLICS IN HALIFAX

As argued by A. J. B. Johnston, a historian of religion and anti-Catholicism in the nineteenth century, the development of a new national identity in any place can be an exciting and troublesome process. [100] There are conflicting views of which identity elements should take precedence, and often efforts to preserve these may fail due to suspicion and tension that may arise around minority groups who differ from the majority based on political, racial or religious differences in identity. [101] In newly colonised areas, wherein the Irish settled, competition and rivalry sometimes occurred as different religious groups and ethnicities were fighting for influence and power. [102] Terrence Murphy, a religious historian of Atlantic Canada, sums this up by arguing that in British North America, instances of rivalry and competition for influence existed throughout the colonial period but tended to increase in the later stages of development, especially between 1815 and 1867. [103] He argues that rivalry existed between the English-speaking Protestants and the French-speaking populations of British North America, between different groups of Protestant denominations, between Catholics and Protestants as they strived for religious equality, and explains that First Nations, blacks and non-Christians added to the complexity of competing identities in the nineteenth century. [104] Terrence Punch, who was a genealogist and historian of Halifax, agrees and argues that the

[100] Johnston, "'The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia': 73.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Murphy, "Religion, Conflict and Consensus in the English- Speaking Colonies of British North America": 25.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid: 33, 35, 37.

progression from immigrant to citizen for the Irish in Halifax caused conflict with other inhabitants. [105]

This chapter will analyse the religious rivalry that existed in Halifax and reflect on the extent to which Irish Catholic migrants preserved their religious identity at a time of great competition between numerous religious groups. It questions the extent to which their efforts to define a religious identity provoked a broader culture of religious antagonism. As outlined in the introduction, religious identity refers to a sense of religious belonging, affiliation and inclusiveness to a religion through group membership and the participation in religious practices and rituals. This chapter will first consider some of the mechanisms used by the Irish Catholic community to preserve and extend a religious identity throughout the 1840s. The founding of Saint Mary's University, the construction of a Catholic chapel and cemetery, the designation of Halifax as an official diocese, the launching of Catholic newspapers and the expansion of Irish Catholic organisations were important developments. Exploring these will reveal how the Irish Catholics were effective in preserving their religious identity, and in advancing their religion, influence, and power in Halifax. This naturally leads to questions about the rise in religious antagonism and the fear of Catholic ascendency or Catholic encroachment. These fears were on the rise in Britain and to the same extent influenced relations in the colonies. In Halifax tensions between Scottish and Irish Catholics were so intense that they resulted in the division of the diocese, but the rising concerns of many Protestants over the possibility of losing political influence was also an important factor in provoking long-term religious antagonism.

[105] Punch, "'The Irish in Halifax': 2.

During the 1815-1867 period highlighted by Murphy, the Irish were in an unusual position as there was not one distinct ethnic identity and Irish Catholics were often singled out because of their religion. [106] Peter Ludlow, a historian of religion, politics and culture in Atlantic Canada, reinforces this idea in his study of Irish and Scottish Catholic settlers in Nova Scotia by arguing that a shared Catholic identity or simply sharing a common ethnic identity was not enough to unite people. [107] Historians of diaspora, identity and anti-Catholicism such as John Wolffe, argue that many Irish Catholics in the diaspora found themselves particularly despised because of their religion and "Celticness" and, as a result, many immigrants turned towards the church as a dependable source of support in a sometimes hostile environment. [108] This was certainly the case in Halifax as Irish Catholics solidified their own religious institutions and organisations in the 1840s and to those outside of Catholic circles these advancements were sometimes considered a threat.[109] In 1840s Halifax, fears began to emerge that the Irish Catholics were perhaps gaining too much religious power and influence in Nova Scotia. A number of mid-nineteenth century Nova Scotian Protestants believed Catholicism was a rival and flawed religion that threatened their ascendency and encouraged oppression and disloyalty which would result in social, economic and moral backwardness. [110]

Murphy and Cyril Byrne, a scholar who explored Irish identity, argue that Irish migrants' religious commitment tended to intensify during the process of settlement as many settlers turned towards the church to express and maintain their religious identity.

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[106] Murphy and Bryne, *Religion and Identity:* i.
[107] Ludlow, "Disturbed by the Irish howl", 54.
[108] John Wolffe, *Religion in History: Conflict, Conversion and Coexistence* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 114.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Johnston "Popery and Progress": 146.

[111] In 1840, it was the case that Catholicism expanded and that Irish 'Catholics made Halifax their own'.[112] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Irish Catholic community in Halifax was struggling to preserve and advance its religious identity.[113] Murphy suggests that this was due to three main reasons: firstly, Irish Catholics lacked episcopal leadership; secondly, they were deficient in dependable religious resources; and finally, there were major divisions between the congregation and clergy. [114] A number of changes occurred in the 1840s which made this decade a significant one for the Irish Catholics in Halifax. These changes included advancements in church power, a rapid flourishing of Irish associational life and a growth in the quantity and quality of the Catholic clergy.[115] This coincided with an increase in Irish Catholic immigration.[116] By the start of the 1840s, the Catholic population of Halifax had reached around 7,000 and the growing number of Irish Catholics strengthened their confidence, ambition and influence. [117] As a result, a number of Irish Catholic institutions and organisations were formed and the authority of Catholicism in the city increased.

One example of this was the emergence of Catholic newspapers that reported on Irish and Catholic affairs in Nova Scotia, two of which are analysed as a source of evidence throughout this thesis. The *Halifax Register* newspaper was founded in 1841 and Bishop Walsh, the Bishop of Halifax, launched the Catholic newspaper *The Cross* in 1843.[118] *The Cross* was published weekly with the sole purpose to devote its pages to the

[111] Murphy and Bryne, *Religion and Identity,* i.
[112] Terence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 138.
[113] Murphy, "Transformation and Triumphalism", 56.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid, 57.
[116] Johnston, "'Popery and Progress': 148.
[117] Murphy, "Religion Walked Forth In All Her Majesty": 77.
[118] Murphy, "Transformation and Triumphalism", 62.

Roman Catholic institutions in British North America. [119] Whilst this newspaper included references to the Scottish, English and French Catholics of the colony, it devoted a large proportion of its articles to religion and affairs that involved the Irish. The *Halifax Register* was launched with the intention of presenting 'information interesting to the Catholics of North America' by publishing 'all events of moments' that took place in the Catholic world whilst also including a variety of the 'works of learned and distinguished Catholic Bishops and Priests'. [120] This paper differed from *The Cross,* however, as it was created with a principle objective of devoting its information to Irishmen. [121] These newspapers enabled Irish Catholics to preserve their religious identity. Founded by Irishmen, they informed Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia of up to date news in their religion and included articles and stories that were specific to Catholicism. In addition to this, these Irish religious papers provided correspondence from Ireland and developments in religion from their homeland whilst also reporting on religious events and developments taking place in Halifax. This served as a link to Catholics back in Ireland and helped the Irish abroad to maintain their religious identity in their new settlement area of Halifax.

Other newspapers, however, sometimes attacked their Catholic counterparts, and as the analysis of newspapers in this chapter will show, newspapers did contribute towards religious antagonism in Halifax by displaying strong views of religious beliefs, targeting those who opposed their beliefs and sometimes including correspondence in relation to other newspapers and their views on religion. Evidence of this can be seen in the 1840s in *The Cross* newspaper which was at the heart of religious controversy and A.

[119] *The Cross*, March 17 1843.
[120] An advert posted in *the Nova Scotian* advertising a new paper in Halifax*: The Halifax Register*. Displayed in the *Nova Scotian*, July 8 1841.
[121] Ibid.

J. B. Johnston, highlights this when he speaks of the 'Cross controversy' that peaked in 1847.[122] The Conservatives attacked this newspaper and fired insults at the Irish and their Catholic religion. [123] This resulted in Irish Catholics responding with statements like they would not 'look on with folded arms whilst their country and religion' were 'wantonly insulted by every jackanapes of a talentless press, or a bigoted party'.[124]

The Cross also stated, under the heading of 'Simultaneous Abuse of Catholics', that 'all the low curs of bigotry were now barking in concert against their unoffending Catholic neighbours, because the latter have thought it proper to resent, or rather to protest respectfully against a contemplated insult to their creed'.[125] The 'Cross controversy' lasted 6 months, but as A. J. B. Johnston argues, and also from a close analysis of newspapers in the 1840s, the bigotry and anxieties that appeared through newspaper correspondence lingered on long after this.[126] Over the following decade anti-Catholic sentiment was regularly voiced in colonial newspapers.[127] Terrence Punch when speaking of newspapers in the latter half of the 1840s, mentioned 'editorial sectarianism'.[128] This indicates that newspapers could contribute towards religious antagonism and both *The Cross* and the *Halifax Register* included an antagonism that the Irish used to preserve and protect their religious identity. These newspapers also intensified religious antagonism by attacking other newspapers and in defending and

[122] Johnston "Popery and Progress": 147. For more information on the origins of the 'Cross controversy' also see A. J. B, 'The 'Protestant spirit of Colonial Nova Scotia': 20.
[123] Ibid.
[124] *The Cross*, Feb 13 1847.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Johnston "Popery and Progress": 151.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 191.

printing correspondence that included anti-Catholic and anti-Irish comments. This resulted in the continuation of religious antagonism.

The *Nova Scotian* in 1841 accused Irish newspapers of being too sectarian in tone and too defensive in nature. [129] Writing in response to such claims *The Cross* stated that insults towards the Irish and the Catholic religion and bigotry displayed in newspapers forced Catholics and writers of their newspaper to 'assume a defensive and hostile attitude'.[130] This reinforces the argument that Irish Catholic newspapers contributed towards and could provoke religious antagonism and this argument will be expanded throughout this chapter by a thorough examination of newspapers in the 1840s.

During this decade, there was an expansion of Irish organisations and, more specifically, six Irish Catholic organisations were founded in Halifax. [131] Saint Mary's seminary was established in 1840 to educate priests in order to satisfy the demands of the growing Catholic congregations. [132] This later developed into Saint Mary's University when, in 1841, this institution was given a university charter.[133] In 1842, Halifax became a diocese, which means that it fell under the authority of a bishop. [134] Before this, Catholics in Halifax were in an ambiguous position and were under the authority of the diocese of Quebec, but since Nova Scotia still remained under British control and was largely English speaking, Catholics in the city of Halifax were in a tricky position. As a

[129] The *Nova Scotian*, March 18 1841.
[130] *The Cross*, March 6 1847.
[131] Johnston, "Popery and Progress": 148.
[132] *The Nova Scotian*, 28 August 1843. In 1802 a school building was established known as Glebe house. This became a forerunner of Saint Mary's University but the establishment did not have the ability to grant degrees until 1841. For more information on the history of Saint Mary's University see: https://smu.ca/academics/archives/campuses.html (Accessed 31/10/2018).
[133] Frederick Lynch, "Marian History in the Archdiocese of Halifax", *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 21* (1954): 69.
[134] Johnston "'Popery and Progress': 148.

result, they often had difficulties in providing for the needs of its Catholic congregation. [135] This was because the diocese of Quebec had a shortage of priests due to restrictions that prevented clergy from France. This meaning that 'since there were not enough clergy even for the centre of the diocese, few could be spared for the Maritimes'. Furthermore, when clergy was available in the Maritimes, they were often 'prevented by language from ministering effectively to a substantial portion of their flock' since English speaking Irish and Scottish Catholics were growing in number. [136]

Halifax, having its own bishop, gave the Catholics a degree of autonomy and according to Murphy, the Irish 'rejoiced in their victory' as the 'Catholic Church in Halifax was theirs and it would be Irish'.[137] The formation of this diocese was therefore a defining moment for the Catholics in Halifax as it allowed the Irish to focus on the growth and expansion of their church in their community by concentrating on educational and institutional advancements. [138] It also allowed Halifax to maintain its religious links with Ireland, thus helping the Catholics to maintain their religious identity.[139]

In the same year, the Irish priest, William Walsh was assigned as coadjutor to William Fraser, the Scottish-born vicar apostolic of Nova Scotia. [140] This appointment was a result of persistent lobbying by representatives of the Irish Catholic community of Halifax, who believed that Bishop Fraser was abandoning the interests of Irish Catholics

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[135] Terrence Murphy, "James Jones and the Establishment of Roman Catholic Church Government in the Maritime Provinces" *Study Sessions*, 48 (1981): 26.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Punch, 'The Irish in Halifax': 137.
[138] Saint Mary's University, *Holy Cross Cemetery: Bishop's Row*. Retrieved from: http://www.smu.ca/history/holy-cross/bishops-row.html (Accessed: 19/06/2018).
[139] Colin Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio ': Irish Episcopal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century," *English Historical Review*, CXXIII, 502 (2008): 611.
[140] David B. Flemming, "Dictionary of Canadian Biography: William Walsh," Retrieved from: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/walsh_william_8E.html (Accessed 25/06/2018). Also see, David B. Flemming, "Dictionary of Canadian Biography: William Fraser" Retrieved from: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/fraser_william_8E.html (Accessed 25/06/2018).

in the colony. [141] Fraser refused to leave Eastern Nova Scotia to reside in Halifax and live among the Irish, [142] but rather insisted on living in rural Antigonish, rarely visiting Halifax and appointed Vicar General John Loughnan to oversee the city, but conflict broke out between Loughnan and the Catholic laity. [143] Further disagreement and division was also evident in this diocese due to it being largely divided into Irish Catholics, who mainly resided in Halifax, and Scottish Catholics, who tended to live in the surrounding areas. [144]

In 1844, after years of disagreements between Scottish and Irish Catholics in the colony, this diocese was split into two, which resulted in bishops of Halifax and Arichat.[145] This decision came from Rome where it had been recognised that Irish and Scottish Catholics were divided and they were aware of the influence that class, ethnicity and differences in religious practise and philosophy played in dividing Catholics in this region. [146] This again reveals the complexity of religious and ethnic identity among settlers in Nova Scotia; simply sharing a common religion did not guarantee harmony and because the Irish Catholics desired to maintain their religious identity, tensions arose with Scottish Catholics.[147] These tensions also indicate that internal divisions were present within Catholicism in Nova Scotia; something that could have reinforced Irish stereotypes by portraying them as fractious and divided. [148]

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[141] Flemming, "Dictionary of Canadian Biography: William Walsh".
[142] Murphy, "Transformation and Triumphalism", 56.
[143] Ibid, 56 -57.
[144] Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio': 621.
[145] Ibid, 623.
[146] Ludlow, "Disturbed by the Irish howl", 32
[147] Ibid, 54.
[148] Murphy, "Religion Walked Forth in all Her Majesty": 77.

In 1843, Catholics in Halifax also erected a new church, which became known as the Holy Cross Chapel. [149] Bruce S. Elliot, a specialist in eighteenth and nineteenth century immigration and local history, in his study of the creation of this chapel in Halifax, discusses the speed with which this church was built. He referred to it as the 'chapel built in a day', and argues that this testifies to the energy and organisation of the Catholic community in the early 1840s.[150] With the erection of this chapel, 1843 also saw the building of Holy Cross cemetery, which helped to unite Irish Catholics and raise their position in the city since they now had a designated area to bury their dead.[151] *The Cross* highlighted this, noting that it formed a 'monument of the piety and taste of the Catholics in Halifax'. [152] Peter Ludlow agrees and argues that the construction of this particular cemetery signified the maturing of Catholicism and the increasing importance of the Irish in Halifax.[153] Supporting this claim, Bruce S. Elliot claims that the creation of a separate Catholic cemetery corresponded well with aims of Ultramontanism, which Bishop Walsh worked to implement, as it provided a separate place wherein Catholics could spend their lives and deaths and would be under church control.[154]

Through the formation of these institutions, organisations, and the diocese of Halifax, Irish Catholics became effective at maintaining their religious identity by progressing their religion by organising and increasing its authority throughout the 1840s,

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[149] *The Cross,* September 8 1843.
[150] Elliot, "Cemetery Reform, Ultramontanism, and Irishness", 112.
[151] *The Cross*, September 22 1843., Murphy, "Transformation and Triumphalism", 62.
[152] *The Cross,* 1847.
[153] Ludlow, "Disturbed by the Irish howl", 33.
[154] Elliot, "Cemetery Reform, Ultramontanism, and Irishness", 112.
Ultramontanism placed a strong importance on the authority of the Pope and desired to ensure the supremacy of religious instead of civil society. For a more detailed definition of Ultramontanism see: Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz, *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1993), xv. For more information on Ultramontanism also see: Kenneth L. Campbell, *Ireland's History: Prehistory to the Present* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 236.

but as the *Nova Scotian* noted in 1841, Irish immigrants faced a number of prejudices and part of this was linked to Catholicism. [155] Consequently, the Irish in their preservation of religious identity, through the expansion of the Catholic religion in the 1840s sometimes caused tensions, leading some people to believe that Irish Catholics were gaining too much power and influence. The advancement of the local Catholic Church and the growing number of Catholic organisations also unsettled and troubled many Nova Scotian Protestants. [156] Terrence Murphy argued that, with the advancement of the Catholic religion in the 1840s, there was a change in the relationship between Irish Catholics and their non-Catholic neighbours and he argues that harmonious relationships shifted towards religious conflict and occurrences of anti-Catholic agitation. [157] Newspapers in Halifax reported on this conflict and agitation and sometimes referred to this as 'Catholic ascendency' and reported a fear of Irish Catholic encroachment.

