THE IMPACT OF A CENTURY OF IRISH CATHOLIC IMMIGRATION IN NOVA SCOTIA (1750 - 1850)

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Sister Mary Liguori (Edna C. Wilson) was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on July 20, 1916, and entered the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity of Halifax in August, 1932. She received her Bachelor of Arts Degree from Mount Saint Vincent College in June, 1946, and her Master of Arts in History from Saint Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, in September of 1952. She entered the University of Ottawa as a doctorate student in July, 1958, and for the academic year of 1959-1960 was a full-time student at this institution.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

THE IMPACT OF A CENTURY OF IRISH CATHOLIC IMMIGRATION IN NOVA SCOTIA, 1750 - 1850, is really the story of an Irish Catholic community, transplanted slowly from overseas to the city of Halifax, of its internal and external growth, and of its impact on both city and province. A subtitle might indicate that this impact is for the most part that of the Halifax Irish only, for the author has not attempted to evaluate the influence of other smaller settlements of Irish in the Province. However, since after 1749, Halifax fast became the center of the political, social and business life of the Province, and hence any growth in Halifax would be reflected throughout the Province, a change in the title would not change to any great extent the conclusions reached. Hence, the broader title remains.

The purpose of this thesis is twofold: to ascertain how this "mustard seed" was planted and augmented in a province hostile to it, and secondly, to set forth the influence which this group exerted in every sphere of community and provincial life. In the working out of these specific purposes, the general aim of the dissertation should be evident - the part played by the Irish in the redemption of Nova Scotia's birthright to Catholicism, which after 1755, seemed doomed to destruction.

Chapter One introduces the reader to the status of Catholicism in the province to which the Irish came. An attempt is made in Chapters Two and Three to study Irish Catholic immigration during the hundred year span from 1750 to 1850. Chapters Four to Six endeavour to carry out the second purpose of the thesis - to portray the influence which the Irish Catholics exerted on the economic, social, political, religious and educational life of the province during this century. The Conclusion weaves the separate threads of the tapestry into a whole to evaluate the all-over debt of Nova Scotia to the Irish Catholics of a past century.

It is the hope of the author that the ensuing research attains the goals thus set forth.

CHAPTER I

A BIRTHRIGHT ENDANGERED

Catholicism was Nova Scotia's birthright from the French. Until after his accession to the throne of France, Henry IV had been a Huguenot. On July 25, 1593, whether through expediency or conviction, he adopted the religion of the majority of his subjects.[1] In his Commission to DeMonts for the colonization of the lands of La Cadie, Henry directed him,

> to cause the people wch doe inhabite the country, men at this present time barbarous, Atheistes, without faith or religion to bee converted to Christianity and to the beliefe and prfession of our faith and religion [. . .].[2]

Nor was the conversion of the s avages to Catholicism to be secondary to trading. Missionary work was given precedence over the other purposes listed, as was evidenced by the introductory phrase "moved above all things".[3]

DeMonts, himself a Huguenot, was given the free exercise of his own religion as a compensation for disseminating among the savages of Acadia, the Roman Catholic

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1 Journal de L'Estoile, Henry IV, 1589-1600, I, Gallimard, 1948, p. 298.

2 Patent of the ffrench Kinge to Monsieur DeMontes for the inhabitinge of the Countries of LaCadie, Canada, and other places in New ffrance, November 8, 1603, S.P.Col., Volume 1, No. 10.

3 Loc. cit.

religion.[4] Accompanying him, to ensure the fulfilment of his purpose, was the ardent Catholic Champlain, and the no less devout Poutrincourt. Priests accompanied this and subsequent expeditions to Acadia.[5] Thus in the dawn of the seventeenth century, the seeds of Catholicism were sown in this weak and tiny colony.

Throughout the whole of the seventeenth century, Acadia remained the pawn in the international rivalries of France and England, falling into English hands five times in the interval between 1604 and 1710. During this century of shifting allegiance, in those periods when the English formally held the colony, only one attempt was made at protestantizing Acadia.[6] This was Sir William Alexander's project, which ended in failure, when on July 4, 1631, an Act for the forsaking of Port Royal was signed by Charles I.[7] Following closely on the Act came a letter from the same King bidding Sir William Alexander,

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4 F. X. Charlevoix, Histoire de Nouvelle France, Tome I, Paris, Rolin, M. DCC. XLIV, p. 111-112.

5 R. Brown, A History of the Island of Cape Breton, London, Sampson Low & Son, 1869, p. 54.

6 Ian F. Mackinnon, Settlements and Churches in Nova Scotia, 1749-1776, Montreal, Walker Press, (no date), p. 3.

7 S. P. Col., Volume 6, No. 17, July 4, 1631. (In Latin).

> to demolish the Fort[.]and to remove all the people, goods, ordinance, ammunition, cattle and other things, belonging unto that colony, leaving the bounds thereof altogether waste and unpeopled.[8]

Thus came to an end the first and the only attempt in the seventeenth century to disturb the Catholic heritage.

In the following year, 1632, a series of new elements was introduced into Catholic Acadia, strengthening both its French and its Catholic nature, and sowing the seeds of a native Acadian race. On May 19, 1632, the Company of New France appointed as commander to Acadia, Isaac de Razilly, as "lieutenant general for the king in New France".[9] De Razilly, a high dignitary in the Knights of Malta, gave a strong impetus to Catholic colonization by settling forty families of cultivators in Acadia.[10] His companion and successor, the Sieur D'Aulnay Charnisay, brought out from France an additional twenty families,[11] who joined with the older colonists of Razilly, and settled around Port Royal. Razilly had made his settlement at

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8 Charles I to William Alexander, Greenwich, July 10, 1631, quoted in Beamish Murdock, A History of Nova Scotia, I, Appendix to Chapter IX, Halifax, Barnes, 1865, p. 80.