From the founding of Halifax, Protestants enjoyed ascendency in Nova Scotia and anxiety emerged over Catholics infringing upon this ascendency.[158] This fear of Catholic encroachment was centred on the idea that the colony was being overrun by Irish Catholics, who were infringing upon the rights of Protestants and that through this they would reverse the Protestant ascendency and injure Protestantism in the process. [159] These beliefs were not only present in newspapers but also echoed by politicians and regular citizens. [160] For example, a quote from the Nova Scotian politician, Thomas Chandler

[155] *The Nova Scotian,* March 18 1841.
[156] Johnston "Popery and Progress": 148.
[157] Murphy, "Transformation and Triumphalism", 57.
[158] Public Archives Nova Scotia (P.A.N.S), RG 1 vol.301 no.3. (11 January 1759).
[159] See, "An unprecedented influx": 438.
[160] Ibid, 437.

Haliburton, sums up the anxieties that existed surrounding Catholics' growing power by stating that the Catholic Church:

> 'thought that if it could break down the civil power, reduce all ranks to a common level, and gradually weaken any constitutional connection between the several governments and Protestantism, it would recruit its forces from the population of its adversaries, overthrow them in succession, or perhaps overwhelm them all together.'[161]

Newspapers also demonstrated instances of anti-Catholic sentiment targeted at Irish Catholics. John D. Brewer, a historian of conflict and religion, defines anti-Catholicism as actions, attitudes or practices that include negative beliefs about the Catholic Church as an institution, the Catholic creed or individual Catholic. [162] While understanding the diversity of Protestantism and the theoretical differences amid Protestant sects, Protestants would sometimes 'band together' and express shared negative beliefs about Catholics.[163] For example, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists would sometimes unite in the belief that 'organized Catholic encroachment' challenged their rights.[164] In this sense, anti-Catholicism was not just about religious differences between Catholics and Protestants but also about the theological differences

[161] Quote taken from See, "An unprecedented influx": 436.
[162] John D. Brewer, "Understanding Anti-Catholicism: A Summary of the Arguments" *An Irish Quarterly Review*, 89:355 (2000): 200.
[163] Robert McLaughlin, *Irish Canadian Conflict and the Struggle for Irish Independence, 1912-1925*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 32.
[164] Ibid.

'often intersected with the perceived socio-political problems that Catholics and Catholicism posed'. [165]

Throughout the 1840s, a growing fear of Catholic encroachment emerged in Halifax. This anxiety, surrounding a fear of Catholic domination and expansion of Catholic religious power, mirrored what was occurring in Britain during the same time period. The Catholic population of Britain increased drastically throughout the 1840s and, as 1850 approached, there were outcries in Britain of a 'Papal aggression'.[166] The 'Papal aggression' controversy emerged as England's Catholic hierarchy was re-established. The Roman Catholic Church was considered authoritarian due to the Pope's alleged authority in influencing secular matters such as politics.[167] There was also the belief that Catholic practices were flawed and that Catholics were 'credulous servants who performed the bidding of priests, bishops and ultimately the Pope'.[168] These views and beliefs, combined with the increasing number of Catholics in Britain, led to the opinion that Catholics were a threat. [169]

News articles and reports of 'raging Papal controversies' in Britain, such as the 'Papal aggression' reached British North America via mail boats and were 'transcribed by a robust press' and so people in Halifax were aware of events and controversies in Britain surrounding Roman Catholics. [170] *The Christian Messenger,* a Baptist newspaper published in Nova Scotia, summed up this growing influence of Catholics by stating

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[165] Kevin Anderson, '"The Cockroaches of Canada' : French-Canada, Immigration and Nationalism, Anti-Catholicism in English-Canada, 1905–1929", *Journal of Religious History*, 39:1, (2015): 104.
[166] Miller, "Anti-Catholicism in Canada": 36.,
Walter Ralls, "'The Papal Aggression of 1850': A Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism." *Church History* 43:2 (1974): 244.
[167] See, "An unprecedented influx": 436.
[168]Ibid.
[169] Ralls, 'The Papal Aggression of 1850': 244.
[170] See, "An unprecedented influx": 435-436.

'Even in Protestant countries they assume a tone, and exercise an influence unknown before'. [171] Halifax newspapers included reports about Catholics in Britain and reported that three-quarters of the Protestant clergy of England were 'verging towards the "dark superstition" of Catholicity'[172] and that the 'revival of popish error' and 'popish corruptions' were interfering with the Church of England.[173]

In Britain, in the latter half of the 1820s and beginning of 1830s, the established Church of England was in crisis and efforts to reform the church emerged.[174] The Tractarian Movement or the Oxford Movement, which emerged in 1833, made an effort to reform the Church of England. [175] This movement adopted its name from 90 tracts written at Oxford by the movement's leaders, Henry Newman, John Keble, and Edward Pusey. [176] These written articles became the focus of the movement and aimed to show the links between the Church of England and Catholicism, and aspired to reinstate these into church traditions.[177] The Oxford movement desired to renew the apostolic and Catholic heritage of the Church of England arguing that it had evolved from Roman Catholicism and that it should readopt Catholic traditions.[178] The movement's desire to reinstate Catholic traditions into the Church of England, however, was met with suspicion, as some believed it was 'inclining the Church of England towards Rome' and aimed to interfere with the order and authority of the Church.[179] This goes some way

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[171] *The Christian Messenger,* August 9 1844.
[172] *The Halifax Register,* August 29 1843.
[173] *The Christian Messenger,* February 4 1842.
[174] Howard Martin, *Britain in the 19th Century* (Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes Ltd, 2002), 246. George Herring, *What was the Oxford Movement?* (London: Continuum, 2002), 13.
[175] Cuthbert Wright "'Second Spring': The Tractarian Movement 1833-1933", *The Sewanee Review* 41:3 (1933): 269.
[176] Marie Conn, "The Church and the City, 1840-1865" in *This Far by Faith,* ed., David R. Contosta (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 156.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Wright "'Second Spring', 270.
[179] Martin, *Britain in the 19th Century*, 246.

towards explaining why there were anti-Catholic reports claiming that Protestants were 'verging towards the dark superstition of Catholicity' and why there was the belief that there was a 'revival of popish error' in Britain. [180] Papers claimed that Roman Catholics were becoming 'exceedingly active' due to an increase in their influence and 'many pious Protestants' were becoming greatly alarmed. [181]

As previously stated, these concerns emerged in Britain due to a substantial increase in the Catholic population. It had increased from around thirty thousand at the beginning of the nineteenth century to a prediction of around 750,000 by 1850. [182] The majority of this increase was a result of Irish immigration to Britain in the 1840s, but had already been increasing during the 1830s.[183] Catholicism was viewed as a threat to Protestantism due to the growing influence and number of Catholics in Britain, combined with a supposed incompatibility of Catholicism in English political institutions, and strengthened efforts from Catholics in challenging the Protestant religion in the 1840s.[184] *The Cross*, in 1843, summed this up when it reported that 'an opinion generally prevails in Protestant countries that the ceremonies of the Catholic Church are not consonant to the spirt of religion and that they greatly tend to encourage superstition'.[185] These fears emerging in Britain were echoed in Halifax since it too was experiencing increased levels of Irish immigration and some Protestants viewed Irish Catholics as a threat to their religion and as gaining too much authority by encroaching on Protestant rights. J. R. Miller, in his study of anti-Catholicism in Canada, argued that North America copied the

[180] *The Halifax Register*, August 29 1843. *The Christian Messenger*, February 4 1842. *The Christian Messenger*, January 7 1842.
[181] *The Christian Messenger*, August 9 1844.
[182] Ralls, "The Papal Aggression of 1850": 244.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] *The Cross*, June 25 1843.

uproar that Papal aggression caused in Britain and that this was intriguing since Catholics in British North America, by the mid-nineteenth century, had experienced 'a full-ecclesiastical organisation for decades without causing any upset'. [186] The 'uproar' of anti-Catholic sentiment that emerged in British North America, however, was strongly influenced by anti-Irish sentiment, not just by an upsurge in Catholic immigration in the late 1840s.[187] A. J. B. Johnston, states that the expressions of anti-Catholicism emerging in the 1840s were not just a simple echo of manifestations in Britain, but represented the genuine beliefs of people residing in colonial Nova Scotia.[188] He states that anti-Catholic attitudes emerged in relation to the specific social, political, and economic setting of Nova Scotia and that it 'resembled an ideology with its own set of assumptions and internal logic.' [189] To support this, he argues that economic uncertainty in Nova Scotia in the 1840s and 1850s provoked anti-Catholic and anti-Irish attitudes, as did the elections during this period.[190] Terrence J. Fay, also argues that the Anglo Protestants' fear of Catholicism 'was assimilated in a unique way by Nova Scotians, who were reacting to the large Irish Catholic immigration'. [191]

Population statistics can be used as a reference to get a sense of this rapid increase in the Irish Catholic population of Halifax and helps in understanding where these fears of Catholics encroachment came from. Between 1815 and 1838 it is estimated that around 11,000 Irish migrants came to Halifax, a large proportion of whom were Irish Catholics. [192] While not all of these migrants stayed in Halifax, sufficient numbers remained to make

[186] Ralls, "The Papal Aggression of 1850": 36.
[187] See, "An unprecedented influx": 436-437.
[188] Johnston "Popery and Progress": 146.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid, 159.
[191] Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 137.
[192] Johnston "Popery and Progress": 147.

a distinct presence and by 1838, they represented 35.1% of the population.[193] It is estimated that, by 1851, of the 8,800 Catholics in Halifax 7,500 of them were Irish. [194] Other population statistics also predicted that by 1851, one in every three people living in Halifax were Catholic. [195] As a result, the 1840s was a period of intensified religious antagonism as the famine migration, which occurred towards the end of the decade, combined with the already high Catholic influx to Halifax from previous years, meant Nova Scotian Protestants were feeling uneasy about a strengthened Catholic presence in Nova Scotia.[196]

A. J. B. Johnston, in his study of anti-Catholicism in Nova Scotia, advances this idea by arguing that, as the middle of the nineteenth century approached, feelings of toleration towards Catholics were undeniably in decline and that 'hundreds if not thousands' of anti-Catholic articles, stories and letters emerged in Nova Scotian newspapers.[197] Newspaper research conducted for this thesis supports this claim. Various issues contained anti-Catholic rhetoric, which suggests that there would have been hundreds of anti-Catholic articles present in Nova Scotia when all newspapers are considered. Johnston also stated that anti-Catholic sentiment was not just limited to denominational newspapers but also appeared in secular papers. [198] The newspaper analysis in this thesis also supports this claim as both religious and secular papers have been selected. David Brundage, in his study of Irish settlement, reinforces this idea and explains that as Irish Catholics grew in number and in political influence, anti-Irish

[193] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax", 147.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 137.
[196] Johnston, "'The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia": 14.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Johnston "Popery and Progress": 147.

nativism and anti-Catholic sentiment tended to intensify with this, arguing that literature often depicted Irish Catholics as ignorant and superstitious. [199] There is evidence of this in the Halifax press. Throughout the 1840s, newspapers often portrayed Irish Catholics negatively referring to their Catholicism as 'intolerant superstition'[200] and that they were jeopardising the Protestant religion and the colony.[201] The *Christian Messenger*, in outlining the principle 'characteristics of Popery', also stated that superstition and intolerance were distinct features of Catholicism and that a 'special instrument of Catholic power' was intimidation and this could be used to sustain their influence. [202] The term 'Catholic ascendency' itself, also appeared numerous times in newspapers in relation to the Irish. Protestants in Nova Scotia tended to regard Irish Catholics in particular as more of a threat to their religion and to the development of Nova Scotia than Catholics of any other ethnicity. [203] *The Cross,* in 1847, supports this idea in its discussion of the Irish abroad claiming that the Irish were confronted with 'more jealousy and opposition than the emigrants from France, England, Germany or Scotland'.[204]

A more detailed analysis of newspaper discussions of 'Catholic ascendency' strengthens the argument that religious antagonism emerged in Halifax in relation to the growing numbers of Irish and their increasing influence. For example, in 1843, the *Christian Messenger* included a note warning readers of Catholic encroachment stating that it was the responsibility of every Protestant 'to use his best endeavours' to prevent Catholics 'seducing the minds of the simple and unwary and acquiring the ascendency

[199] David Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America: The Politics of Exile, 1798-1998* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 61.
[200] *The Christian Messenger*, July 16 1847.
[201] *The Christian Messenger*, February 5 1847.
[202] *The Christian Messenger*, May 28 1847.
[203] Johnston, "'The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia': 88.
[204] *The Cross*, February 13 1847.

over the Protestant Church'.[205] This not only proves there was a fear of Catholic ascendency but also provides evidence of a suspicion surrounding Roman Catholics gaining more influence by referring to this as 'seducing', a word often linked to dishonesty and corruption.

This fear of growing Catholic influence in Nova Scotia was also evident in the *Christian Messenger* in 1847 when it noted the new and powerful impulse of Popery and referred to this as a 'threatened evil' and to the Catholic religion as the 'enemy'. It further stated that, with the Catholic religion gaining more influence, there would be a 'relapse into ignorance, superstition and barbarism' and claimed that Catholics were 'busily and earnestly at work to increase' their power. [206] There was also the belief that as Catholics aimed to advance their religion, it would be done at the cost of damaging the Protestant religion.[207] The *Christian Messenger* sums up this idea by stating that the 'increase of Roman Catholic influence' and the 'greater acquisition of power' would degrade the position of Protestants, and therefore dangerous consequences would follow.[208] It warned that an 'important crisis in the affairs of Nova Scotia' would arise and that a struggle would soon commence between Catholics and Protestants, which would 'powerfully affect the civil as well as religious interest of the people'. It claimed that if the Roman Catholics advanced their power in the assembly they would soon control the legislative functions and would 'serve to elevate and increase the power of [an] aspiring and exclusive portion of the population'. The *Christian Messenger* claimed that Catholics were influenced by external and foreign relations and would not have Nova Scotia's best

[205] *The Christian Messenger,* March 31 1843.
[206] *The Christian Messenger,* June 4 1847.
[207] Johnston, "'The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia': 82.
[208] *The Christian Messenger,* May 28 1847.

interests at heart because they were 'estranged to a large extent by the secret and coercive working of a foreign spiritual power' [209] and were therefore perceived as harming the position of Protestants.

As a result, some newspapers aimed to restore confidence in its Protestant readers. *The Halifax Morning Post* in 1847 discussed 'Catholic ascendency' and aimed to reassure readers that there were four Protestants to every Catholic and it would therefore be impossible for Catholics to gain religious dominance in Halifax. [210] The *Christian Messenger* also tried to reassure readers by claiming 'we feel assured that the genuine Protestant principles and feeling that exist…are such as will ensure the united efforts of Christians of every nature to withstand the threatened evils' of the Catholic religion.[211]

In response to this fear of 'Catholic ascendency', *The Cross* stated that the rapid rise in the numbers and influence of Catholics in Nova Scotia was considered by 'many good Protestants as giving just occasion for alarm'. It also stated that many Nova Scotian newspapers consequently aimed to portray Irish Catholics in a negative light to create prejudice against them. [212] It termed the cry of Catholic ascendency and Catholic encroachment as 'cuckoo' stating that it was a 'bug-bear' used by Protestants to create hostility against Catholics. [213] Writing in response to claims that Catholic encroachment in Nova Scotia was a 'mere chimer' and an anxiety based on an idea that held no legitimacy, the *Christian Messenger* stated that 'we think we need only call the attention of our readers to the power and influence which the Roman Catholics already possess'.

[209] *The Christian Messenger*, May 28 1847.
[210] *The Halifax Morning Post*, June 29 1847.
[211] *The Christian Messenger*, June 4 1847.
[212] *The Cross*, January 22 1848.
[213] *The Cross*, February 20 1847.

Further stating that 'Catholics have already a fair share of influence in proportion to their numbers' and were looking to increase this.[214]

As Irish Catholics aimed to preserve their religious identity through advancing their authority in the 1840s, they met cries of Catholic ascendency and Catholic encroachment, which provoked fears and caused religious antagonism. Religious antagonism in Halifax, however, was less severe when compared to other areas of increased Irish immigration, although prejudice, at times, still acted as a hindrance to the preservation and progression of Irish religious identities. Catholics in Halifax tended to play 'down aspects of their faith and practice most likely to offend non-Catholics' which meant they 'retained the goodwill of liberal-minded Protestants'.[215] Although this still suggests that Irish Catholics met resentment in their efforts to preserve their identity as they were perceived as becoming too powerful, influential and imposing on the Protestant religion. This posed a possible challenge for Irish Catholics to preserve their identity as they met more opposition, fear, suspicion and resentment than Irish Protestants. Terrence Punch, reinforces this idea by arguing that Irish Protestants had a different experience to Irish Catholics in Halifax as Irish Protestants did not encounter religious discrimination in the way Catholics did.[216]

An analysis of *The Cross,* in 1847, further develops this idea. It listed reasons why Catholics in Nova Scotia were at a disadvantage in relation to their religion and referred to the unfair monopoly of the Church of England in Nova Scotia.[217] The Church of England was established in Nova Scotian law as early as 1758 and was the leading

[214] *The Christian Messenger*, May 28 1847.
[215] Murphy, "Religion Walked Forth In All Her Majesty": 77.
[216] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax", 7.
[217] *The Cross,* April 17 1847.

religion of the colony. [218] The writers of *the Cross* felt that the domination held by the Church of England and the privileges and advantages that came with this were not reflective of the religious population of Nova Scotia, claiming that Catholics made up to almost a third of the population yet the Church of England held the majority of power. [219] Irish Catholics therefore, believed that they were not represented proportionately. In noting this, *the Cross* stated that they did not aim to create animosity or jealousy but wanted to make people aware of the reasons they were complaining and why Catholics deserved more influence in the colony. [220] In fact, T.W. Acheson, in his study of the Atlantic region in the 1840s, argues that the Irish Catholics were not alone in this belief. He argues that many of the different religious groups in the Atlantic region during this period believed the government had granted the Church of England 'an unfair advantage'.[221] They maintained a monopoly of higher education, were given grants for Anglican buildings and made sure that officials in the majority of the public positions were Anglican.[222] Irish Catholics confronted challenges in preserving their religious identity, believing they did not receive the same freedoms and benefits as Anglican Protestants despite accounting for such a large proportion of the population. To argue this point further, the Presbyterianism denomination can be considered. Presbyterianism was the largest Maritime Protestant denomination, representing approximately one quarter of the Maritime population in 1817, and like Irish Catholics, they believed the Anglican Church had an unfair advantage. [223] Their population continued to increase throughout the

[218] Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism 1781-1830": 30.
[219] *The Cross*, April 17 1847.
[220] The Cross, April 17 1847.
[221] T.W Acheson, "The 1840s: Decade of Tribulation" in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, ed., Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 317.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism 1781-1830": 29.

nineteenth century and by 1871, 25.5% of the Nova Scotian population were Presbyterian, yet the Anglican Church still maintained a monopoly.[224] Presbyterians and the Anglican Church were competing for influence. This not only reflects the diversity of Protestantism but also indicates that Catholics were not alone in confronting challenges to the preservation of their religious identity. [225]

The growing number of Irish Catholics was another factor that influenced fears of Catholicism and the threat they posed to the British Empire. Karly Kehoe, in her study of Catholics in Nova Scotia, argues that many Irish Catholics migrated to different areas in the British Empire and played a crucial role in the development and colonisation of settlement areas within the formative years of Nova Scotia.[226] However, she notes that by the 1840s the substantial Catholic population in Nova Scotia was sometimes the cause of concern as it symbolised a 'dangerous anomaly' in the Empire because Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia were sometimes believed to be disloyal. [227] Many Protestants in Nova Scotia held the view that Catholics' split their loyalty between the Pope of Rome and the British monarch, with the Pope often taking priority. This led Protestants to question Catholics' loyalty to the British Empire, especially as their numbers increased. [228] The *Christian Messenger* in 1840 stated that 'Popery' essentially aimed to take the crown from the Monarch's head. [229] Thus, there were beliefs that elements of Catholicism were incompatible within the British Empire as Catholicity could sometimes conflict with the principle values reinforced by the British Empire and crown.

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[224] Charles Scobie and George Rawlyk, *The contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), xiii.
[225] Murphy, "The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism 1781-1830": 29.
[226] Kehoe, "Catholic Relief and the Political Awakening of Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1780-1830": 2.
[227] Johnston, "'The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia': 74
[228] Ibid.
[229] *The Christian Messenger,* May 29 1940.

From analysing newspapers in Halifax, another two clear areas emerge in which fears of Catholicism occurred frequently. This was in relation to politics and education. During periods of possible change, fears over Catholic domination and influence in the 1840s tended to intensify. This meant that there was a perception that Irish Catholics had a greater influence in deciding the outcome of these potential changes. Terrence Punch, agreed with this and argued that the Irish suffered decades of stereotyping and prejudice as a result of poor press, some of which was a deliberate attempt to distort perceptions of the Irish and he further argued that this usually occurred in response to specific and temporary circumstances. [230] For example, discussions surrounding elections, the responsible government, Catholic schooling and the introduction of a new non-denominational college in Halifax, were all frequently discussed in the press in relation to Irish Catholics and their growing influence and caused anti-Catholic sentiment. This reinforces the idea that religious antagonism existed in the 1840s as Irish Catholics aimed to preserve and advance their religious identity and authority.

The 1840s was an interesting period for education in the Atlantic region and as argued by T.W Acheson, 'some of the most bitter public debates were waged over the issue of the colleges' in these years. [231] Anglicanism had previously obtained a privileged position in education, but other religious groups started to form their own publically funded educational establishments and the Irish Catholics in Halifax were included in this. [232] An article in the *Nova Scotian* outlined the significance of education when it stated, 'in this little province, having a population scarcely equal to the town of Liverpool

[230] Terrence Punch, "Aspects of Irish Halifax at Confederation" (paper presented at the conference 'Ethnic Identity in Atlantic Canada. Saint Marys University, April 1981).
[231] Acheson, "The 1840s: Decade of Tribulation", 318.
[232] Ibid.

in England and whose revenue does not amount to one fourth part of the annual income of many private gentlemen in the mother country, there are at present four colleges'.[233] These colleges consisted of Kings (Anglican), Saint Mary's (Roman Catholic), Dalhousie (Non-denominational, although founded by Presbyterians) and Acadia (Baptist).[234]

As stated previously, the 1840s was a significant period for Catholics to advance and maintain their religious identity and evidence of this is in the founding of Saint Mary's Catholic College in 1840. In the earlier years of colonisation, Catholics were limited greatly in their ability to form religious schools, as outlined in the Education Act of 1766. This act stated that if a person of the 'popish religion' should be presumptuous enough to try to establish a school within the province of Nova Scotia they should face imprisonment and pay a fine.[235] However, as the nineteenth century developed Catholics were granted more freedom to maintain their religion through education, to the extent that Mary Liguori, a specialist in Irish Catholic immigration to Nova Scotia, argues that Catholics in Halifax had their greatest influences through their expansion of the church and educational endeavours.[236] However, she also argues that, in the period under discussion, only a 'beginning was made' in relation to their educational influence. [237] The founding of St Mary's Catholic college, in 1840 highlights this beginning and marks progress both in religious and educational terms.

Patrick Mannion, a historian of Irish diaspora and the Irish in Newfoundland, sums this up by arguing that the founding of Saint Mary's Seminary was a momentous

[233] *The Nova Scotian,* 20 February 1843.
[234] Scobie and Rawlyk, *The contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada*, 65.
[235] Mary Liguori, "The Impact of a Century of Irish Catholic Immigration in Nova Scotia, 1750-1850" (PHD Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1961), 160.
[236] Ibid, 159.
[237] Ibid.

time for the Catholic Church in Halifax as it provided the young men of Halifax with an opportunity to study for the priesthood.[238] This institution also improved Irish Catholics' access to higher education, helping them to train members of their congregation, create networks and achieve a sense of belonging to a wider Catholic community. It also provided opportunities to teach the core morals and principles of Catholicism, and in doing so helped preserve their religious identity.[239] Catholic institutions could also provide opportunities for worship and for the study of theology, which was an important aspect to education.[240] Mannion notes further that Irish priests originally operated this institution and this helped to sustain a strong Irish character within the institution. [241] A diocesan priest, Richard Baptist O'Brien helped found St Mary's. Arriving in Halifax in 1839, he aimed to advance the church's control of the Catholic laity.[242] O'Brien became the first principle of the college and assisted in improving the standards of preaching, introduced remarkable changes to public worship and helped to create religious and devotional voluntary associations that promoted Roman Catholicism.[243] Institutions, such as Saint Mary's, allowed young people from relatively wealthy and prosperous families within the Catholic community to congregate. This interaction between members of prominent families within the religious community created what T.W. Acheson, describes as a 'powerful network of identity', which is further evidence that the founding of this institution helped the Irish Catholics to preserve their religious identity through

[238] Mannion, "The Irish Diaspora in Comparative Perspective": 174.
[239] Murphy, "Transformation and Triumphalism", 58.
[240] Terrence J. Murphy, *A Catholic University: Vision and Opportunities* (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2001), 15.
[241] Mannion, "The Irish Diaspora in Comparative Perspective": 174.
[242] Murphy, "Transformation and Triumphalism": 58.
[243] Ibid.

education.[244] Rev. Sister Francis Xavier S.C, a historian of Catholic education expands this idea, and suggests that through education, combined with a growth in the number of immigrants to the province, Catholics in Nova Scotia were not only able to preserve their religion but also able to 'enlarge the number of their adherents'. [245]

In relation to education more broadly, the 1840s was also an interesting period due to the intense debate surrounding religious schools and the discussion of creating one 'mushroom college'. [246] This idea was based on forming one great non-denominational college in Halifax where people of all religions would be welcome.[247] There were two groups in this debate. One group desired to have non-sectarian schools common to everyone and believed sectarian institutions were inefficient and a burden to the colony. [248] The opposing group wanted denominational schools in Nova Scotia to allow religious groups to educate their own people. [249] Many Catholics in Nova Scotia tended to support the second stance on this debate, believing that as a minority group, the separate school system would help them guarantee their religious rights.[250] The debates surrounding this concept of a common school and discussion and efforts to combine educational establishments therefore threatened and undermined Catholics' ability to preserve their religious identity through Catholic institutions. This would eliminate the religious aspects of colleges in Halifax and threaten Catholics' ability to preserve their identity through religious teachings and education.

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[244] Acheson, "The 1840s: Decade of Tribulation", 318.
[245] Sister Francis Xavier, S.C, "Educational Legislation in Nova Scotia and the Catholics" *Canadian Catholic Historical Association* 24 (1957): 63.
[246] *The Christian Messenger,* March 10 1843.
[247] P.B. Waite, "Dictionary of Canadian Biography: Arthur Stanley Mackenzie", http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mackenzie_arthur_stanley_16E.html (Accessed 19/06/2018)
[248] *The Nova Scotian*, February 14 1848.
[249] Xavier, S.C, "Educational Legislation in Nova Scotia and the Catholics": 69
[250] Ibid.

The 1840s was also a time of religious rivalries between numerous religious groups and ethnicities and the idea of merging all colleges into one single non-denominational college had the ability to provoke religious antagonism as this viewpoint caused opposition and resentment, which was sometimes linked to Irish Catholics. The Baptist editors of the *Christian Messenger* believed that even in a non-denominational college, Irish Catholics still wanted to display their religion and questions arose over how the non-religious dimension of the colleges would work. [251] One writer questioned how a non-religious college would be able to unite people of different sects, promote morality and ensure that it was anti-religious. He stated, 'how they are going to work that place into the affections of the people I am at a loss to know'. [252] The liberal reformer editors of the *Nova Scotian* however, believed that sectarian colleges, such as those founded by the Irish, were dangerous to the prosperity and peace of Nova Scotia, as they would foster religious prejudices, animosity and division. [253] This debate put Irish Catholics in an interesting position for, on the one hand, discussions surrounding one common school aimed to place them in a position equal to all other religious groups but on the other, it undermined their ability to spread Catholic ways and maintain their distinct religious identity through separate colleges.

Some people held the view that the Irish Catholics wanting to maintain their religious identity through their own educational institutions could provoke religious antagonism as it created opposition and was as a barrier that prevented all religious groups from cooperating in one educational establishment. Consequently, some

[251] *The Christian Messenger*, March 10 1843.
[252] *The Christian Messenger*, March 10 1843.
[253] *The Nova Scotian*, February 20 1843.

Protestants believed that there was 'a Popish plot going on among the Irish to destroy all schools except their own' [254] and that it was the explicit aim of Catholics in Nova Scotia to destroy all Protestant institutions and the Protestant religion. [255] One writer in the correspondence section of the *Nova Scotian* in 1843 exclaimed that Catholics were planning to destroy other schools in the city and 'make themselves masters of the town' and was anxious that Halifax was turning into a 'popish town'. [256] As suspicion and concern emerged surrounding Irish Catholics forming their own educational institutions, apprehensions appeared in the newspapers about Catholics advancing their religion through education. [257] The *Christian Messenger* displayed an article named 'Thoughts on Colleges' which asked Protestant readers if they were ready for the supremacy of Rome in education and warned of consequences to Protestantism if Catholics were given a 'power so vast and so important as education'.[258] It warned that the only possible alternative to one great college in Halifax was to 'throw it into the hands of the Catholic body' which was 'rendered disgustful to the Protestant communities' because Catholics would set up their own colleges and weaken Protestant power and influence. [259]

In reference to Catholics founding their own institutions, A. J. B. Johnston, argues that the Irish tended to remain separate from mainstream society and that colonial Protestants often resented this. [260] Evidence to support this claim can be found in the way that Irish Catholics sought to create their own educational institution, in the form of Saint

[254] *The Nova Scotian,* March 27 1843.
[255] Johnston, "'The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia": 81-82.
[256] *The Nova Scotian,* March 27 1843.
[257] Waite, "Dictionary of Canadian Biography: Arthur Stanley Mackenzie".
[258] *The Christian Messenger*, 17 March 1843.
[259] *The Christian Messenger*, 17 March 1843.
[260] Johnston, "'The 'Protestant Spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia": 93.

Mary's, at a time when other educational institutions in Halifax existed. [261] This college aimed to preserve the Catholic religion and was considered by some Protestants to be a college which 'could never be an institution in which Protestants of any name could seek to educate their sons'.[262] Some Nova Scotians believed that Catholicism and Protestantism were 'as adverse as light and darkness' and Protestants could therefore not be educated in a Catholic institution. [263] *The Cross* in 1848 accused Catholics of 'exclusiveness' in terms of their education.[264] This concern was also reflected in *the Times* in 1846 wherein it was written that the Irish would start to create their own institutions and this would undermine the privileges of the English, Scottish, and Haligonian populations residing in Halifax.[265] It is significant that newspapers such as *the Times* displayed this view. This paper stressed an importance on 'public affairs treated with an eye to the best interests of Britain' and is therefore likely that it sought to portray the increasing influence of the Irish as threatening to British intuitions.[266]

Another example of the suspicion that arose in relation to education, as the influence of Irish Catholics increased, was the emergence of an opinion that Catholics were aiming to gain more influence through conversions. The *Halifax Morning Post* noted that their schools aimed to bind people to 'the fetters of Romish superstition during life' and convert people to their Roman Catholic beliefs. [267] *The Cross* also mentioned the belief that Catholics aimed to convert people to their religion by offering children free

[261] *The Nova Scotian*, November 24 1842.
[262] *The Christian Messenger*, June 17 1842.
[263] *The Christian Messenger*, 11 June 1847.
[264] *The Cross*, January 22 1848.
[265] *The Times*, September 29 1846.
[266] Allan Nevins, "American Journalism and Its Historical Treatment", *Journalism Quarterly*, 36:4 (2012): 414.
[267] *The Halifax Morning Post*, August 26 1847.

Catholic education. Protestants often regarded this view as 'a systematic attempt to proselytise' [268] and linked this to ideas of Irish Catholics wanting to advance their religion at the cost of damaging the Protestant religion.

Not only were Irish Catholics challenged by negative attitudes towards their religious education, they were also faced with more practical challenges in preserving their religious identity in relation to funding and money.[269] This was reflected in newspapers at this time and Catholics believed that they were not receiving adequate funding and felt they were entitled to more public funding. For example, *the Cross* stated that, whilst Catholics accounted towards almost half of the whole population of Halifax, they were only given one hundred pounds for their two large schools at Saint Mary's. [270] *The Cross* in 1848 also stated that it was 'amusing' to hear the cry of Catholic ascendency in Halifax when they were receiving so little money to educate Catholics, which led to the view that they could hardly be encroaching on Protestant's rights and interfering with their religious domination. [271] This helps to emphasise that, whilst Irish Catholics were effective in preserving their religious identity through the creation of their own religious institutions in the form of Saint Mary's college, they also met challenges, ranging from verbal opposition from Protestants and promoters of the non-denominational college to the more practical problems surrounding money.

Tensions surrounding money and the public funding of such institutions also arose. Irish Catholics were not only successful in gaining a university charter in 1841 but

[268] *The Cross,* January 22 1848,
[269] Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics*, 143.
[270] *The Cross,* July 3 1847.
[271] *The Cross,* April 8 1848.

were also successful in the House of Assembly in obtaining grants for their college.[272] Other religious dominations, however, viewed this as wasting the colony's money and it provoked tensions amongst those who supported the idea of common schools because they disapproved of the grants Catholic institutions, such as Saint Mary's, had received. For example, an article in the *Christian Messenger* in 1849 stated that 'for the last four years we have been giving £1000 of the public money, for educating clergymen in the Roman Catholic faith' and questioned if this was a 'sound system'.[273]

Some people perceived Catholics who wished to preserve their identity though their own institutions as being exclusive and believed the aim by some to maintain their religion through education was at the cost of the Protestant religion and a means for Catholics to increase their power. This links the debates about the Irish Catholic religion and education to fears of Catholic advancement.