9 Memorials of the English and French Commissaries, I, Nova Scotia, London, MDCCLV, p. 707.

10 Beamish Murdock, op. cit., I, p. 86.

11 Rameau de Saint Père, Une Colonie Feodale en Amérique, I, Paris, Plon, 1889, p. 93.

La Hève, but D'Aulnay, considering this a mistake, had moved the settlement for the most part to the environs of Port Royal after Razilly's death in 1636.[12]

Razilly and D'Aulnay were the real organizers of Acadia, and it is essentially to them that the Acadian family owes its origin.[13] Missionary work, temporarily abandoned during the English occupation, was resumed in 1633. The work of the Recollet Fathers of the Province of Aquitaine, who had ministered to the needs of the colony since 1619, was abruptly brought to an end by Cardinal Richelieu, who in his instructions to Razilly, directed that three Capuchins would accompany this expedition. Later, by letter of March 16, 1633, Richelieu confirmed the Capuchins as the sole spiritual ministers in Acadia.[14] In this same year, three Monks of the Order of Saint Francis (Capuchins), arrived in Acadia, establishing their mission field there. Through their ministrations "all the savages of Acadia in the course of time, became Christian, at least in name".[15]

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12 Rameau de Saint Père, Une Colonie Feodale en Amérique, I, Paris, Plon, 1889, p. 91-92.

13 Ibid., p. 117-118.

14 R. P. Hugolin, Les Recollets de la Province de l'Immaculate Conception en Aquitaine, Levis, 1912, p. 20-21.

15 James Hannay, The History of Acadia, St. John, MacMillan, 1879, p. 138.

The forty families brought out by Razilly, twenty more by his successor, D'Aulnay, sixty persons settled by the Chevalier de Grandfontaine in 1671,[16] as well as several Scottish families, remnants of Sir William Alexander's project who had remained in Acadia and intermarried with the French,[17] constituted the origins of the Acadian race.

This French and Catholic population grew now from within. By 1711, the year after the English had finally taken Port Royal, re-naming it Annapolis Royal, and before the Treaty of Utrecht confirmed the transaction, outside the English garrison at Annapolis and the fishing village of Canso, Nova Scotia, was an entirely Catholic population, consisting of Acadians, augmented by converted savages. Colonel Vetch, Governor of Annapolis Royal, verified this his suggestion to the Colonial Office that Nova Scotia be immediately settled by Protestants.[18] The garrison, he complains, is under constant blockade, and will be until Canada is reduced and as long as there are "no inhabitants in the Country save Roman Catholics and savages yet more

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16 Beamish Murdock, op. cit., p. 149.

17 Rameau, op. cit., p. 80.

18 Vetch to Lords of Trade, Boston, November 26, 1711, B.T.N.S., Volume 32, p. 23.

bigotted than they".[19] By 1714, this population was to number about five hundred French families in Nova Scotia, or a total of about two thousand five hundred souls.[20] Thus by the time of the English conquest of Acadia, Catholicism was firmly entrenched there, and not even force was to prove capable of uprooting it.

Its survival, however, was not without struggle. The seeds of conflict between the French and English, which were to fructify in the expulsion of 1755, and the shackling of a Province with anti-Catholic laws by the first legislature in 1758, were sown in the Treaty of Utrecht. This treaty was indeed the real Acadian tragedy. By it, Acadia slipped into English hands. Article XII sealed its fate forever, stating that,

> [. . .] likewise all Nova Scotia or Acadia, within its ancient boundaries, as also the City of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, [. . .] are yielded and made over to the Queen of Great Britain, and to Her crown forever.[21]

But it was the Fourteenth Article that contained the possibilities of loss of faith, should Britain find it expedient to deprive her French subjects of such. While it

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19 Vetch to Lords of Trade, Boston, November 26, 1711, B.T.N.S., Volume 32, p. 23.

20 Vetch to Lords of Trade, London, November 24, 1714, A 28, B.T.N.S., Volume 1.

21 Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, Article XII, Pamphlet 76, Public Archives of Canada, p. 72.

seemed to imply liberty of religion, it left the power to withdraw with one hand what it had granted with the other. It affirmed that

> the subjects of the said King may have liberty to remove themselves within a year to any other place, as they shall think fit, together with all their moveable Effects. But those who are willing to remain there, and be subject to the Kingdom of Great Britain are to enjoy the Free exercise of their Religion, according to the usuage of the Church of Rome, as far as the Laws of Great Britain do allow the same.[22]

The last clause, "as far as the Laws of Great Britain do allow the same", left little to be hoped for for Catholicism. That Article XIV was not meant to give unrestricted liberty of religion and that the clause appended was not without meaning is evident from the fact that it was invoked later in 1740, by proclamation of the Council, as stated in a letter of Mascarene's to the Duke of Newcastle. In it he states that the French inhabitants are not entitled to the exercise of their religion beyond what is allowed by Great Britain, and that as a consequence no "ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Church of Rome is to be allowed".[23] The laws of Great Britain, at this time, made no concessions to Catholics.

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22 Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, Article XIV, Pamphlet 76, P.A.C., p. 74.

23 Mascarene to Newcastle, November 15, 1740, A & W.I., Volume 30, p. 158.

The Penal Laws, bred in the religious hatred which followed the Protestant Revolt, forbade Catholics to hold land,[24] to build churches or schools,[25] and barred them from sitting in Parliament.[26] Moreover, the Test Act, first passed in the English Parliament in 1673, and well named the "Black Charter of Protestantism",[27] had to be ascribed to before attaining any office of rank, civil or military. The Act passed in 1673 was not actually applied to Lords of Parliament or members of the House of Commons until the second Test Act of 1678 had completed the machinery of the first. After receiving the Lord's Supper in the Anglican rite, the Catholic, before accepting any office, had to declare,

> I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever [. . .]; that the invocation of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and

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24 Act Against Popery, 11 and 12, Will. III, Cap. 4, 1700, quoted in Sir Charles Robertson, Select Statutes, Cases, and Documents to Illustrate English Constitutional History, Methuen, London, 1913, p. 148.