In the 1840s, the Irish were successful in raising the power of their church and in establishing institutions and organisations to maintain their religious identity, but it was also a time when their political awareness increased.[274] The prolonged struggle to found a new diocese, which eventually happened in the 1840s, and the creation in Halifax of a Repeal association that backed the repeal of the Act of Union prompted a new sense of political consciousness. [275] This decade was also an interesting period for politics more broadly in Nova Scotia as debate, significant elections and an intense rivalry between two

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[272] Liguori, "The Impact of a Century of Irish Catholic Immigration in Nova Scotia, 1750-1850", 190.
[273] The *Christian Messenger*, April 13 1849.
[274] Punch, 'The Irish in Halifax': 165.
[275] Blake Brown, "Three Cheers for Lord Denman: Reformers, the Irish, and Jury Reforms in Nova Scotia, 1833-1845", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association,* 16:1 (2005): 151.
For a brief summary of the Irish in politics in Nova Scotia see: Saint Mary's University, *Holy Cross Cemetery: Bishop's Row*. Retrieved from: http://www.smu.ca/history/holy-cross/bishops-row.html (Accessed: 19/06/2018).

opposing parties emerged. [276] This decade also witnessed intense debate over the question of responsible government in British North America. [277]

An increasing influence occurred in politics in relation to the sway Irish immigrants had in politics due to an increase in the number of Catholics. A fear of Irish immigrants expanding their political influence deepened in Halifax as the decade wore on and played a crucial role in the legislative elections throughout the decade and an examination of newspapers from this period provides evidence of this.[278] Three major elections occurred in Nova Scotia during the 1840s: 1840; 1843; and in 1847. [279]

Cries of Catholic encroachment in relation to politics were present at the beginning of the decade. The *Nova Scotian* in 1840 aimed to address this fear of Catholic advancement in terms of how ridiculous it was by stating that only four of the 51 members of parliament were Catholic. It further acknowledged that there was no way Catholics could establish an ascendency as they only had one member in the legislative council and none in the executive council. [280] As Catholics gained more power in politics, and as the decade advanced, especially towards the election at the end of the decade, antagonism and anxieties also expanded. However, the *Halifax Morning Post* claimed that 'Catholic ascendency was a bug-bear, raised only to influence the present election, for how could one fifth of the population control four fifths'. [281] With regard to the position of Irish Catholics in politics, Terrence Punch, argues they were not powerful

[276] Murray J. Beck, *The Government of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 80.
[277] Acheson, "The 1840s: Decade of Tribulation", 323.
[278] Johnston "Popery and Progress": 147.
[279] Nova Scotia Legislature, 'Election and Dissolution Dates'. Retrieved from: https://nslegislature.ca/about/history/elections accessed 23/08/2018
[280] *The Nova Scotian*, December 24 1840.
[281] *The Halifax Morning Post*, June 29 1847.

enough as electoral candidates or as voters to present a challenge during the 1840s. [282] Nonetheless, the anxiety persisted.

Roman Catholics in Nova Scotia were successful in repealing the strict laws that prohibited them from voting in the earlier years of colonisation and so by the 1840s Irish Catholics in the colony were free to vote and partake in local politics.[283] Terrence Murphy, also argues that unity and the political power of Catholics in Nova Scotia increased as the 1840s approached.[284] By the 1840s, Nova Scotia had two main political parties, the Reform party, subsequently known as the Liberal party, and the Conservatives.[285] The Conservatives sought to maintain strong links to Britain while the Liberals wanted a greater degree of separation from British influence. [286] The main difference between the opinions of these parties therefore 'hinged upon the degree to which British institutions could serve as a pattern for Nova Scotia' and the extent to which Britain's influence played a role in the governing of the colony.[287] In relation to this, the Liberal party of Nova Scotia led the fight for responsible government throughout this decade.[288]

The pledge of responsible government was based on the right to control the internal affairs of Nova Scotia. [289] The idea, especially promoted by the Liberals in the election of 1847, was to establish responsible government in Nova Scotia, which would

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[282] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 200.
[283] Peter T. McGuigan, *Peoples of the Maritimes: Irish* (Tantallon: Four East Publications, 1991), 27.
[284] Terrence Murphy, "Trusteeism in Atlantic Canada: The Struggle for Leadership among the Irish Catholics of Halifax, St. John's and Saint John, 1780-1850" in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930,* ed., Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1993), 133.
[285] Catherine Buckie, "'Parliamentary Democracy in Nova Scotia': How it began, How it Evolved" *Library and Archives Canada (*2009): 30.
[286] Ibid.
[287] Beck, *The Government of Nova Scotia*, 76.
[288] McGuigan, *Peoples of the Maritimes,* 27.
[289] The Nova Scotian, March 5 1840.

allow colonists to have greater control over domestic matters. [290] The Liberal party was successful in its election campaign but not without increased religious and political tensions[291] due to the Liberal victory in the 1847 election being largely associated with the support of Irish Catholics. [292] This indicates a link between politics and religion and shows that they were entwined.

Consequently, a close connection emerged between Irish Catholics in Halifax and the Liberal party because a large number of Irish Catholic immigrants believed that the existing political system in Nova Scotia was insufficient to support their interests and failed to provide them with prospects for advancement. [293] The majority of Irish in Halifax in the 1840s desired a transformation in local and provincial government, as they wanted to see a system that would help to grow their economic and social positions.[294] However, as the Irish Catholics tended to lack the economic influence and the social prestige needed to achieve these objectives, they looked towards politics, sometimes relying upon the influence of the Liberal party, to achieve these aims. [295]

Irish Catholics were drastically underrepresented in official positions in Nova Scotia and within the government.[296] Terrence Punch stated that in 1839 they held only 32 of the 132 places in local public office. [297] Blake Brown, a historian of Atlantic Canada, reinforces this idea by stating that in 1841, Irish Catholics held a mere 15 out of

[290] Buckie, 'Parliamentary Democracy in Nova Scotia': 30.
[291] Nova Scotia Legislature, "Joseph Howe". Retrieved from: https://nslegislature.ca/about/history/joe-howe (Accessed 25/06/2018)
[292] Acheson, "The 1840s: Decade of Tribulation", 325. Brown, "Three Cheers for Lord Denman": 151.
[293] Brown, "Three Cheers for Lord Denman": 151.
[294] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax", 165.
[295] Ibid.
[296] *The Nova Scotian*, December 24 1840.
[297] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 167. Also see: Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 171, for more statistics on the under representation of Irish Catholics in Halifax: focus on civic offices throughout the 1840s.

the 130 places as magistrates and other minor officials in Halifax.[298] Irish Catholics at this time were therefore looking towards a party that aimed to promote change. Punch also argues that by the 1840s many Irish, living in Halifax, 'felt they had a stake' in the city and its governing and the beliefs of the Liberal party seemed 'eminently suited to their needs and desires'.[299] As a result, many Irish Catholics supported the Liberal party in a desire to better their position in Nova Scotia and progress the Irish Catholic community, and as A. J. B Johnston states 'the Liberals were more than happy to receive the electoral support of Roman Catholics'.[300]

A number of newspapers highlighted this association between Irish Catholics and the Liberal party in Nova Scotia. For example, the *Halifax Morning Post* in 1847 aimed to remind readers of this association claiming that it would 'Let the country too, know, and remember that the liberals and the Roman Catholics, as far as their politics are concerned are one and the same'.[301] The Times newspaper noted the Liberal party's 'Irish friends'[302] and termed this an 'unholy alliance', believing that Roman Catholics were striving for religious victory and domination in Nova Scotia.[303]

However, Brown argues that this relationship between the Liberal party of Nova Scotia and the Irish Catholics did not remain continuous throughout the 1840s. [304] Brown links this weakening affiliation to a number of factors, one of which was the continuation of a poor representation of Irish Catholics in prominent and elected positions as the 1840s advanced, and another factor was an increase in Irish Catholic famine migrants who

[298] Brown, "Three Cheers for Lord Denman": 151
[299] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 178.
[300] Johnston, "Popery and Progress': 151.
[301] *The Halifax Morning Post*, February 20 1847.
[302] *The Times*, October 6 1848.
[303] Ibid.
[304] Brown, "Three Cheers for Lord Denman": 151

'brought with them a history of religious and ethnic mistrust and conflict'.[305] The fluctuating relationship of the Liberal-Irish-Catholic association became evident in the 1843 election, as does the growing influence of the Irish in Halifax politics.

By 1843, the growing power of Catholics in Nova Scotian politics was evident in that they had the power to influence which candidate in Halifax won the elective position. [306] The Liberal Party, the apparent allies of Catholics, did not include a single Catholic candidate for the city of Halifax. This provoked prominent Irish Catholics to arrange a boycott of the election by encouraging Catholics not to vote so that the Liberal candidate would lose.[307] This resulted in the victory of the Tory candidate in the area. [308] By doing this, Catholics realised that they had a growing influence in politics and the ability to sway the outcome of elections. [309]

The tactical boycott by the Irish Catholics and their growing political influence provoked feelings of religious and political antagonism. The *Halifax Morning Post* reinforces this view by claiming that the boycott was an attempt of Irish Catholics to strengthen their religion and position in politics.[310] As another election was approaching, this newspaper in 1846 reflected back on the 1843 election and stated that the 'withdrawal of the Roman Catholic body from interference at the last general election' was an attempt to strengthen their position and prove to the Liberal party that they 'were the main spring and sustaining power of that party'.[311] This paper also claimed that Roman Catholics were now on their 'high horse' after realising that the Liberal party needed their support and

[305] Ibid.
[306] Murphy, "Trusteeism in Atlantic Canada", 133
[307] Ibid.
[308] Ibid.
[309] Ibid.
[310] *The Halifax Morning Post*, November 14 1846.
[311] Ibid.

that it was 'now in the power of the Roman Catholics'. [312] Irish Catholics used their votes to advance their position in politics and society and attempted to preserve their identity, as with more power and influence, Irish Catholics would be able to act in the interests and preservation of their own religion. This close association of the Irish Catholics and the Liberals allowed religious antagonism to emerge. Protestants and Conservatives accused the Irish Catholics of using this party to advance their religion and as a result, Irish Catholics were viewed as suspicious and cunning. Terrence Punch, acknowledged that the likelihood of an Irish Catholic candidate winning an election, based exclusively on his denominational or ethnic consistency alone, was low.[313] Punch includes a segment of a letter from a Catholic who asks 'because the Irish population are almost to a man reformers' does that mean that the Reform party 'desire to elevate and strengthen' the Irish Catholic church?[314] This highlights the existence of a belief that Irishmen were using the Liberal party to advance their religion.

In the run up to the election, another Protestant elector complained in *The Times* in 1846 that Catholics were using the civic elections in October 1846 to promote their religion. He claimed that as Catholics in Halifax 'cry out for a reduction of the civic franchise…they are sacrificing their own convictions, and the welfare and peace of the country' and claimed that if a reduction of civic franchise did occur the government of Halifax would be 'at the mercy of the Irish population'.[315]

This idea of Catholics using the Liberal party to advance their religious rights and to increase their power in Nova Scotia was evident throughout the decade and an analysis

[312] Ibid.
[313] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 181.
[314] Ibid.
[315] *The Times*, September 29 1846.

of this proves that religious antagonism existed in relation to politics and Irish Catholics.[316] The majority of Protestants in Halifax believed that prosperity, and civil and religious liberty were reliant upon the dominance of Protestantism and believed that there would be disastrous consequences to these features if Roman Catholicism grew and dominated. [317] Many Irish Catholics, especially those arriving in famine migration, were viewed as being pro-republican, liberal and anti-British and therefore many Protestants felt that the growing political power of the Catholics was a threat to the politics and governing of Halifax. [318] *The Times* highlighted this in 1846, when it reported that the Catholic religion was 'seeking power wherever it is to be found' and desired to extend their privileges in relation to the upcoming elections.[319]

Through an analysis of politics and the discussions surrounding the elections in the 1840s, it is clear that Irish Catholics were advancing their political authority and influence. It is also evident that religious tensions surfaced and were sometimes entwined with other civic and political aspects. This makes it difficult to detect when antagonism emerged strictly in relation to the Irish and their religion and when these tensions arose in relation to politics. Nonetheless, Irish immigration, the increase in the number of Catholics in Halifax and the growing influence of Irish Catholics created religious tensions that were linked to their growing political awareness and increasing influence in politics.

This chapter has aimed to examine the extent to which Irish Catholics in Halifax were able to preserve their religious identity and to assess the extent to which this

[316] The *Nova Scotian*, December 24 1840.
[317] Johnston, "The 'Protestant Spirt' of Colonial Nova Scotia": 110.
[318] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 194.
[319] *The Times*, September 29 1846.

provoked religious antagonism. Through analysing a number of organisations and institutions set up by the Irish throughout the 1840s, it leads to the conclusion that Irish Catholics were greatly effective in preserving their religious identity in this decade. This argument has been developed through discussions of the Irish establishing their own college which served to educate the Irish Catholic community and the creation of the Holy Cross chapel and cemetery which helped to provide a meeting and resting place for Irish Catholics in Halifax. All of which helped to raise the profile of Irish Catholics in the city. Discussions of the creation of the diocese of Halifax, the establishment of Irish organisations and Catholic newspapers in the 1840s have further helped to advance this argument.

It has also been argued that Irish Catholics in Halifax during this period were not only successful in preserving their religious identity; they were also greatly effective in advancing their religion. This was highlighted by considering that the Catholic religion expanded tremendously during the 1840s, increased in power and authority and that Irish Catholics were successful in improving their position in relation to education, politics and society. However, it has been argued throughout this chapter that with this rapid expansion of Catholicism, which the Irish assisted greatly in, religious antagonism also emerged. This religious antagonism was sometimes in the form of resentment, anti-Catholic/anti-Irish sentiment and there was a suspicion directed towards Irish Catholics. Halifax newspapers often displayed this antagonism. This sometimes challenged the ability of the Irish Catholics to preserve their identity. The dispute between the Irish and Scottish Catholics that ultimately resulted in the division of the diocese of Halifax, further indicates that religious antagonism was present and that the Irish provoked this through their desire to maintain their identity. This also shows the complexity of Irish settlers'

identity as they were defined in terms of their religious identity but also in terms of their ethnic identity, despite there not being one distinct Irish ethnic identity. Nonetheless, Irish Catholics were successful in their attempts to preserve and gain power in the Catholic Church in Halifax.

The idea that religious antagonism occurred in response to Irish Catholics maintaining their identity in Halifax was further advanced through focusing on fears of Catholic encroachment and Catholic ascendency. Comparing fears of Catholics' growing influence in Halifax to the situation in Britain highlighted that the fears, which emerged in Britain, were mirrored in Halifax due to Irish Catholics increasing in number and having a greater influence in Nova Scotia. Newspapers warning of Catholic ascendency in Nova Scotia were examined to provide evidence of a fear of Catholic domination and the increasing power of Catholics was assessed in relation to politics and education. From this, it was argued that through the Irish Catholics wanting to maintain their own educational institutions and advance their influence in politics by associating with the Liberal party, religious antagonism occurred.

It is also important to note is that these religious tensions were sometimes entwined with political tension, making it difficult to highlight exactly when tensions specifically arose in relation to religion and when they arose in relation to politics. Lastly, there was discussion of the idea that religious disputes during this decade, while intense, tended to be spoken or written and there were few instances of religious violence. An analysis of two Catholic newspapers in Halifax, *the Cross* and the *Halifax Register* confirmed this point and while religious antagonism existed, it was less severe in Halifax when compared to other areas of increased Irish immigration, despite prejudice at times acting as a hindrance to the preservation and progression of Irish religious identities.

CHAPTER TWO

IRISH ORGANISATIONS IN HALIFAX: THE CHARITABLE IRISH SOCIETY AND THE ORANGE ORDER

Irish migrants and their descendants were faced with many challenges as they aimed to not only adapt and flourish in their new communities but also to preserve their identity overseas. One way this was achieved was through the creation of social networks, societies, and organisations. A. J. B. Johnston, a scholar of religion and anti-Catholicism in the nineteenth century, argues that uniting together to achieve a shared objective or common purpose was at its peak in the nineteenth century as large numbers of people established a range of benevolent societies.[320] Sheridan Gilley, a specialist in Catholicism and the Irish diaspora, supports this and states that the nineteenth century was the 'golden age of religious self-help, and of the voluntary association with a philanthropic and pious intent' and acknowledges a rise in the number of charities and religious orders.[321]

This chapter will focus on two predominantly Irish organisations established in Halifax, the Charitable Irish Society and the Orange Order, and consider the extent to which they enabled Irish migrants to maintain their religious identity. It will also assess if these organisations contributed towards religious tensions in the 1840s. The Charitable Irish Society will be examined first, followed by an analysis of the Orange Order in Halifax. By assessing these two organisations, which were at opposite ends of the

[320] A. J. B. Johnston, "'The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia': An Inquiry into Mid-Nineteenth-Century Anti-Catholicism" (M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1977), 105.
[321] Sheridan Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Nineteenth-Century Irish Diaspora", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 33:2 (1984): 190.

religious spectrum, insight on the city's religious fabric will be gained. These societies helped the Irish maintain their religious identity, but by the 1840s, they had also acquired the ability to foster religious antagonism. During this time the Charitable Irish Society changed to become more political and religious, and there were concerns in Nova Scotia over the expansion of the Orange Order. There was the potential for greater religious antagonism in Halifax, but the Orange Order refrained from pushing religious hostility and violence in Halifax, in contrast to its related organisations in other parts of Atlantic Canada. The Order's influence was not as strong in this area and the presence of the Charitable Irish Society also played a role in reducing religious tensions by showing its loyalty to the crown and by focusing on charity work which helped to diminish the negative views of Irish Catholics that were so prevalent elsewhere. There is little evidence to suggest that either society was involved in instances of major religious hostility such as rioting or violence in Halifax.