25 Ibid., p. 149.

26 Test Act II, 30 Charles II, St. 2, Cap. 1, in ibid., p. 86.

27 Robertson, op. cit., p. 80.

> the sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous.[28]

With this Act, and after December 1, 1678, Roman Catholics ceased to sit in either House in England, until 1829.

These were the implications of the Treaty of Utrecht. To the Acadians, however, all this was not immediately apparent. To them the Treaty was simply another soon to be repudiated, as all previous ones had been. It is easy to understand this passivity on the part of the Acadians in the light of Nova Scotia's past. None of the previous English raids had been followed by settlement, hence the religion of the colony had remained unchanged.

The immediate aftermath of Utrecht seemed to justify their apathy. For over thirty years England pursued no definite policy for British settlement in Acadia. Her indifference was typified by her militarily weak garrison at Annapolis, filled with undisciplined soldiery who were scarcely more than civilians.[29] Besides the garrison at Annapolis, only a small fishing center at Canso gave evidence of English control.

The Acadian community, on the other hand, was situated mostly at Minas, Beaubassin, and Annapolis Royal.

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28 Test Act II, 30 Charles II, St. 2, Cap. 1, 1678, in Robertson, op. cit., p. 86.

29 J. B. Brebner, New England's Outpost: Acadia Before the Conquest of Canada, New York, Columbia University, 1927, p. 86.

Though given permission by the Treaty to leave their lands, taking with them their effects, and selling their immovable ones,[30] the majority had not done so. Nor did the British Government at this point encourage them to leave.[31] The latter had no desire to strengthen its enemy's ranks in Canada or Louisbourg. The Acadians, on their part, had little difficulty choosing between the rocky shores of Louisbourg and the rich marshlands of the Bay of Fundy and the Annapolis Valley. During this period of indifference following the Treaty of Utrecht, the "inhabitants lived relatively peaceful lives [. . .] and developed a curiously unpolitical character. France really had nothing to offer them; Britain could deprive them of little".[32] Later the situation would change when the two issues that could disturb their strong national spirits were challenged - their religion, and an unconditional oath of allegiance to the British King, which would necessitate their bearing arms against their fellow countrymen.

After thirty years of indifference, the seeds of religious conflict inherent in the Treaty of Utrecht began

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30 Letter of Queen Anne to Nicholson, June 23, 1713, B.T.N.S., Volume 1, A 27.

31 Lawrence Gipson, The British Empire Before the American Revolution, Volume 5, Zones of International Friction, New York, Knopf, MCMXLII, p. 172.

32 Brebner, op. cit., p. 86.

to blossom. By 1740, the population of Acadia had doubled, if not trebled, since the cession of 1713.[33] The number of French priests had also doubled, and Mascarene affirmed that the French would never be good British subjects as long as they came under the influence of the French priests.[34] In response to the Acadians' demand for more land because of this population increase, Mascarene stated that he was permitted to allot land only to Protestant subjects.[35] As a result, the Acadians squatted on land outside the settlements and hence, also outside the effective control of the British officials at Annapolis Royal. These areas became later the storm centers in which conflict brewed.[36]

The impetus for a change in policy came from New England,[37] whence for a century had come raids in the interest of trade. To the New England Puritans, however, fishing and trading rights in Acadia were augmented by the crusading spirit of the Puritan, out to cleanse the

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33 Mascarene to Newcastle, November 15, 1740: A. & W.I., Volume 30, p. 158.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Gipson, op. cit., 5, p. 174.

37 Sir John Harvey, The Colonization of Canada, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1936, p. 56. Further documentation of this vital point will appear in the evolution of this chapter.

new world of a "Popery" it so ardently detested. Beginning in 1744, and emanating from Governor Shirley's policy for the selling of Nova Scotia, a definite program of protestantization may be seen, the results of which are evident in the settlements following the Founding of Halifax in 1749, the Expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, the settling of the Acadian lands with New England Protestants and the imposition of anti-Catholic legislation by the First Assembly in 1758. Briefly, let us glance at each of these events, so that we may see how Nova Scotia's birthright was challenged, and how Protestantism superficially triumphed.

During the early part of Paul Mascarene's administration in Nova Scotia, his mild regime and his ability to take the material in hand and fashion the best it could produce had its reward in peaceful understanding with the Acadians.[38] In the face of Britain's indifferent policy, this kind of administration represented expediency as well as good statesmanship. In 1740, Louisbourg was in French hands and second in strength only to Quebec. Across the narrow strait was the English fishing village of Canso. Any attack from the French at Louisbourg, how weak soever, meant doom for the English. It is true that the Acadians were not tied politically to the French at Louisbourg, but

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38 Mascarene to Board of Trade, June 28, 1742, B.T.N.S., Volume 8, E 84.

race and religion gave them a close affinity, and in a choice of masters, the Indians would certainly favor the French. Mascarene's treatment and understanding of them was such that during the French attacks at Annapolis in 1744-1745 no more than twenty of them could be induced to take up arms against the English.[39] But Mascarene was not happy with the weak indifference of the Home Office. In his needs he turned to Governor Shirley for advice.[40]

It became Mascarene's custom after 1740 to send his correspondence to the Board of Trade unsealed, via Massachusetts and Governor Shirley, so that the latter might supplement his statements concerning Nova Scotia.[41] This, in itself, is sufficient indication of Shirley's influence. To Shirley, the French at Louisbourg and the Acadians in Nova Scotia were a menace to the English fishing village at Canso and a threat to the New England colonies. The strongest English colonial governor of this time, his policy came to be the extinction of the French on the Atlantic seaboard.

Governor Shirley's correspondence with the colonial office between 1744 and 1749 is indication of his anti-French and anti-Catholic policy. To the Duke of Newcastle,

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39 Brown MSS.,19071, F 61, Brebner, op. cit., p.104.

40 Brebner, op. cit., p. 109.

41 Loc. cit.

in 1744, he points out the need of the reduction of Louisbourg for the safety of Nova Scotia. He places no confidence in the Acadians, who he is sure would aid the French:

> [. . .] as the inhabitants of Nova Scotia are all Frenchmen and Roman Catholics, and who ought to be looked upon (be their pretensions what they will) as ready in their hearts to join the enemy.[42]

And again, in the following year, in a letter to Pepperrell, his venom is unmistakable:

> It grieves me much that I have it not in my power to send a party of 500 men forthwith to Minas, and burn Grand Pré, their chief town, and open all their sluices, and lay their country waste at the back of their camp.[43]

Though this anti-French attitude was bound up with his anti-papist fervor, the latter is brought out more specifically in further correspondence. To Newcastle he suggests that the English regiments to be used against Canada be employed before their return to England, "in removing the most obnoxious of the French Inhabitants of Nova Scotia from thence ".[44] He suggested that after these had been

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42 Shirley to Newcastle, January 14, 1744, in Charles Lincoln, Correspondence of William Shirley, Volume 1, New York, MacMillan, 1912, p. 164.

43 Shirley to Pepperrell, Boston, May 25, 1745, in Lincoln, op. cit., p. 220.

44 Shirley to Newcastle, Boston, June 18, 1746, in Lincoln, 1, op. cit., p. 328.

removed that the rest be granted pardon for the past on taking the Oath of Allegiance, so that

> by which means and removing the Romish Priests out of the Province, and introducing Protestant English schools, and French Protestant Ministers, and due encouragement given to such of the inhabitants, as shall conform to the Protestant Religion, and send their children to the English Schools, the present inhabitants might probably, at least be kept in Subjection to His Majesty's Government [. . .] and the next generation in a measure become true Protestant Subjects.[45]

This is but a sampling of the voluminous correspondence which passed between the Governor of Massachusetts and the Board of Trade. His crusade carried with it the support of the New England citizens, as was shown by their capture of Louisbourg in true "missionary" fashion in 1745.[46] Great was Shirley's chagrin when Louisbourg was returned to the French by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, but his crusade was to bear its fruit the following year.

His suggestions were now listened to with interest by Lord Halifax, Chairman of the Board of Trade, though the action taken was officially assumed by the latter. The

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45 Shirley to Board of Trade, July 8, 1747, in Lincoln, 1, op. cit., Introduction, p. xxvi.

46 Sermon of Reverend Thomas Prince, quoted in Samuel Drake, A Particular History of the Five Years' French and Indian War, Albany, Munsell, 1870, Appendix B, p. 187-208.

impetus, however, for the vigorous policy of settlement for Nova Scotia by British subjects, must be laid at the feet of Governor Shirley and the people of Massachusetts.[47] Copies of Governor Shirley's letters were later given to Cornwallis because of the valuable information that they contained.[48] Thus was introduced and stimulation given toward a series of steps the results of which endangered a birthright and fairly brought about the triumph of Protestantism.

The founding of Halifax in 1749 thus received its impetus from Massachusetts. Basically, political and economic factors brought it about. A Province owned by the British, but populated for the most part by French Acadians, was scarcely safe, lying as it did beside the French fortress of Louisbourg. No less were the fisheries safe from the encroachments of the French, and in these fishing rights the New England colonies were deeply involved. Subsequent upon these two factors, and as a matter of fact, evolving logically from them, was a coincidental cause for its founding - the peopling of this land with Protestant settlers. It is with this coincidental factor in the founding of Halifax

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47 Sir John Bourinot, Builders of Nova Scotia, Toronto, Copp Clarke, 1900, p. 12. Also: Brebner, op. cit., p. 131; Harvey, op. cit., p. 56; W. O. Raymond, "Nova Scotia Under British Rule", in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, Volume 4, p. 57.

48 Bourinot, op. cit., p. 12.

that we are interested here. While it cannot be conclusively proven from the Advertisement for settlers,[49] that discrimination was made in the matter of religion for the original settlers to be, the tactics used in the subsequent colonization project make the policy clear. McInnis maintains that "this colonization was a deliberate effort to overbalance the original French Catholic population".[50]

In the implementing of the religious angle to the British settlement of Nova Scotia, the correspondence between the Board of Trade and immigration agents is replete with the policy. John Dick, the agent for obtaining German settlers, refused permission to eighty or ninety Roman Catholic families applying to go to Nova Scotia,[51] and in another letter, protested his carefulness in examining passengers for "papists".[52] He further informed a Lutheran Minister, who was desirous of bringing fifty of his Lutheran families to Nova Scotia on condition that they would enjoy

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49 Advertisement, Whiehall, March 7, 1749, in T. B. Akins, Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Annand, 1869, p. 495-497.

50 Edgar McInnis, A Political and Social History of Canada, Toronto, Rhinehart, 1947, p. 110.

51 John Dick to Board of Trade, Rotterdam, September 8, 1750, B.T.N.S., Volume 10, G 11.

52 John Dick to Hill, Rotterdam, May 18, 1751, B.T.N.S., Volume 11, G 93.

religious liberty, that he could take it upon himself "to say that everyone will have the liberty of Practising their own Religion, provided they are Protestants".[53] The speed with which the spiritual needs of prospective settlers was arranged was further indication of the policy.[54] This attempt to colonize Nova Scotia with Protestant settlers brought a steady stream of emigration from Great Britain and Germany, as well as a trickle of such from New England. Planted in the midst of a Catholic population, this yeast was meant to do its work. Here it might be well to note in fairness to British and New England imperialists that as far as Nova Scotia was concerned Catholic had come to be synonymous with French and hence Catholic immigration was undesirable since it would most certainly tend to favor the French. The presence of the French priests, receiving their instructions from the Bishop of Quebec and the Governor General of New France, kept alive French sentiment, and could scarcely be viewed in a favorable light by British imperialists.

It was one thing to bring in new Protestant blood; it was another to stifle Catholicism in the hearts of the

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53 Dick to Board of Trade, Rotterdam, April 7, 1750, B.T.N.S., F 118, Volume 9.