Since the nineteenth century was the 'golden age' of religious and voluntary associations, it is no surprise that societies and organisations emerged in Halifax and that they covered a range of interests and concerns. David Sutherland, in his study of voluntary associations in Halifax, argues that the emergence and growth of societies in the second quarter of nineteenth century Halifax, 'was simply emulating a situation found elsewhere in the cities of Britain and the United States.' [322] Irish migrants used these organisations to create a familiar place where they could preserve their identity. [323] Evidence of this appears throughout specific periods of Irish immigration and across

[322] David A. Sutherland, "Voluntary Societies and the Process of Middle-class Formation in Early-Victorian Halifax", *Nova Scotia Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 5:1 (1994): 240.
[323] Enda Delaney and Donald M. MacRaild, ed., *Irish Migration, Networks and Ethnic Identities Since 1750* (New York: Routledge, 2007), xix.

multiple locations in which the Irish settled. They formed organisations and relied on social networks to the extent that Enda Delaney and Donald MacRaild, historians of Irish ethnicities and migration, argue that social networks and organisations became a 'fundamental element of the Irish diasporic experience'.[324] The founding of such organisations, however, not only acted as a means in which the Irish could sustain links to their home country and help them to adapt to new settlement areas but they also provided opportunities to preserve their religious identity. As a result, this sometimes meant that Irish organisations in Halifax became embroiled in controversy and caused tensions as they had the ability to contribute towards hostility because of their religious beliefs. [325]

David Sutherland argues that changes occurred within societies in the early Victorian era which gave a higher profile to their events and activities and these began to dominate the local news and press.[326] Therefore, the analysis and close examination of local newspapers in Halifax in this decade is a valuable source in providing insight into how these societies functioned and the activities in which they were involved.

In aiming to assess how the Irish could use religious organisations to preserve their identity, it is also worth reiterating the complexity of the Irish identity. The term 'Irish' is a complex term as it does not refer to all people of 'that national origin'.[327] This complexity arises over the interrelation of a number of identities which help to inform the ethnic identities of the Irish and this assists in explaining why there is not one set ethnic

[324] Ibid.
[325] MacRaild, 'Wherever Orange Is Worn': 105-106.
[326] Sutherland, "Voluntary Societies and the Process of Middle-class Formation in Early-Victorian Halifax": 240.
[327] MacRaild, 'Wherever Orange Is Worn': 101.

identity.[328] Instead Irish identities were informed by a combination of socio, ethnic, religious, economic, and national identities.[329]

While migration to new settlement areas in the Atlantic world could strengthen group identity among the Irish, there were differences in class, politics, religion and economics.[330] Within these various aspects of identity, religion played an important role as 'religious loyalties…provided the stable focal point of Irish community'.[331] The role that these religious identities played in helping Irish migrants maintain their identity will be considered as many Irish settlers, both Catholic and Protestant, turned towards religious voluntarism and societies to sustain group loyalty and a sense of belonging.[332]

Whilst there is no denying that a religious identity existed amongst groups of Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics 'religious labels…also encompass more than just religious or theological components'. [333] Adding to the complexity of Irish religious identity is the fact that Protestantism was more diverse than Catholicism.[334] For example, there was not a distinct Irish Protestant religion as Protestantism was divided into various religious sects including Presbyterian, Anglican, Baptist, and Methodist, and social class could also play a role in defining Irish Protestant identities.[335] This will be highlighted when considering Protestant membership of the Orange Order. Dominic Bryan, a researcher of religious

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[328] Katrina McLaughlin, Karen Trew and Orla T. Muldoon, "'Religion, Ethnicity and Group Identity": Irish Adolescents' Views', *Nationalism and Ethic Politics Routledge*, 12:3 (2006): 599.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Bernard Aspinwall, "A long journey: the Irish in Scotland" in *Religion and Identity,* ed., Patrick O'Sullivan (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 148.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Ibid.
[333] McLaughlin, Trew and Muldoon, "Religion, Ethnicity and Group Identity": 599.
[334] Dominic Bryan, "The Right to March: Parading a loyal Protestant identity in Northern Ireland", *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights,* 4:3 (1997): 375.
[335] Ibid.

identity in Northern Ireland sums this up by claiming that 'Protestantism became more than simply a religious category developing to a wider identity' sometimes 'linking place (Ulster rather than Ireland), politics (Unionism) and a version of history focussing upon William of Orange (Orangeism)'. [336] Understanding the intricacy of the various Irish ethnic identities, and the role that religious identities could play in this, is essential in understanding how various organisations that appealed to Irish migrants helped them to sustain their identities.

The Charitable Irish Society

Terrence Punch argues that by the mid-1780s the Irish in Halifax had an awareness of identity and community and that evidence of this can be seen in the ways the Irish aimed to preserve their identity through the formation of organisations. [337] One of these organisations was the Charitable Irish Society which was formed on 17 January 1786 by a number of 'Gentlemen, merchants and other inhabitants' of Nova Scotia who showed concern for Irishmen who were 'reduced by sickness, old age, ship wreck or other misfortune'. [338]

The members of this society were obliged to contribute twenty shillings upon admission and two shillings four times a year at each meeting to the society's relief fund. [339] The society's main goal was to offer relief to the poor and impoverished men of Ireland and their descendants in Nova Scotia. [340] Many of the members of this society

[336] Ibid.
[337] Terrence Punch, "'The Irish in Halifax', 1836-1871: A Study in Ethnic Assimilation" (M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1976), 80.
[338] P.A.N.S, MG20 no.65 Minute book.
[339] Ibid.
[340] Ibid.

also used this association to enhance their social position and respectability as well as a means to play an active role in contributing towards the socio-economic development of Halifax. [341] By examining the membership list it can be seen that from the very earliest stages of the society's formation, some of the most powerful and reputable Irishmen in Halifax were joining.[342] For example, individuals such as Richard Uniacke, a solicitor-general, who later became an attorney general, and Lawrence Kavanagh, the first Catholic in Nova Scotia to gain a position in the province's legislative assembly, were both members.[343] Not only did this association attract prominent individuals in the early years but this continued into the decade under examination. *The Cross,* a local newspaper, noted in 1843 'some of the most respectable citizens of Halifax' attended the Charitable Irish Society's annual St. Patricks Day celebration.[344] Similarly, in the first responsible government in the British colonies, established in Nova Scotia in 1847, four of the nine executive council members were presidents of the society. This included James Boyle Uniacke, Joseph Howe, Michael Tobin and Lawrence O'Connor Doyle. [345] It was a society that not only helped the Irish to adapt to their new life in Halifax by providing relief and support, but one that helped them to gain prominent positions in society and provided a social network that helped them to preserve and strengthen their identity.

The society's constitution stated that it was exclusive to natives of Ireland, the sons of Irish men and descendants of members of the society.[346] In its early years of

[341] Kehoe, "Catholic Relief and the Political Awakening of Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1780-1830": 8.
[342] P.A.N.S., MG 20 no.65 Minute book.
[343] Robert Harvey, "'Black Beans, Banners and Banquets': The Charitable Irish Society of Halifax at Two Hundred," *Nova Scotia Historical Review,* 6:1 (1986): 16-35.
[344] *The Cross,* March 24 1843.
[345] Harvey, 'Black Beans, Banners and Banquets': 16-35.
[346] P.A.N.S., MG 20 Vol no.65

formation it lacked religious prejudice and was founded on the basis of creating a society that all Irish ethnicities could join regardless of their religious identity and beliefs. The suggestion that all Irish ethnicities were accepted can be linked to discussions mentioned previously, surrounding the complexity of the Irish ethnicity due to religious, ethnic and national identities being closely related to each other. [347] Since the constitution of this society lacked mention of these specifics, both Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics were able to join. To emphasise this notion, Terrence Punch noted that from the '136 men who signed original articles' and whose religion was identifiable, 53 were Roman Catholic and 43 were Protestant. [348]

In outlining the rules and duties of its members, the Charitable Irish Society mentioned the behaviour of members and emphasized that kindness and affection were key elements to encourage 'friendships and harmony in the society'.[349] The society also expected members to respect the laws of the country while avoiding religious and political controversies in meetings and within the functioning of the society. [350] This shows again that in the formation of the society religion was not a defining feature and instead the society wanted to limit its involvement in religious matters and promote collaboration and harmony among its members. In the early development and settlement of Halifax, this organisation therefore performed the function of reducing religious tensions among the Irish as the society did not specify, in its constitution, particular political, religious or national identities, meaning that both Irish Catholics and Protestants

[347] MacRaild, 'Wherever Orange Is Worn': 101.
[348] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 80.
[349] P.A.N.S. MG 20 Vol no.65
[350] Ibid.

joined in considerable numbers and were interacting together. However, this was also something that would change later.

In reference to this, Mary Liguori, who focuses on Irish immigration, religion and Catholic emancipation in Nova Scotia, argues that the organisational set up of the Charitable Irish Society promoted friendly social communications as it allowed Catholics and Protestants to associate together and to interact with government officials. She argues that 'much of the stigma of the penal laws disappeared in the resulting intercourse' suggesting that this society assisted in reducing religious antagonism among the Irish as it provided an opportunity for Catholics and Protestants to associate together and contribute to their new community.[351]

This cooperation in the early years also helped Irish Catholics advance their position in society. Karly Kehoe argues that cooperation, in the formative years of the society, between Irish Catholics and Protestants was crucial in strengthening the political authority of the Irish Catholics. [352] The organisation had the ability to reduce religious tensions in its formative years and to assist Irish Catholics in preserving their religious identity in Halifax by helping to improve their economic and social status in the colony. [353]

Through a brief case study of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, an example of how Catholic members could improve their position in society can be demonstrated. Doyle, a Roman Catholic, was born in Halifax into the family of an Irish merchant and was also

[351] Liguori, "Haliburton and the Uniackes": 42.
[352] Kehoe, "Catholic Relief and the Political Awakening of Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1780-1830", 11.
[353] Ibid.

the nephew of Lawrence Kavanagh, a prominent Catholic.[354] In 1828 Doyle joined the Charitable Irish Society and his interest in Irish affairs intensified throughout the early 1840s.[355] In 1843, the Charitable Irish Society appointed Doyle as president. He was able to advance not only his individual position in law and politics but also the position of Roman Catholics more generally. [356] The Charitable Irish Society in its early years was dominated by prominent Protestant individuals such as the Uniacke family but with the appointment of Doyle as President the society was now able to help in the 'struggle to end Protestant ascendancy in Halifax public affairs'.[357] Doyle increased his position in politics and was interested in the position of Roman Catholics in the society. He became a prominent individual in the struggle for responsible government but also helped Catholics. [358] This provides evidence of how Catholic individuals not only preserved their identity but advanced their status, power and their position through their participation in societies, social networks, and publicity in Halifax. [359] Doyle was in an advantageous position in influencing politics when compared to other Catholics, as he was related to politician Lawrence Kavanagh, a powerful member of the society in its formative years.[360]

However, despite the perceived inclusiveness of the society in the early years of its formation, Katherine Crooks in her study of the organisation argued that over time the society became predominantly Catholic and this brought some resentment towards Irish

[354] Charles Bruce Fergusson, "Dictionary of Canadian Biography: Laurence O'Connor Doyle," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/doyle_laurence_o_connor_9E.html (Accessed 11/06/2018).
[355] Ibid.
[356] Sutherland, "Voluntary Societies and the Process of Middle-class Formation in Early-Victorian Halifax": 246.
[357] Ibid.
[358] Ibid. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/doyle_laurence_o_connor_9E.html
[359] Crooks, "The Quest for Respectability", 178.
[360] Harvey, 'Black Beans, Banners and Banquets': 16-35.

Catholics in Halifax. [361] Terrence Punch also noted this transformation, declaring that a substantial shift in its character occurred between 1838 and 1848 and this was accompanied by hostility. [362] To emphasise this shift in the religious nature of the society, he showed that in 1838, 78.2% of the society's members were Roman Catholic and 21.8% were Protestant and that by 1848 Irish Catholics had grown to 92.5%.[363] This transformation also meant that by the 1840s the Charitable Irish Society's ability to reduce religious tensions was weakened due to Irish Protestants and Catholics no longer interacting together to the same extent as they had done in previous years.

Local newspapers in Halifax are an important reference to support the claim that by the 1840s The Charitable Irish Society was functioning to support the needs of Irish Catholics and had become more religious in nature. For example, the Catholic newspaper, *The Cross,* highlighted the St. Patrick's Day celebrations in 1843 organised by the Charitable Irish Society and stated that it would be a day 'long remembered by the Catholics of Halifax'.[364] *The Cross* detailed that preparations for the St. Patrick's Day ceremony were 'on the most extensive scale' and that the 'sacred edifice was crowded in every part'. It reported that the ceremony started at 10 o'clock when the bishop 'entered the church and was received by the Charitable Irish Society', after which a series of religious practices followed. This included the 'solemn blessing of a splendid processional cross' and 'relics of the apostles and other eminent saints', after which high mass then commenced. In the evening, *The Cross* also reported that there was a

[361] Ibid: 175.
[362] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 121.
[363] Ibid, 142.
[364] The *Cross*, March 24 1843.

'benediction of the most holy sacrament'.[365] This suggests that this event was not only a 'manifestation of national and social feeling' but that there was a religious aspect to this celebration that helped the Irish Catholics of Halifax celebrate and preserve their religious identity.[366]

This growing religious identification was demonstrated by the fact that the St. Patrick's Day ceremony took place at St. Mary's Catholic Church and religious practices followed. Katherine Crooks supports this claim stating that the domination of Irish Catholics in the society was evident in every St. Patrick's Day parade in the 1840s, excluding that of 1842, as it was followed by a religious service in one of the Halifax's Catholic churches. [367] This raises questions about the organisation's non-denominationalism and the extent to which it was becoming a Catholic organisation. While the society's St. Patrick's Day celebration's close link to Catholicism could be considered risky for a society that still had Protestant members and aggravate religious tensions, the festivities in Halifax did not cause religious disorder unlike other places, where the Irish celebrated and sometimes caused disruption over its close links with Irish nationalism and Catholicism. [368] The absence of newspaper articles suggests that the Charitable Irish Society's St. Patrick's Day celebrations were not linked to disruption or unrest.

In relation to the Irish attempting to preserve their religious identity in Halifax, Terrence Punch connected the growth of Irish Catholics there to the need of Catholics to

[365] The *Cross*, March 24 1843.
[366] *The Cross*, March 25 1848.
[367] Crooks, "The Quest for Respectability", 175.
[368] Ibid, 169-170.

join organisations to maintain their identity, claiming that Irish Protestants tended to become more 'assimilated and integrated' into Halifax and therefore they felt less of a need to join associations such as the Charitable Irish Society. [369] Supporting this claim, other historians of Irish migration such as Graham Walker, argue that Irish Protestants in America placed less emphasis on maintaining their 'original sense of identity' and often assimilated quicker into their new communities than their Catholic counterparts.[370] This reinforces the complexity of the Irish ethnic and religious identity and suggests that they felt less of a need to join associations to preserve their identity. In his study of diaspora, Kevin Kenny argues that assimilation or incorporation of immigrants rested upon acceptance of identities by the host country and those that were considered unsuitable for incorporation often experienced more struggles, bigotry and discrimination than those who assimilated quicker. [371] Irish Catholics' increased desire to join organisations such as the Charitable Irish Society and the declining want for Irish Protestants in the 1840s to join the society may, on a wider scale, reflect some of the struggles faced by Irish Catholics and the different desires to preserve their identities.

Irish immigration to Halifax also increased at the beginning of the nineteenth century and this may account for the growth in Catholic membership within the Charitable Irish Society as it became an organisation that Irish Catholics arriving in Halifax, especially by the 1840s, relied upon and used as a means to preserve their religious identity. [372] Many new immigrants to Halifax often 'found themselves isolated

[369] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 142.
[370] Graham Walker, "The Protestant Irish in Scotland" in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the 19th and 20th Century*, ed., T.M Devine (Edinburgh: JDP, 1991), 44.
[371] Kenny, "Diaspora and Comparison": 147.
[372] Kehoe, "Catholic Relief and the Political Awakening of Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1780-1830", 7.

in a sea of strangers' and for these people voluntary societies could act as a 'substitute for lost kinship connections'. [373] David Sutherland, in his study of organisations in Halifax expands this notion, claiming voluntary societies became particularly attractive to individuals born out with Halifax, who probably lacked 'strong kinship networks' and states that Roman Catholics, Scottish and Irish flocked to organisations because they 'were deemed to be somewhat disreputable according to oligarchic convention in Halifax'.[374]

As the society's membership changed to become predominantly Catholic, the Charitable Irish Society undertook more responsibilities in the social and political affairs that reflected the interest of its members and, as Crooks in her study of the Charitable Irish Society argues, this helped to soften 'the public image' of Irish Catholics in Halifax. [375] She states that for the society to effectively strengthen the position of Irish Catholics they 'affirmed through public ritual their loyalty to the crown' and this allowed the now predominantly Catholic association to function within an Empire which was frequently perceived as Protestant.[376] Public parades and street demonstrations also helped to increase public awareness of activities of societies and in the Charitable Irish Society's case, acts of loyalty towards the Queen could help to diminish negative views of Catholics in an organisation that was becoming increasingly Catholic. [377] Neil Jarman, a researcher of conflict in Ireland, argues that commemorative and ceremonial parading of

[373] Sutherland, "Voluntary Societies and the Process of Middle-class Formation in Early-Victorian Halifax": 240.
[374] Ibid, 245.
[375] Crooks, "The Quest for Respectability", 178.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Sutherland, "Voluntary Societies and the Process of Middle-class Formation in Early-Victorian Halifax": 249.

organisations was an important way of 'expressing and consolidating a sense of communal identity', illustrating that these activities could also help preserve identity.[378]

Evidence of this can be seen throughout the 1840s in events celebrated by the Charitable Irish Society which emphasised their loyalty to Britain and the crown whilst still maintaining their religious identity. For example, in 1840 the Charitable Irish Society celebrated Queen Victoria's marriage with public displays of loyalty by taking part in a procession, wearing national badges, displaying banners and cheering for the Queen whilst still acknowledging the 'duty of praying for rulers' and 'the congeniality of the Roman Catholic church government to the British constitution'.[379]

The *Nova Scotian* also emphasised the importance of this celebration, noting that the Charitable Irish Society honoured Queen Victoria's marriage alongside other societies in Halifax and claimed it was 'astonishing what unanimity of sentiment' there was in Halifax, stating that 'when the sounds of joy and festivity came pealing across the Atlantic, all parties fell to celebrating the Queen's marriage in kindness and brotherly love, uniting for common objects, to do honour to the sovereign and the town' and reported that 'the Charitable Irish Society led the way'.[380] This is significant as the Charitable Irish Society was cooperating with other societies, was not riotous or violent in its celebrations, reduced tensions by demonstrating loyalty to the Queen and proved that Catholics could congregate in large numbers without causing disruption. The *Nova Scotian* noted that this celebration and cooperation was significant since it claimed that

[378] Neil Jarman, "Material of culture, fabric of Identity' in *Material Cultures* ed., Daniel Miller (London: University College London, 2001), 121.
[379] *The Nova Scotian*, April 23 1840.
[380] The *Nova Scotian*, April 30 1840.

Halifax was 'a town in which one portion of the people [were] prone for political purposes, to accuse the remainder of disaffection to the sovereign' and Irish Catholics were sometimes included in the latter group.[381] Irish Catholics in the Empire were sometimes considered disloyal or anti-British but as Donal Lowry, an expert of the British Empire and Irish history, argues with the exception of Toronto, the majority of Irish Catholics in Canada in the nineteenth century were not anti-British and considered themselves loyal to the monarch and Empire.[382] Celebrations in honour of the Monarch and Britain were not unusual since the Irish in colonial areas often felt a strong sense of belonging to British colonies and, as Karly Kehoe argues in her study of the Irish in Nova Scotia, the Irish, including Irish Catholics, were deeply invested in the British Empire. [383]

In 1841, the Charitable Irish Society again demonstrated its loyalty to the crown by celebrating the birth of the Duke of Cornwall, who was heir to the British Crown. This consisted of a public procession, an address presented to her majesty the Queen and 'three hearty cheers for the young prince' at the society meeting. [384] In the society's St. Patrick's Day celebrations, the combination of Catholic religious commitment and loyalty to the monarch was again highlighted as it included high mass, a march from the church, cheering outside the Roman Catholic church, followed by singing 'God save the Queen' to affirm their allegiance. [385]

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[381] The *Nova Scotian*, April 30 1840. Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Nineteenth-Century Irish Diaspora": 199.
[382] Donal Lowry, "The Crown, Empire Loyalism and the Assimilation of Non-British White Subjects in the British World: An Argument against 'Ethnic Determinism'" in *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity*, ed., Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (London: Taylor and Francis, 2005), 105.
[383] Kehoe, "Catholic Relief and the Political Awakening of Irish Catholics in Nova Scotia, 1780-1830": 9.
[384] *The Nova Scotian*, December 16 1841.
[385] Sutherland, "Voluntary Societies and the Process of Middle-class Formation in Early-Victorian Halifax": 249.

Although the Charitable Irish Society had become largely Catholic by the 1840s, the society continued to demonstrate its loyalty to the crown and Empire throughout the decade.[386] This was particularly important as the 1840s witnessed a rise in support for Repeal in Ireland and across the British Empire and many British governmental officials, who were eager to uphold the union between Ireland and Britain, viewed Repeal as the first move towards Ireland leaving the Empire and feared that this would involve rejection of the crown.[387] As will be discussed later, the Repeal association was closely linked to the Catholic Church and having a predominantly Irish Catholic society in Halifax which demonstrated its loyalty to the Empire and crown in the 1840s could alleviate fears over having a disloyal Catholic population within the British Empire in Halifax.[388] Public demonstrations could also help to express loyalty to the monarch and allay concerns that Irish Roman Catholics favoured the Pope's authority over that of the British monarch.[389] There were concerns that Catholics in the Empire were faced with the competing influences and jurisdictions of the Pope against those of the monarch. [390] Sheridan Gilley, a scholar who focuses on nineteenth century Irish diaspora and Catholicism, reinforces this idea declaring that 'the Irish Church and community were at least in some measure sworn foemen to the Protestant Churches and government of the Empire, and the contentious issue – whether to toast the Pope before the Queen' claiming at times this caused conflict and dissension.[391]

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[386] *The Nova Scotian*, December 16 1841.
[387] Richard English, *Irish Freedom: A History of Nationalism in Ireland* (Oxford: Macmillan Publishers, 2006), 132.
[388] Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America: The Politics of Exile, 1798-1998*, 70.
[389] J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada", *The Canadian Historical Review*, 66:4, (1985): 493.
[390] Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Nineteenth-Century Irish Diaspora": 199.
[391] Ibid.

An analysis of Halifax newspapers published during the 1840s reveals little evidence to suggest that the Charitable Irish Society was involved in instances of major religious hostility such as rioting or violence. In fact, some newspaper accounts in the *Nova Scotian* even praised the society for functioning amicably and in harmony through positive press reports. The *Nova Scotian,* in 1841, stated that in the Charitable Irish Society's St. Patrick's Day celebration, 150 members of the society and their friends congregated at the Masonic Hall and 'excellent order and harmony prevailed'. [392] The following year, 'perfect good order' was also observed at the St. Patrick's day procession as the society displayed banners, flags, and badges whilst parading the streets of Halifax where 'the police office was without a complaint on the morning of the 18th'. [393] The Charitable Irish Society could help preserve Irish migrants' identity and this shows that its celebrations were not associated with major religious hostility, rioting or violence. The emphasis on orderly and organized celebrations of Irish Catholics 'served to dispel the assumption that a large gathering of Irish Catholics necessarily constituted an unruly mob'.[394]

However, while there is a lack of evidence from the Halifax newspapers selected in this study to suggest that the Charitable Irish Society was closely linked to religious hostility in the way of violence in the 1840s, this was a period of intensified religious and political hostility and this has led some other historians to link the organisation to religious antagonism. For example, Robert Harvey, in his consideration of the society over a two hundred year period, claimed that the Charitable Irish Society was

[392] *The Nova Scotian,* March 18 1841.
[393] *The Nova Scotian,* March 24 1842.
[394] Murphy, "Religion Walked Forth In All Her Majesty": 81.

'establishment-oriented and loyal during its early period' but that it would be incorrect to presume that the society did not display, at times, its political opinions. [395] He notes that Saint Patrick's Day festivities organised by the society were regularly cancelled as an act of political protest and that Daniel O'Connell, the leader of Catholic emancipation and the Repeal movement was 'clearly the darling of the society'.[396] Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Ireland, Catholicism became closely related to Irish nationalism and this was also the case in other places the Irish settled.[397] Brian P. Clarke, who considers Irish voluntary associations in Canada, argues that Daniel O'Connell's campaign for Repeal and Catholic emancipation consolidated the identification between Catholicism and Irish nationalism. He further states that the 'Catholic church's most significant initiative to promote a religious form of Irish nationalism was to elevate Saint Patrick's day into a major religious and national festival'.[398] This reveals the Charitable Irish Society's close relationship with Daniel O'Connell and that the annual Saint Patrick's Day celebrations were linked to politics as they had both become associated with Irish nationalism. These political opinions were sometimes entwined with religious aspects as ethnic, national, political, and religious identities were often closely fused.[399] However, Terrence Punch argues that the Charitable Irish Society did not become a 'vehicle for attacking the old regime in Halifax', suggesting that while the society became more linked to political and religious

[395] Harvey, "Black Beans, Banners and Banquets": 16-35.
[396] Ibid.
[397] Brian P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895*, (Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 155.
[398] Ibid.
[399] Gilley, "The Roman Catholic Church and the Nineteenth-Century Irish Diaspora": 189.

tensions in the 1840s, it did not actively seek to stir religious conflict in Halifax.[400] This supports the claims made from the newspaper research.

Part of this increased religious hostility in the 1840s was a result of a growth in Irish national sentiment in Halifax resulting in ethnic hostility towards the Irish.[401] As previously mentioned, a Repeal movement had emerged in Halifax seeking the Repeal of the Act of Union in 1801 which saw Britain form a union with Ireland. This act was the cause of intense debate and hostility within Ireland and in the Irish emigration settlement areas.[402] The Repeal movement's main aim was to revoke the Act of Union and restore Ireland's old parliament which had been abolished in 1800. [403] Daniel O'Connell led the movement and launched 'the first truly mass movement working to achieve a nationalist goal in Irish history'. [404] In his efforts to Repeal the Act of Union and gather support, O'Connell developed a close association with the Catholic clergy and created 'a rhetoric and policies that made Catholicism and Irish nationalism appear almost interchangeable'. [405] By the 1840s a widespread network of Irish nationalist Repeal movements had emerged out with Ireland and these were supported by many Catholics. [406]

Halifax was one of the 'hotbeds of Repeal sentiment in the Atlantic region'.[407] Examining a list published in the *Halifax Register* in 1843, which displayed the names of

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[400] Punch, "The Irish in Halifax": 151.
[401] Ibid.
[402] Terrence Punch, *A Prince Edward Repeal* List 1843. p.33. Retrieved from: http://vre2.upei.ca/islandmagazine/fedora/repository/vre%3Aislemag-batch2-281/OBJ (Accessed: 21/03/2018).
[403] Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America*, 54.
[404] Ibid, 55.
[405] Ibid, 55.
[406] Ibid, 54.
[407] Terrence Punch, *A Prince Edward Repeal* List 1843. p.33. Retrieved from: http://vre2.upei.ca/islandmagazine/fedora/repository/vre%3Aislemag-batch2-281/OBJ (Accessed: 21/03/2018).

individuals in Halifax who believed in 'the necessity of rallying round the standard of Repeal', helps to support this.[408] The substantial length of this list is an indication that Repeal sentiment in Halifax was present in the 1840s. The political aspect was sometimes entwined with religion as the Irish Repeal movement was closely linked to Catholicism and Protestants often considered those who supported it disloyal to the Empire.[409] As a result, the Charitable Irish Society contributed towards religious tensions as a number of the society's prominent members, such as Lawrence O'Connor Doyle and Edward Kenny, advocated as strong supporters of Repeal.[410]

Lawrence O'Connor Doyle attended Repeal meetings in Halifax, was a member of the association's correspondence committee, [411] and was editor of the *Halifax Register* newspaper which published a number of articles throughout the 1840s devoted to Repeal. [412] However, during this same time period Doyle obtained prominent positions in the Charitable Irish Society, serving as Vice President from 1840 to 1841 and 1846 to 1847 and then as President from 1843 to 1844 and 1847 to 1848.[413] Edward Kenny, another prominent member of both associations, was nominated twice as president of the Charitable Irish Society.[414] Harvey, in his study shows further links between the society and Repeal movement claiming that Joseph Howe, while acting as President of the organisation, visited Daniel O'Connell, the leader of the Repeal movement in Ireland, in

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[408] *The Halifax Register*, May 23 1843.
[409] Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America*, 65.
[410] Crooks, "The Quest for Respectability", 177.
[411] Fergusson, "Laurence O'Connor Doyle," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/doyle_laurence_o_connor_9E.html.
[412] *The Halifax Register* 1843
[413] Fergusson, "Laurence O'Connor Doyle," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/doyle_laurence_o_connor_9E.html.
[414] D.A Sutherland, "Dictionary of Canadian Biography: Edward Kenny," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/kenny_edward_12E.html (Accessed 11/06/2018)

1838 and when O'Connell died in 1847, the Charitable Irish Society mourned him for a month, a gesture of respect that had only been shown when Richard John Uniacke, the founding president died in 1830. [415] The links between the Repeal movement in Halifax and the Charitable Irish Society can further be emphasised by comparing the list of Repeal supporters outlined in the *Halifax Register* in 1843 to the list of members in the Charitable Irish Society, and it is worth noting that a substantial number of the Repeal supporters were also members of the Charitable Irish Society. [416]

Crooks states that as a consequence of this there was resentment towards Irish Catholics in Halifax as the Charitable Irish Society, now a predominantly Catholic association, had the ability to increase religious tensions due to its Catholic members becoming associated with a highly political movement through their connections to the Repeal association.[417] Members such as Kenny and O'Connor supported the Repeal movement but the society differed from groups such as the Repeal association as its main goal was not to serve solely as a political group but instead aimed to help the Irish as well as preserve Irish identities. Terrence Punch argues that it acted as a counterbalance to Repeal movements, something that he suggests was considered disloyal and radical by non-Irish individuals as it meant 'Irish leaders could always appear in the guise of loyal citizens in the official activities of the Charitable Irish Society' if disapproval of the Irish Repeal 'became too sustained'. [418]

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[415] Harvey, "Black Beans, Banners and Banquets": 16-35.
[416] *The Halifax Register*, May 23 1843. Constitution and By-Laws of the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, Nova Scotia (2014): 28. http://www.charitableirishsocietyofhalifax.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/CIS-Constitution-and-By-Laws-2014.pdf - (Accessed 11/06/2018)
[417] Crooks, "The Quest for Respectability", 177.
[418] Punch, *"The Irish in Halifax"*, 152.

By the 1840s the Charitable Irish Society had undergone a transformation by not only becoming more religious but also having political undertones which caused religious tensions in relation to the stance on Repeal held by some of the predominant members of the society. However, the society's continued loyalty to the Empire, its main focus on charity work and its ability to diminish negative images of Irish Catholics allowed it to reduce religious tensions in relation to the Irish and their religious identity and the lack of evidence to suggest that the society was violent or hostile in newspapers throughout the 1840s further supports this idea.

THE ORANGE ORDER

By examining the Charitable Irish Society's foundation and development in the 1840s, the role that organisations played in helping Irish migrants maintain their religious identity in Halifax can be observed. However, this can further be assessed by considering the Orange Order. This organisation was an Irish Protestant creation that was born in the violent sectarian atmosphere of Ulster, Ireland, to uphold the interests of Protestants against perceived Catholic encroachment in the late eighteenth century.[419] The name originated from William, Prince of Orange and King of Great Britain and Ireland who was victorious in defeating James II, a Catholic King at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. [420] The laws and constitution outlined the main principles of the Orange Order which included its exclusive loyalty to the Protestant religion, the enthusiasm of members to

[419] Scott W. See, *Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 71.
[420] Scott W. See, "The Fortunes of the Orange Order in 19th Century New Brunswick" in *Historical Essays on the Irish in New Brunswick: New Ireland Remembered*, ed., P.M. Toner (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1989), 91.

promote the honour and prosperity of their country, Empire and Queen and to offer support to distressed members of the society.[421] The society's constitution claimed 'its members associate in honour of King William' and members were 'desirous of supporting, to the utmost of their power the principles and practice of the Christian [Protestant] religion' and aimed to promote and support 'benevolent purposes'.[422]

By the nineteenth century, however, this organisation's influence was not just limited to Ireland as it had reached places all over the British Empire and Mary Hickman and Jim MacPherson highlight the existence of an 'Orange diaspora' that was spreading across the Atlantic world allowing a number of Irish Protestants to connect with an association that appealed to their religious and ethnic identities.[423] The constitution of the Orange Order addressed this when it claimed 'the association is general, not confined to any particular place, person, or nation, but extends itself wherever a Loyal Protestant Briton is to be found, to the remotest corners of the globe, for the establishment of Protestant faith and British liberty'.[424]

Scott W. See, a historian of the Orange Order in New Brunswick, argues that the fundamental ideological structures of the Orange Order meant that it 'transferred well within the British Empire'.[425] Donald M. MacRaild supports this idea, claiming more specifically, that Canada was 'a home of rich potential' for Orangemen due to its ultra-Loyalist Protestant tradition that was strengthened by continuous Irish migration and

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[421] Constitution & Laws of the Loyal Orange Institution of British North America: adopted by the Right Worshipful of the Grand Lodge: https://archive.org/stream/constitutionlaws00loya/constitutionlaws00loya_djvu.txt - (Accessed 09/08/2018)
[422] Constitution & Laws of the Loyal Orange Institution of British North America.
[423] Macpherson and Hickman, *Women and Irish Diaspora Identities*, 169.
[424] Constitution & Laws of the Loyal Orange Institution of British North America.
[425] Scott W. See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John" *Acadiensis*, 13(1), (1983): 73.