54 Board of Trade to Society for Propagation of the Gospel, Whitehall, April 6, 1749.

Acadian people. Every effort was made to stamp out the faith. Mr. Tuttie, appointed missionary to Nova Scotia by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, suggested to the Society that some French Bibles or Testaments, at least with a plain comment, should be sent over to be distributed among the French,

> who will gladly read such books if not prevented by their Priests; and if some French Protestants with an able French Protestant Missionary could be induced to settle in Nova Scotia; this would in all probability make a great Alteration for the better both in the Religion and loyalty of the present French Inhabitants.[55]

He also recommended that the Reverend Mr. Moreau, an apostate priest, be appointed as the Protestant Minister.[56] Both plans were approved by the Society. Fifty pounds was laid out for the purchase of French Bibles, and Mr. Moreau was appointed as missionary. The plan to settle French Protestants from Jersey among the Acadians,[57] failed to be carried out. But neither the Protestant settlers who came, French Bibles, nor a missionary, who had left the Catholic Ministry for "the sake of a good conscience and came over

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55 Bearcroft to Hill, February 26, 1749, B.T.N.S., Volume 9, F 111.

56 Ibid.

57 Board of Trade to Cornwallis, April 2, 1750, B.T.N.S., Volume 34.

and joined himself to the Church of England"[58] could shake the faith of the Acadians. Tenaciously, they clung to its tenets. The English despaired of success so long as the French priests from Canada and Louisbourg remained among them. To these missionaries, they attributed their inability to proselytise the Acadians.[59] It must be remembered in this regard that the French priests were not politically tied to the British Government, nor responsible to it. This was the simplest explanation that the English could give to a problem which they did not care to understand. When efforts at proselytising failed, and the Acadians continued to refuse an unqualified oath of allegiance, the joint plan of Governor Lawrence and Shirley of Massachusetts fell into perspective.

In 1755, alarmed by the crushing defeat of Braddock in the Ohio-Mississippi Valley, Lawrence now considered the presence of the Acadians a military danger to the British. The decision for eviction of the Acadians was made by Lawrence and five members of his Council, three of whom were New Englanders, and closely associated for the preceding

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58 Bearcroft to Hill, February 26, 1749, B.T.N.S., Volume 9, F 111.

59 Mascarene to Lords of Trade, Annapolis, October 17, 1748, A. & W.I., Volume 595.

ten years with New England's expansive policy.[60] The decision was reached and the action carried out, without either the authority or knowledge of the home government.[61] Strengthened by the presence of New England troops in the Province, on whose anti-Catholic zeal he could certainly count, he issued instructions to the military commanders of Cumberland, Minas and Annapolis, for their expulsion.[62] This is not to declare that the British Government was altogether innocent. Though not cognizant of the event at the moment, no censure of it was later heaped upon Governor Lawrence. He was not recalled. In fact, the day following the reception of the news of deportation of the Acadians from Lawrence, the Lords of Trade recommended Lawrence's name to the King as "Governor-in-Chief of Nova Scotia", stating that he had all the qualities necessary for the post.[63] Although the main exodus took place in 1755, the operation was pursued until 1762,[64] and certainly in that time the action of

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60 Brebner, op. cit., p. 222.

61 Arthur Doughty, The Acadian Exiles, Toronto, Glasgow Brook, 1916, p. 118-119.

62 Ibid., p. 119.

63 Guy Frégault, La Guerre de la Conquête, Montreal, Fides, 1955, p. 256.

64 Ibid., p. 260.

the Governor and his Council could have been stalled, were it sufficiently odious to the home government. Thus, in the long range policy, must England share the guilt, but as far as the "heart" was concerned, the initial act of hostility came from Lawrence and a predominantly New England Council.

Thus, because the English were incapable or unwilling to solve a problem by no means impossible of solution, some six thousand Acadians were uprooted, without immediate warning, and scattered along the Atlantic seaboard from Massachusetts to South Carolina. However sincere Lawrence's convictions might have been, the expulsion remains a blight upon his name and a war crime in British Annals. No monument to Lawrence may be found in Nova Scotia. Bancroft says of it,

> I know not if the annals of the human race keep the record of sorrows so wantonly inflicted, so bitter and so perennial, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadia.[65]

Edmund Burke records his views of the outrage thus:

> We did, in my opinion, most inhumanly and upon pretences, that in the eye of an honest man, are not worth a farthing, root out this poor, innocent, deserving people, whom our utter inability to govern or to reconcile, gave us no sort of right to extirpate.[66]

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65 George Bancroft, History of the United States, IV, Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1853, p. 206.

66 Edmund Burke, quoted by James Gerard, The Peace of Utrecht, New York, Knickerbocker Press, 1885, p. 289.

From 1613, when Samuel Argall's raid from Virginia attempted to stamp out the French colony, through subsequent raids all in part religious, the little colony had retained the faith. No persecution nor insidious proselytizing had been able to stamp it out. But what conquest and persecution could not do, expulsion was made to effect. Thus by 1755, a nation had been supplanted, New England settlers would now be urged to fill up the vacant lands,[67] and a Catholic birthright had been lost - or so it seemed. There remained but to consolidate the fact by the legal imposition of British penal laws against Catholics to secure to future Nova Scotians the triumph of the Protestant faith.

The same year that saw the fall of the French fortress of Louisbourg saw also the convening of the first representative assembly in Nova Scotia. Its stringent laws against Catholics gave evidence to one of its purposes - the final stamping out of Catholicism in Nova Scotia. Even in its organizational stages, its policy of restriction against Catholics was apparent. In a Council Meeting held by Governor Lawrence on June 3, 1757, in which preliminary electoral districts were set out, it was stipulated that

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67 Lawrence to Board of Trade, October 18, 1755, B.T.N.S., Volume 15, H 311.