Anglican emigrants.[426] Enda Delaney and Donald M. MacRaild, agree and point out that the Orange Order can be studied in relation to the Irish diaspora and is effective in highlighting the links that kept migrants connected with their homeland. They suggest that 'more than any other organisation associated with the Irish diaspora and mass migration, the Orange Order continued to define itself in the reflection of Ireland throughout the nineteenth century'.[427] This organisation could therefore be viewed as a way for the Irish to preserve their identity in the places they settled and this included Halifax, Nova Scotia. [428]

While the Orange Order's constitution stated 'no man but a sound Protestant, and a good subject of the British Empire' could be admitted as a member, not all Protestants identified with Orangeism.[429] This supports the argument made previously that there was not one single Irish Protestant religious identity and instead social class, politics and varying religious beliefs of the different sects could influence Irish Protestants in their desire to associate with the Orange Order. Donald M. MacRaild argues this point in his study of Orangeism and Irish migration stating, 'there is a suggestion that Orangeism earned greater favour within Anglicanism than it did from Presbyterianism' and that the Orange Order did not appeal to all Irish Protestants overseas because it was too small and variable. [430] Scott W. See also claims that the Orange Order 'directly appealed' to Protestants who feared that their religious and ethnic supremacy was being weakened or ruined by the increasing numbers of 'Celtic Irishmen', again suggesting that not all

[426] MacRaild, 'Wherever Orange Is Worn': 102.
[427] Delaney and MacRaild, ed., *Irish Migration, Networks and Ethnic Identities Since 1750*, 181.
[428] Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 8.
[429] Constitution & Laws of the Loyal Orange Institution of British North America.
[430] MacRaild, 'Wherever Orange Is Worn': 102.

Protestants associated with this society, only those who felt their identity and position in society was being threatened.[431]

Migration from Ireland saw some Irish Protestants desire to maintain the culture of Orangeism in the new places they settled and many brought Orange beliefs with them and See terms this as part of migrants' 'cultural baggage'.[432] This 'culture of Orangeism' was reflected in the form of lodges, which played an important role in the lives of settlers, as they often provided opportunities to socialise, educate and preserve their religious identity. [433]

The North American organisation reflected that of the association which had originated in Ireland as they displayed 'classic Orange symbolism and regalia' and adopted roles of a fraternal organisation by taking part in public demonstrations, having secret signs, initiation oaths and had hierarchical ranks.[434] However, while the main principles were replicated overseas, the Orange Order abroad sometimes differed from that in Ireland by taking on their own distinctive characteristics which reflected concerns relative to specific areas. For example, in British North America the Orange Order was concerned greatly with the expansion of French Catholicism and Irish Catholic migration. [435] See sums this up stating, 'the foundations may have been identical, but the superstructures took profoundly different shape. Therefore, a distinct network evolved in

[431] See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John", 79.
[432] Ibid, 73.
[433] Robert McLaughlin, "Irish Nationalism and Orange Unionism in Canada: A Reappraisal", *Irish-American Cultural Institute*, 41:3 (2006): 90.
[434] Scott W. See, "'A Colonial Hybrid': Nineteenth- Century Loyalism as Articulated by the Orange Order in the Maritime Colonies of British North America" in *Loyalism and the Formation of the British World, 1775-1914*, ed., Allan Blackstock and Frank O'Gorman (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), 185.
[435] Ibid, 186.

British North American Orange lodges, one that reflected local priorities rather than Ireland's social, political, and economic afflictions'. [436]

This association, from its creation, therefore, unlike the Charitable Irish Society, had religious principles displayed in its constitution which noted the desired religion of its members. Nevertheless, religious tensions could also emerge as members of the Orange Order were such strong supporters of their Protestant religion and tended to be anti-Catholic in nature. Unlike the Charitable Irish Society, the Orange Order in Halifax was also linked to a wider network which had spread worldwide. A member of the Order summed this up in the *Halifax Morning Post* in 1841 stating members had 'become links in' a 'vast chain extending round the whole globe'. [437] As a result, this organisation in relation to the Irish overseas played an interesting role as groups of Irish Protestants were at the forefront of promoting anti-Catholic sentiment and Protestant religious values. [438] It played an interesting role in showing how the Irish overseas adapted to new settlement areas and developed their own organisations but for some this could be viewed as an organisation that created division, discrimination and provided a setting wherein organised sectarianism could flourish. [439]

The presence of the Orange Order was evident in British North America in 1799, with the first meeting taking place in Halifax in a military lodge formed by British soldiers four years after the Orange Order was established in Ireland.[440] As the nineteenth

[436] See, *Riots in New Brunswick,* 77.
[437] *Halifax Morning Post, July 10 1841.*
[438] Kevin Kenny, *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2005), 99.
[439] McLaughlin, *Irish Canadian Conflict and the Struggle for Irish Independence*, 5.
[440] McLaughlin, "Irish Nationalism and Orange Unionism in Canada: A Reappraisal": 88.

century progressed, the Orange Order expanded throughout Nova Scotia. [441] Cecil Houston and William Smyth, historical geographers, argue that pronounced expansion of the organisation occurred especially in the post-confederation period which was during 1865-80 and 1890-1915.[442] Nonetheless the 1840s was still an important period of growth and expansion for the Orange Order in Nova Scotia. By 1847 the first non-military lodge had been established and unlike lodges in the early years of settlement, this lodge was permanent as it was established under a New Brunswick warrant. [443] During the 1840s, it was seen as an association that Irish Protestants could turn towards to preserve their religious identity, however, the Orange Order throughout this decade had the ability to create religious antagonism, along with fears that this organisation would expand in Halifax, disrupt the religious peace and lead to potential religious violence because it was an association that tended to promote anti-Catholic sentiment. [444]

The second half of this chapter will use Halifax newspapers to analyse the fears and concerns that were emerging in the 1840s. It will be argued that the organisation's influence in Halifax was not as great as it was in other areas where the Orange Order had become established meaning that while this organisation created some religious antagonism during the 1840s, the religious tensions were not as great in Halifax as it was in other areas. Instead the religious antagonism sparked by the Orange Order in Nova Scotia was based more on fears of what might happen if the organisation gained more

[441] Ibid.
[442] Houston and Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore*, 72
[443] Ibid, 16; 72.
[444] See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John": 68.

power in the colony and less so on actual instances of violence, rioting or occurrences of extreme religious hostility.

In analysing Halifax newspapers to acquire an insight of the Orange Order, it is important to gain an understanding of how newspapers were likely to report on this organisation. MacRaild, argues that while parades and marching were frequently reported and provides evidence of the formation of group identity and shared cultural manifestation, other activities such as balls, meetings and fund-raising events were also organised but these activities were less frequently reported in the press. The 'sociable and mutualistic' aspects of Orangeism were often overlooked by newspapers because they were viewed as mundane and often overshadowed by the violence that ensued in parades and demonstrations.[445] This means that reports of the Orange Order were more likely to be negative and focus less on their charitable work or organised meetings and had more of an emphasis on the hostility that this group sometimes invoked.[446] The majority of the papers analysed portrayed the group negatively and there was a lack of reports discussing the benevolent aspects of the Orange Order. MacRaild further states that the Orange Order had 'fewer friends than enemies among journalists' and liberal newspapers were often inclined to consider the Orange Order in terms of anger and despair. [447] This was also present in Liberal Halifax newspapers such as the *Nova Scotian*, and will become evident through the argument presented below. Scott W. See, argues that celebrations of the Orange Order in the 1840s changed to become more visible and this accounts for

[445] Donald MacRaild, *Faith, Fraternity & Fighting: The Orange Order and Irish Migrants in Northern England, C. 1850-1920* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 158.
[446] Ibid.
[447] Ibid, 157- 159.

fewer media reports in Halifax newspapers of the everyday meetings and activities of the Orange Order. [448]

D. A. J. MacPherson, argues that as the Orange Order expanded beyond Ireland during the early years of the nineteenth century it quickly obtained a reputation for being linked to violence, secrecy and disorder.[449] As a result, throughout the 1840s a number of newspapers in Halifax viewed the Orange Order with suspicion and saw it as disruptive to the religious peace. Part of this suspicion arose from the fact that this organisation was a secret society functioning to provide group cohesion through a number of secret practices and rituals. [450] See, supports this by arguing that the secrecy and restricted admission of this organisation created opponents and opposition to the organisation. [451] Houston and Smyth, also argue that there was an element of glamour and conviviality upon being associated with a secret society and that the secrecy of the Orange Order helped Orangemen form their own community and friendship based on common ideology, helping them to preserve their religious identity, but this could sometimes be the cause of suspicion. [452]

In 1841 the *Halifax Morning Post* discussed the 'baneful influence' that secret political and religious societies such as the Orange Order had on communities. It discussed rioting, disturbances, injury and loss of life in Toronto and traced this chaotic behaviour to members of the Orange Order accusing them of disrupting the peace and

[448] See, *Riots in New Brunswick*, 79.
[449] D. A. J MacPherson, *Women and the Orange Order: Female activism, diaspora and empire in the British World 1850-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).
[450] See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John": 73.
[451] See, 'A Colonial Hybrid': 194.
[452] Houston and Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore*, 127

hoped that heaven would 'preserve the peaceful colony of Nova Scotia' from such religious disorder. [453] Toronto, unlike Halifax in the 1840s, experienced violent outbreaks and rioting between Protestant Orange members and Irish Catholics but the discussion of this in the *Halifax Morning Post* reveals concern surrounding secret societies and the threat they posed to the peace of Nova Scotia. [454] William J. Smyth, who explored the Orange Order in Toronto, argues that in the eyes of Catholics, the Orange Order signified an organisation of 'sectarian bigots capable of resorting to injury and killings to maintain their social, economic, and political superiority'. [455] The violence in other places reported in Halifax papers, including the Nova Scotian, the Halifax Morning Post and the Cross, was being used to create fear in Nova Scotia by linking the Orange Order to injury and violence to show that religious and political groups caused disruption.

In reference to the perceived violence promoted by the Orange Order, one writer in the *Nova Scotian* in 1847 spoke of Orangemen who were desperate to establish lodges and stated that it was the responsibility of all good subjects to 'set their faces against secret societies' that almost always led to violations of the peace and often bloodshed and murder. [456] These concerns, over the expansion of secret societies and more generally the Orange Order, emerged because the Atlantic region experienced an explosive growth in Orange institutions and in some areas this was coupled with violence.[457]

[453] *Halifax Morning Post*, April 27 1841.
[454] McLaughlin, "Irish Nationalism and Orange Unionism in Canada: A Reappraisal", 93.
[455] William J. Smyth, *Toronto, the Belfast of Canada: The Orange Order and the Shaping of Municipal Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 77.
[456] *Nova Scotian*, November 29 1847.
[457] See, *Riots in New Brunswick*, 78-79.

A member of the Orange Order and writer in the *Halifax Morning Post* when addressing 'various particulars of the Order' in 1841 referred to the Orange Order as having a 'veil of secrecy' in times of agitation and peril and stated that this was sometimes 'converted into matter of accusation or suspicion'.[458] Whilst secrecy could help sustain a sense of belonging and unity within the Orange Order and for Irish migrants, it could also be a cause of suspicion and distrust which allowed the Orange Order to be viewed as both harmful and destructive as there was the suggestion that if its influence in Nova Scotia increased it may be disruptive to the religious peace of the colony. In reference to this, however, the writer of the *Halifax Morning Post* claimed that despite the secrecy of societies sometimes being linked to distrust that 'the highest authorities have ever patronised our assemblies, and in no case has their confidence been misplaced'.[459] This implies that while the secrecy of societies, such as the Orange Order could cause suspicion and be associated with distrust, in Halifax religious organisations were not linked to violence or extreme religious disruption to the extent that authorities in Halifax were complaining.

The *Nova Scotian* when speaking of the Orange Order also addressed its concerns and suspicion stating that when the society had been formed they were unsure of its main intentions and objectives but they had 'a suspicion that they were not such as would elevate the character of its members or contribute to the peace'.[460] In 1842, the *Nova Scotian* again expressed a distrust of the organisation when stating that the Orange Order was using this secret society for political purposes, saying that supporters of the Orange

[458] *Halifax Morning Post,* July 10 1841.
[459] *Halifax Morning Post,* July 10 1841.
[460] *Nova Scotian,* July 28 1842.

Order were actuated by 'reprehensible motives' and aimed 'to convert their institutions into a political engine' and felt that all Liberal press throughout British North America should 'make common cause against Orange institutions'. The paper stated that they could not 'refrain from expressing [their] unqualified disapprobation of the course' that Orange societies took as they believed this would be 'detrimental to the peace of any country' and that Orangemen in Halifax and Canada were 'injurious'. [461]

The suspicion surrounding the Orange Order in relation to politics can also be linked to the Charitable Irish Society, as it seems tensions arose when these religious groups were perceived as trying to influence politics. This was the case with the Orange Order, as portrayed in the *Nova Scotian*, and also when the Charitable Irish Society became linked to the Repeal movement. It also reinforces that the secrecy that surrounded the Orange Order and its growing influence were viewed as both harmful and destructive to the religious harmony of the colony proving that religious antagonism emerged in relation to the Orange Order as fears grew over the potential expansion of this group in Nova Scotia.

In aiming to describe what an Orangeman was, the *Halifax Register*, in 1843, also reflected its suspicion of the organisation stating that it was a 'vile compound of all that is base and malignant without a single redeeming quality', consisting of people who had an 'unmitigated hatred of all the savours in the least degree of Catholicity' and that Orangeism was an 'undisguised system of organisation to procure the triumph and ascendency of their own detestable principles at any cost or hazard'.[462] Other newspaper

[461] *Nova Scotian*, July 28 1842.
[462] *Halifax Register*, August 25 1843.

articles reported on the organisation's aim of Protestant domination which was one of the core principles of the Orange Order.[463] The *Nova Scotian,* stated in 1843 that the main features of Orangeism were 'a determination to give the few an ascendency over the many' and to secure control of all civil and political power by treating Catholics as undeserving of freedom and opinion. [464]

An article published in the *Nova Scotian* also portrayed the Orange Order negatively and attacked and challenged each of the main principles of Orangeism. For example, it stated that one of the main objectives of Orangeism was to 'maintain the laws and constitution of the country' but claimed that when Canada was without a constitution the Orange Order 'used every effort, perpetrated the foulest acts of injustice and scrupled not to fabricate the basest falsehoods' to prevent the Imperial Government from granting one. It further challenged the allegation that Orangemen were 'distinguished by maintaining religion without persecution or trenching upon the rights of any' by stating that 'millions of Catholics and Dissenters [had] been compelled by them'. The article then challenged Orangmen's disclaim of intolerant spirit claiming that 'the orange lodges have exercised all the power they could wield in giving a secular ascendancy to the established church to the exclusion of others' and that 'they have been guilty of the crime which they disclaim'.[465] Liberal newspapers such as the *Nova Scotian,* therefore, considered the Orange Order to be improper, contradicting and anti-Catholic.

Another article also highlighted the organisation's anti-Catholic sentiment as it included an extract from Lord George Bentinck, a Protestant leader of the Conservative

[463] See, *Riots in New Brunswick,* 77.
[464] *Nova Scotian,* August 14 1843.
[465] *Nova Scotian,* August 14 1843.

party in Britain, who expressed disapproval of the Orange Order, stating that by 'hoisting the old orange flag' and raising the 'no popery cry', that the Orange Order 'endeavoured to put down the Roman Catholic religion' and was injurious to Protestantism. [466] This not only reflects opposition to the Orange Order displayed in Halifax newspapers in its attempts to warn readers of the effects of Orangeism but also shows that not all Protestants desired to be associated with this organisation.

However, whilst the accounts in these newspapers highlight that there were beliefs that the Orange Order was anti-Catholic, the influence of the Orange Order in promoting anti-Catholic beliefs in Nova Scotia was not as strong as it was in other areas. A. J. B. Johnston, whose study considers anti-Catholic sentiment in the 1840s and 1850s in Nova Scotia, argues that the Orange Order in Halifax did not ever become a main influencer in the expression or generation of anti-Catholic sentiment. [467]

While the examples of distrust provided above show the existence of suspicion and fear surrounding the Orange Order in the first half of the decade, this appeared to continue into the latter half of the 1840s, especially as the Orange Order grew in size due to a rise in Catholic famine migrants arriving in British North America and this spurred anxious Protestants to associate with an organisation that could protect against the Irish Catholic problem and preserve their religious identity. [468] However, with this growth in the organisation, newspapers in Halifax were also reporting frequently on the Orange Order's expansion and the violence, disorder and hostility that emerged in other places

[466] *Nova Scotian*, November 29 1847.
[467] Johnston, "'The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia': 138.
[468] See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John": 75.

and these outbreaks further contributed to the organisation being associated with disrupting the peace and creating fear of disruption in Halifax.

For example, a writer in the *Cross* newspaper stated that in Nova Scotia there was a sense of peace and tranquillity in relation to religion as there was a 'good feeling' that existed among individuals of every faith but it also discussed the influence that the Orange Order had in other areas such as St. John's, Newfoundland and stated 'I fear instead of better we must expect worse' in the way of religious harmony. [469] To further develop this idea Scott W. See argues that Nova Scotians, in the mid-nineteenth century, believed that violent opposition to the Orange Order was dormant and this was a state that they wished to remain undisturbed.[470]

Part of the suspicion and fear surrounding the Orange Order in Halifax therefore came from reports of violence and hostility occurring in other areas and less so from actual events in Halifax itself. A number of reports of religious hostility in New Brunswick were present in Halifax newspapers throughout the 1840s. The influence and power of the Orange Order was far greater in this area than it was in Nova Scotia and instances of violent conflict occurred between Orangemen and Irish Catholic immigrants in New Brunswick during this decade.[471] New Brunswick had become a 'fertile ground for the tenets of Orangeism', something that was not the case in Halifax.[472] *The Cross*, in 1848, asserted that the riots, murders and disruptive influence of Orangeism in New Brunswick gave clear evidence that this society was dangerous to public order and

[469] *The Cross*, February 4 1848.
[470] See, 'A Colonial Hybrid', 194
[471] See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John": 68.
[472] Peter M. Murphy, *Poor Ignorant Children: Irish Famine Orphans in Saint John, New Brunswick*, (Halifax: Saint Mary's University, 1999), 11-12. *The Cross*, February 4 1848.

injurious to social harmony but stated that Nova Scotia was 'bad soil for the sanguinary seeds of Orangeism'. [473]

In New Brunswick Orangemen were involved in bloodshed and rioting which peaked especially towards the end of the decade in 1847 and 1849. [474] The Orange Order in New Brunswick was therefore often associated with religious hostility and rioting to the extent that such riots became known as 'Orange riots'.[475] These 'Orange riots' had similarities with rioting and violence that appeared across cities in Britain and these often occurred on what members termed the 'Glorious Twelfth of July', which marked the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. [476] This disruption, while present in areas of Britain and New Brunswick, was absent in newspaper accounts of events in Halifax. Despite this, Halifax newspapers frequently reported on these disruptive events happening in other places.

Terrence J. Fay a historian of Canadian Catholicism, argues that in Nova Scotia tensions were alleviated because the majority of Irish immigrants were absorbed into society and there was also a weakness of the Orange Order in the colony. [477] Halifax when compared to other areas the Irish settled received a relatively small number of Irish famine migrants as only around 1,200 arrived in 1847. [478] A number which Scott W. See terms as 'modest' by North American standards.[479] In areas of increased famine migration there was a greater fear of Catholics outnumbering Protestants and Protestants looked towards the Orange Order to preserve their religion as they felt threatened by the growing

[473] *The Cross*, February 4 1848.
[474] See, "The Orange Order and Social Violence in Mid-Nineteenth Century Saint John", 68.
[475] *Halifax Morning Post*, July 26 1847.
[476] MacRaild, *Faith, Fraternity & Fighting*, 157- 159.
[477] Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism*, 138.
[478] See, "An Unprecedented Influx': 62.
[479] Ibid.

number of Irish Catholics. This did not occur to the same extent in Halifax and helps to explain why the Orange Order had less of an influence in Nova Scotia during this period due to there being less Catholic famine migration to Nova Scotia.

Newspapers in Halifax included articles of unrest and rioting in other areas and few reports of violent opposition and clashes in the way of fighting or rioting in Halifax and when they did include reports of disapproval, suspicion and opposition to the Orange Order these tended to be verbal clashes. To support this idea A. J. B. Johnson argues that Protestant-Catholic hostility in Halifax was kept to 'a war of words' and links this to the weakness of the Orange Order in Nova Scotia stating that if there had been more Irish Protestants in Nova Scotia, especially in Halifax where the Irish Catholic population was so high, more Orange Lodges would probably have existed and with this a potential for violent clashes as Orangeism would have taken on a greater role in the colony.[480]

Through the analysis of Halifax newspapers it is evident that the newspaper reports lack accounts of physical violence in relation to the Orange Order and that this organisation in Halifax was not directly linked to religious disruption despite fears surrounding this organisation existing. A. J. B. Johnstone sums this up by arguing that in other British North American colonies, such as Newfoundland and New Brunswick, religious disorders were far more common and in these displays of disorder it was usually the Orange Order that was more dominant in demonstrations of their anti-Catholic views. This often occurred in relation to the Orange Order's celebration of the Battle of the Boyne on the 12th of July or on the 17th of March when Irish Catholics celebrated St. Patrick's Day.[481] However there is lack of evidence from newspapers to suggest disorder

[480] Johnston, "Popery and Progress": 156.
[481] Johnston, "'The 'Protestant spirit' of Colonial Nova Scotia': 138.

in Halifax and this presents a noticeable difference between the situation in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia as newspapers did include accounts of religious violence in relation to the Orange Order which occurred in New Brunswick. This reinforces the idea that the Protestant Orange Order in Halifax did not provoke religious antagonism to the same extent as it did in other areas during this period.

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This chapter has aimed to analyse the extent to which the Irish preserved their religious identity by considering two Irish organisations that emerged in Halifax and existed in the 1840s. From this it can be argued that the Irish were effective in preserving their religious identity and evidence of this is exhibited in the way the Charitable Irish Society developed into a predominantly Catholic organisation promoting the interests of its Catholic members and also in the way the Protestant Orange Order upheld Protestant religious values and were loyal to the British Empire. Both of these organisations provided access to social networks, membership to a group that was formed on common interests which gave them a means to promote their religious identity through rituals and celebrations and enabled them to associate with people who held similar religious views. This therefore strengthened and preserved the religious identity of migrants in new settlement areas as it created a sense of religious belonging. However, through the discussion of these organisations it became evident that religious organisations could sometimes be linked to religious antagonism in Halifax. While there is little evidence to suggest that either group was associated with instances of major religious hostility, violence or rioting in Halifax during the 1840s, each group could still play a role in contributing towards minor instances of religious antagonism.

This has firstly been highlighted by considering how the religious make-up of the Charitable Irish Society changed over time by comparing the non-denominational principles that the organisation was founded upon to that of the 1840s which was a time when this association had lost its ability to reduce religious tensions by encouraging Irish Protestants and Catholics to associate together and became largely Catholic and during this decade many of its prominent members were also members of the Repeal movement. However, it has been argued that this association could still play a role in reducing religious antagonism by reassuring Protestants that members of this society were loyal to the Empire and the crown and were not actively seeking to cause religious tensions in Halifax at a time when support for Irish Repeal was increasing.

In the analysis of the Orange Order it has been argued that fear and suspicion occurred in relation to this organisation which proves that it had the ability to provoke religious antagonism. However, it has also been argued that most of these fears were based on instances of violence and rioting that the Orange Order were involved in other places and that this was less so Halifax but there was a fear that this organisation would expand and grow in influence in Nova Scotia and disrupt the religious peace. While the Orange Order was an organisation that some Protestants could join to preserve their identity in Halifax, this organisation lacked influence in Nova Scotia and this has been emphasised by briefly comparing the Orange Order in Halifax to that of St. John, New Brunswick.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has analysed Irish immigration and identity amongst settlers in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and examined the extent to which Irish settlers were able to preserve their religious identity. It has also assessed the extent to which religious antagonism developed as a consequence of a desire to preserve and participate in the construction of an identity in that region. The main focus of this research was the 1840s. There was a substantial Irish presence in Halifax at this time and this period witnessed an increase in religious and political tensions that was tied to that. The cooperation and tolerance, witnessed in earlier periods, started to give way to religious antagonism in the 1840s as agitation grew in Ireland in response to the Repeal movement.

This thesis has largely been informed by a close analysis of newspapers published in Nova Scotia throughout the 1840s. Numerous newspapers, including the *Nova Scotian, the Christian Messenger, the Halifax Register, the Cross and the Halifax Morning Post* provided significant insight into the religious concerns, religious events, organisations and beliefs of people in Nova Scotia. References from these were used to show when and why anti-Catholic/anti-Irish sentiment existed in Halifax during the 1840s. Evidence throughout this thesis highlighted that these newspapers communicated and corresponded with each other and a close analysis of these sources, combined with the work of other scholars, has helped to inform the central arguments, allowing a number of conclusions to be made.

Firstly, this thesis has highlighted the pivotal role immigrants from Ireland and their descendants played in informing the social, religious, and cultural development of Halifax, Nova Scotia and it can be concluded that the Irish in Halifax were greatly

effective in preserving their religious identity in the 1840s. Discussions of the organisations, networks and institutions established by groups of Irish in Halifax developed this argument. Chapter one discussed the maturing of Catholicism and the increasing importance of the Irish Catholics in the social, religious and political development of Halifax in the 1840s. Mechanisms used by the Irish Catholic community to preserve and extend a religious identity were examined. These mechanisms included the founding of Saint Mary's University, the construction of a Catholic chapel and cemetery, the designation of Halifax as an official diocese, the launching of Catholic newspapers and the expansion of Irish Catholic organisations. Irish Catholics were therefore effective in maintaining their religious identity and in advancing their religion.

The growing Irish presence in the first half of the nineteenth century due to increased immigration and settlement to the Atlantic colonies allowed the Irish, by the 1840s, to have a more prominent place in informing the social, religious and cultural developments of Halifax as they accounted to a large proportion of the population. A growth in the quantity and quality of the Catholic clergy also allowed Irish Catholics to preserve and advance their religion at this time.

Discussions in chapter two, surrounding the creation and evolution of the Charitable Irish Society and the Orange Order, advanced the argument that groups of Irish settlers were effective in preserving their religious identity in Halifax. The Protestant Orange Order, which had an exclusive loyalty to the Protestant religion, was established and it allowed members to feel part of a wider network that promoted their Protestant values. In order to preserve their religious identity, many Irish Catholics, by the 1840s, looked towards the Charitable Irish Society, which had started to largely operate to

promote the interests of Irish Catholics. These organisations helped the Irish maintain their religious identity by creating a sense of belonging, networking and provided an opportunity to practice religious rituals and celebrations.

Whilst there is substantial evidence in this thesis to show that groups of Irish were effective in preserving their identity in the 1840s, there were clearly times when Irish migrants were faced with challenges in preserving their religious identity. The 1840s was a decade of conflicting views, rivalry and competition as different religious groups and ethnicities were competing for power and influence in Halifax. Irish migrants were only one of the many other groups fighting for influence and there was division and competition as the Irish were divided by their different religions. Discussions of the intricacy of the Irish ethnicity and the diversity of Protestantism helped to develop this idea.

Whilst all groups of Irish were challenged in preserving their identity due to the competition that existed, it became evident that Irish Catholics tended to meet more challenges when compared to their Protestant counter parts. The analysis of some of the laws introduced prior to the 1840s, which aimed to limit Catholics in advancing and preserving their religious identity, indicates that there more challenges for Catholics in these early years of settlement. Whilst Irish Catholics had helped to repeal many of these challenges by the 1840s, it still suggests that Protestants held a more privileged position because they had an ascendency in Nova Scotia.

Irish Catholics were perceived as becoming too influential, powerful and imposing on the Protestant religion and therefore met resistance trying to preserve their identity. The anti-Catholic rhetoric in Nova Scotian newspapers at this time indicates

there was opposition, fear, suspicion and resentment directed towards Irish Catholics. Irish Catholics were not only confronted with negative attitudes towards their religious education but also faced more practical challenges in gaining money and funding for Catholic education. There was also resentment and fear of Irish Catholics due to their advancement in politics. Irish Catholics found it more difficult to assimilate into their host country and therefore felt more of a need to join societies such as the Charitable Irish Society.

Another argument central to this thesis is that the efforts of the Irish migrants to maintain their religious identity could sometimes cause religious antagonism. Tensions emerged surrounding the increasing authority of Irish Catholics and the discussion of fears of Catholic encroachment in chapter one highlighted this. As Irish Catholics solidified their own religious institutions and organisations in the 1840s, those outside of Catholic circles sometimes considered these advancements as a threat and as challenging Protestantism. In relation to religious advancement, politics and education, it has also been shown that fears emerged that Irish Catholics were gaining too much religious power and influence in Halifax. An analysis of the intense tensions between Scottish and Irish Catholics, resulting in the division of the diocese and the rising concern that Protestants were losing political influence to Irish Catholics, provided further evidence of religious antagonism. The close analysis of newspapers, along with an examination of the religious beliefs, anti-Catholic/anti-Irish sentiment and opposing views of newspaper editors further helped to indicate that religious antagonism existed in Halifax throughout the 1840s. Chapter two highlighted some of the religious antagonism in Halifax. In the early years of settlement to Halifax the Charitable Irish Society played a role in reducing

religious tensions by encouraging Irish Catholics and Protestants to cooperate and interact together but with the transformation of this organisation to become predominantly Catholic, it weakened the society's ability to reduce religious tensions as Protestant and Catholics were no longer interacting to the same extent. The society's stance on Repeal in relation to some of the predominant members of the society also created tensions. However, while it became more linked to political and religious tensions in the 1840s, the society did not actively seek to create religious tensions in Halifax.

This thesis highlighted the concerns in Nova Scotia over the expansion of the Orange Order. Religious antagonism emerged as members of the Orange Order were such strong supporters of their Protestant religion and tended to be anti-Catholic and some considered that this organisation created division, discrimination and provided a setting wherein organised sectarianism could flourish. The religious antagonism sparked by the Orange Order in Nova Scotia, however, was based more on fears and suspicion of what might happen if the organisation gained more power in the colony, due to reports of violence and hostility occurring in other areas, and less so on actual instances and events of violence, rioting or occurrences of extreme religious hostility in Halifax itself.

This links well to the last argument presented in this thesis. Lastly, it can be concluded that while religious antagonism emerged in relation to the Irish and the preservation of their religious identities, this did not tend to result in instances of major religious hostility, violence or rioting which occurred at this time in other areas of Irish settlement. Whilst some religious antagonism emerged, there was the potential for more religious hostility to erupt in Halifax but there is no evidence to suggest that this was the case. It has become clear throughout this thesis, especially in discussions in chapter one,

that most of the religious antagonism that emerged appeared either verbally or in written form in Halifax newspapers. Discussions in chapter two surrounding the Orange Order also highlighted that this organisation refrained from pushing religious hostility and violence in Halifax, in contrast to related organisations in other parts of Atlantic Canada. This may have been due to the Order's influence not being as strong in Halifax. The presence of the Charitable Irish Society also played a role in reducing religious tensions by showing its loyalty to the crown and by focusing on charity work which helped to diminish the negative views of Irish Catholics prevalent elsewhere. An analysis of newspapers in relation to the Orange Order and Charitable Irish Society also provided little evidence to suggest that either society was involved in instances of major religious hostility in Halifax and the celebrations and events organised by each of these societies were not linked to disruption or unrest.

Overall, the research in this thesis can conclude that groups of Irish migrants were effective in preserving their religious identity, but with this, religious antagonism could sometime occur.

APPENDIX

Population of Nova Scotia[482]:

1807 – 65,000

1817 – 81, 351

1827 – 123, 630

1837 – 100, 906

1838 – 202, 57

1851 – 276, 854

1861 – 330, 857

Population of Halifax:

1749 -2,500

1758 – 6,000

1767 - 3,685

1802 – 8,532

1817 – 11, 156[483]

1838 – 14, 318

1841 – 16, 564

1851 – 20,749[484]

Irish Catholics in Halifax[485]:

1827 – 3,440

1838 – 5,398

[482] Statistics Canada, '1800s: 1806 to 1871'. Retrieved from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/98-187-x/4064809-eng.htm (Accessed 25/11/2018). Fingard, Guildford and Sutherland, *Halifax: The First 250 Years, 6.*
[483] Fingard, Guildford and Sutherland, *Halifax: The First 250 Years.*
[484] Punch, "'The Irish in Halifax', 147.
[485] Ibid.

1841 – 5,811

1851 – 7, 500

Percentage of Irish Catholics in Halifax[486]:

1827 - 23.8%

1838 - 35.1%

1841 - 35.1%

[486] Ibid.

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