"no person shall be chosen as a member of the said House, or shall have a Right of Voting in the Election of any member of the said House, who shall be a Popish Recusant".[68]

One of the initial moves of the infant legislature was to render Catholics propertyless. Without land there would be no franchise, no property for building schools or churches. The Act struck at the very root of social status - the desire to call one's home, one's own. The Act for Confirming Titles to Lands and Quieting Possessions, contained this drastic clause:

> Provided that no Papist hereafter shall have any right or title to hold, possess, or enjoy any lands or tenements other than by virtue of any grant or grants from the Crown, but that all deeds or wills, hereafter made conveying lands or tenements to any Papist, or in trust for any Papist, shall be utterly null and void; and such lands or tenements shall not revert to the persons granting the same [. . .] be vested in His Majesty, his heirs and successors forever.[69]

To prevent the claim of any returning Acadians or those who had escaped expulsion, a further Act was passed in the following year, making all Acadian claims to land previously

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68 T. B. Akins, Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Annand, 1869, p. 720.

69 32 George II, Cap. 2, 1758, in Statutes at Large, Laws of Nova Scotia, 1758-1804, Halifax, Howe & Son, 1805, p. 2.

held, null and void.[70]

The first assembly did not stop with the rendering of Catholics landless. An "Act for the Establishment of Religious Public Worship in the Province and for the Suppressing of Popery", established by law the Church of England as the established form of worship. The same law gave freedom of worship, however, to all Protestant dissenters, with permission to erect tax-free places of worship. For Catholicism there was only legal suppression. It enacted that,

> [. . .] every Popish person, exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and every popish priest [. . .] shall depart out of this province on or before the 25 day of March, 1759, and if such person or persons shall be found in this province after the said day, he or they shall, upon conviction be adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment: and if any person or persons so imprisoned, shall escape out of prison, he or they shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.[71]

A fine of fifty pounds was levied against any person harboring, relieving, or entertaining a priest - one half of the fine going to the Government, and the other half being given to the informer. The harboring person could also be sent to

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70 33 George II, Cap. 3, 1759, in Statutes at Large, Laws of Nova Scotia, 1758-1804, Halifax, Howe & Son, 1805, p. 45.

71 32 George II, Cap. 5, 1758, in Statutes at Large, p. 7-8.

the pillory. A Justice of the Peace, on information under oath, or even on suspicion, could commit such recusant to jail, as also those who harbored them and bind witnesses to appear.

By a further Act, "Directing the Guardianship of Minors", the Governor was given the right to dispose of the custody of children under twenty-one years of age, upon the death of a "non Protestant" (Catholic) land holder. On condition that the next of kin was Protestant, and on application by the same for the wardship of the children, the Governor might grant the custody of such children to this relative, in return for a surety that the child would be educated in the Protestant faith.[72]

Such were the restrictive laws placed on Catholics by Nova Scotia's first legislature. Others were to follow, one of which would strike at the very heart of the future generation as did that governing Catholic wards as noted above. What percent of Nova Scotia's population suffered from these obnoxious laws, we shall presently see. Approximately six thousand Acadians had been expelled. Others had escaped deportation, [73] and remained secretly Catholic.

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72 32 George II, Cap. 26, 1758, in Statutes at Large, p. 38.

73 Lords of Trade to Secretary of State (Pitt), June 19, 1761, B.T.N.S., Volume 37, p. 93.

Still others had drifted back to their homeland.[74] It will be seen further in this study that there had been some imperceptible Catholic immigration. Due to these harsh laws, the economic, political and social status of these people seemed destined to be a lowly one, but events were to show that human ingenuity could not kill an institution of Divine origin.

Therefore, after almost forty years of indifference between 1713 and 1749, and within a decade of the inauguration of a definite policy in the latter year, Nova Scotia, the step-child of both French and British colonial policy, saw a race uprooted, a birthright apparently lost, and a Protestantism apparently triumphant. But the British authorities and those who influenced them from the older colonies had not reckoned with two dormant factors.

The Indians had not been expelled in 1755, and by this time many who had embraced Catholicism were staunchly loyal to their faith. To their voice the British Government was forced to give ear. The peace of the colony demanded it. They insisted on having a priest, and were given one. Of those whom they received, the Abbé Maillard proved acceptable to the English authorities, maintaining peaceful

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74 W. O. Raymond, op. cit., p. 72.

relations between the Indians and the Government.[75] After his death, attempts to proselytize the Indians failed, bearing witness to the success of his mission. Thus the Indians kept alive the smouldering flames of Catholicism.

It is doubtful, however, that they could ever revive a militant Catholicism, with their primitive culture and their lack of both facility and temperament for education. Another yeast, however, had already been planted. Its seeping-in had been imperceptible. This Irish yeast, for such it was, had been sown unsuspectingly in the city of Halifax from the earliest days of its founding. Through the years from 1749 to 1780, the ferment was to "work", and from that latter date, augmented by natural increase and a further immigration to 1850, its work would redeem a stifled Catholic birthright.

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75 Beamish Murdock, op. cit., 1, p. 256.

CHAPTER II

THE SEEPING-IN PERIOD, 1749 - 1815

To arrive at a proper understanding of a people that has commenced to transplant itself from its native soil to remote lands, it is necessary to know something of its background and the factors existing in the homeland which have exerted pressures strong enough to bring about this migration.

The secret springs of Irish discontent lay in English domination of their native land. In the first few centuries after 1172, this domination was exercised over only an inconsiderable portion of the land, called the Pale, but became generally diffused over Ireland in the last days of the reign of Elizabeth I, and the succeeding reign of James I.[1] Daniel O'Connell, in his address to Queen Victoria on February 1, 1843, setting forth the grievances of the Irish nation, attributed Elizabeth's success to "treachery, murder, wholesale massacre, and deliberately-created famine", and substantiated this latter factor by a statement of the English Protestant historian Morison.

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1 Daniel O'Connell, A Memoir of Ireland, third edition, Dublin, Duffy, 1869, p. 9.

2 Loc. cit.

The famine factor is of interest, since it is the perceptible vein running through the whole of Irish History.

During the reign of James I, the entire province of Ulster was confiscated and its inhabitants either liquidated or driven into the mountains or bogs. Their places were taken by "Scotch adventurers, alien in blood and religion",[3] whose presence now formed the basis for the division of Ireland, which exists even to our own day. Through the dark days of Cromwellian tyranny, through to the Treaty of Limerick in 1691, the gloom was not lessened. Nor did this Treaty, hardly made when repudiated, secure to the Irish that freedom of religion which it promised. Article I of the said Treaty guaranteed to those Catholics,who would remain in the kingdom, freedom of religion in return for a pure oath of allegiance to William and Mary, which oath in no way violated the tenets of their creed. But through the instrumentality of the Protestant faction in Ireland, who "protested the crime of keeping faith with Papists", the Treaty was immediately violated.[4]

At this time, in a choice between remaining in Ireland, serving in William's army, or enlisting in foreign

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3 Daniel O'Connell, op. cit., p. 12.

4 A. M. Sullivan, "Story of Ireland", in P. W. Joyce, Atlas and Cyclopedia of Ireland, New York, Murphy & McCarthy, 1902, p. 199.

armies, nineteen thousand and twenty-five people, including soldiers, civilians, nobles, gentry and clergy sailed from Ireland.[5] With this exodus it was now safe to repudiate the Treaty, and the Penal Laws along with the Test Oath replaced the articles of conciliation.

By the middle of the eighteenth century and more definitely by the last quarter of it, Ireland was beginning to raise its head from the oppressiveness of the preceding ones. Conditions, however, were still far from satisfactory as far as the great masses were concerned. These people, farmers by trade, were still left in a pitiable condition. Ireland's economic pattern was basically unsound. The contrasts in wealth were great. While wealthy landlords, living mostly in Britain, drained the profits from the soil, the Irish masses lived on a dangerously low level of subsistence. Wool, beef, and butter were exported, while millions of simple folk were obliged to eke out a livelihood in growing oats and potatoes in the rocky wastes of Connaught and Munster. Whenever the potato failed, starvation ensued. The famines of the 1740's and the later 1840's demonstrated the effects of potato failures. It was estimated that during the famines of the 1740's one-third of

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5 A. M. Sullivan, "Story of Ireland", in P. W. Joyce Atlas and Cyclopedia of Ireland, New York, Murphy & McCarthy, 1902, p. 198.

the cotters of Munster died of plague and starvation.[6]

This and succeeding famines were not due alone to climatic conditions. Wealthy landowners had enclosed large tracts for sheep runs. For the Irish, "land was life"; deprived of it, there was no incentive to industry - hence the accusations of the Irish as lazy and lacking in initiative. The reasons given by Professor Gipson for the loss of incentive by this Celtic people whom ancient historians mark out as an industrious, artistic, and highly-civilized people, may likewise be given as the pressure forces for emigration. To summarize, these factors are five: wars of conquest had killed their initiative and removed their clan system; attempts had been made to stifle their religion; frustration had sapped their initiative; incentive for the cultivation of their lands which they could not possess, and improvement of which redounded only to the landlords, was taken from them; deprivation of the woolen industry for the benefit of England left only the linen industry to them.[7] What race could withstand the frustration of such? As a result, emigration was inevitable.

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6 L. H. Gipson, The British Isles and the American Colonies, Volume 1, Great Britain and Ireland, 1748-1754, New York, Knopf, MCMLVIII, p. 186.

7 Ibid., p. 196.

It is perhaps safe to say that no country has lost so great a portion of its population by emigration as Ireland has. This fact is understandable, since perhaps in no other country have economic, political, social, and religious factors so combined in the oppression of a race. Amongst these factors it was the economic ones which predominated and drove towards emigration - so that by the last half of the eighteenth century, and in the early nineteenth, it became a choice between starvation and emigration.

Strangely enough, it was not from the lowest economic level among the Irish masses that the first non-military, group emigration came to Nova Scotia, but from the Ulster or "Scotch-Irish" of the Protestant north. The Celtic Catholic Irish of the south and south-west had not the means to emigrate in any large numbers to America, and so attached were they to their native land that they often preferred starvation in the mountainous regions to emigration.[8]

Until 1815, the only group immigration into Nova Scotia directly from Ireland was this wave of Scotch-Irish from Ulster. The immigration policy in this period seems to have been directed by private individuals and land companies, but amongst the former stands out the name of one

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8 Gipson, Great Britain and Ireland, p. 187.

individual in particular. Alexander McNutt, an Ulsterman of Augusta County in Virginia, and later of Boston,[9] early in 1759 requested grants of land for settlement in Nova Scotia from Governor Lawrence and the Board of Trade. By 1761, Belcher could write of Captain McNutt's settlements,

> The towns of Onslow and Truro in the District of Cobequid, of Cumberland in that of Chignecto, of Annapolis Royal and Granville have been settled in the course of this summer with One Hundred and fifty Families, by the Return of the Chief Surveyor to me.[10]

These and subsequent groups of Captain McNutt's northern Irish Protestants continued to pour into the Province, directly from Ireland until the Government, in 1762, laid a restraining hand on any further immigration from this source.[11]

But it is not with this source that we are particularly concerned here, although we must acknowledge its presence to prevent future confusion. The Irish Catholic yeast had been planted in Halifax much earlier than this Ulster Irish settlement. In fact, the birth of the city saw also its birth. Unlike the Ulster migration, it did

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9 Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1928, p. 5.

10 Belcher to Board of Trade, Halifax, November 3, 1761, B.T.N.S., Volume 18, L 62.

11 Memorial of Alexander McNutt, January 19, 1762, B.T.N.S., Volume 19, L 141.

not come in groups, nor in waves, before 1815, nor did the immigrants always come directly from Ireland, though they had undoubtedly been born there. Its coming was imperceptible at first - it was the infiltration of a people, in spite of efforts to prevent it. In the second period under study, 1815 - 1850, this trickle would become a stream, then a river, inundating the Province. Until 1810 no official records were kept of immigrants landed,[12] nor hence of their religion nor origin. In this first period, therefore, much must be drawn from inference and incidents recorded in official reports of the day.

Before considering the sources of this "Irish Yeast", it might be well to review briefly the British policy in the settling of Nova Scotia brought out in greater detail in the preceding chapter, and here considered chiefly in relation to Catholic settlement. The policy of the Board of Trade in the founding of Halifax was crystallized by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle which restored Cape Breton to the French. Primarily, it was a defence policy. Louisbourg was a menace to the mainland and Britain could not forever depend on New England help, which was distant in case of surprise attack. A British garrison stationed on

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12 Maitland to Goderich, Halifax, May 11, 1831, in C. O. 217, Volume 152, p. 293.

the Atlantic would provide not only defence of the mainland but also could act as a springboard for the British army and navy in a projected attack on Canada. Hence it was only prudent that the erection of this military garrison proceed, both to strengthen the weak garrison already in Nova Scotia, and for future need.

Though predominantly military, the Board's policy was also economic - the development of the Atlantic fisheries and their protection from French encroachment. Following logically from these two facets of the British policy, and expedient in their eyes to its success, was the necessary policy of land settlement. The policy constituting a land system contained not only terms stipulating time allowed for planting and improving the land, as well as the cultivation of hemp, but also that "one quarter of the land be settled the first year, one Protestant settler to every two hundred acres".[13]

Since the basic reason for the concentration of British army and navy men at this new garrison was for defence, it is understandable that its consequent policy called for Protestant settlers. To date the only other inhabitants of the Province were the French Acadians. Great

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13 Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 7, (footnote).

difficulty had been experienced since 1713 to evaluate the neutrality that these would exercise in case of invasion by the French from Louisbourg or Canada. The French priests who ministered to them did not come under the jurisdiction of the British Government but under that of the Bishop of Quebec and the French Governor of Canada. To the British mind, "Catholic" had become identified with "French", or French loyalty. Hence any Catholic immigration into a province already predominantly French meant the strengthening of those forces hostile to them, and therefore made for a weakening of its primary defence policy for erecting the garrison. It seemed not to matter whether the Catholic immigration was Irish, or German, or French; if it was Catholic, to their way of thinking, it was a strengthening of the French force. "French"and "Catholic" had come to be synonymous terms.

Hence we find, as early as 1750, proofs of the policy to prevent any Catholic immigration into the Province, irrespective of nationality. John Dick, the agent for German settlers, writing from Rotterdam to the Board of Trade in that year said,

> Yesterday a man came to me to acquaint me that about 80 or 90 Roman Catholick Familys wanted to go to Nova Scotia provided they could be allowed the same privileges as the Protestants. I told him that I could not take upon me to send one without new instructions, which I imagined would never be given me [. . .].[14]

In the following year the same agent declared that he had questioned every passenger on board the Speedwell about their religion, none of whom owned that he was a Catholic.[15] Following these reports of John Dick we have the approval of the Board on his fidelity to the policy, expressed by Thomas Hill, the Secretary, in which the Board congratulates Dick on his "vigilance and care in the Discovery of the Papists and dismissing them from the ships".[16] These were German Catholics being discriminated against, but to show that the policy was universally applied to all Catholics, irrespective of race, we may point out the resolution of the Executive Council, meeting at the Governor's House, July 2, 1751, in which Governor Cornwallis ordered strict precautions to be taken in regard to the increase of Irish Roman Catholics in the Province. It was thus resolved,

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14 Dick to Board of Trade, Rotterdam, September 8, 1750, B.T.N.S., Volume 10, G 11.

15 Dick to Hill, Rotterdam, May 18, 1751, B.T.N.S., Volume 11, G 93.

16 Hill to Dick, Whitehall, June 7, 1751, B.T.N.S., Volume 35, p. 57.

> that for the future the masters of all Vessels coming into any of the Ports of this Province shall immediately [. . .] make a report in writing to the commander-in-chief where they arrive of the number, names, and qualities of all Passengers on Board their respective vessels, and shall not suffer any such to put on shore in the Province without permission [. . .].[17]

In spite of this directive, which apparently was not carried out effectively at any rate, and in spite of the checking of boats that was carried out against Papists as early in the settlement as 1750, apparently it was already too late. Irish Catholics were already in and in to stay. In the list of original settlers who came out with Governor Cornwallis to Chebucto in June of 1749,[18] there may be found several Irish Catholic names, mostly mariners by profession - Michael Haggerty, Patrick Malone, Michael Quinn, Daniel Sullivan, and William Hurley, among others. Later in the first year, the original settlers were augmented by others, some from England.[19] That there was at least one Catholic Irishman among those arriving later in

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17 Minutes of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, July 2, 1751, B.T.N.S., Volume 43.

18 List of Settlers Who Came Out With Governor Cornwallis in June, 1749, in T. B. Akins, Selections From the Public Documents of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Annand, 1869, p. 506-557.

19 Cornwallis to Board of Trade, Halifax, September 11, 1749, B.T.N.S., F 89, Volume 9.

1749 may be proved by a complaint of a Thomas Power to the Governor and Council in 1753, in which he sets forth that being an original settler and having been given land by Cornwallis, a certain Mr. Morris had usurped and forcibly taken away half of it. In a quarrel which ensued, Power was told by a certain Mr. Monk "that he was not Entitled to a Lott, as he was a Roman Catholick".[20]

Actually, there were others who had slipped in in the same way, as we shall see in the progress of thisstudy. Considering Mr. Power's case alone, as an example, he is listed in the settlers receiving grants, as head of the family. But he was not alone. His household consisted of sixteen persons in all, with eleven males and two females over sixteen years of age, and three children.[21] This entire household of sixteen members was likely Catholic. Though its number may have included servants, in an Irish Catholic family these would probably be Catholic also. In this same list of "English settlers", principally in the South Suburbs, we have a large group of Irish Catholic

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20 Minutes of Executive Council of Nova Scotia, April 5, 1753, in N.S., B 6, p. 125.

21 T. B. Akins, Selections From the Public Documents of Nova Scotia, p. 659.

names, one at least of whom, John Murphy, was an active Catholic, as we shall later see.[22]

A further proof of their presence in the early years is contained in the communication of Governor Cornwallis to his Council, already noted, in which he advises the members of the warning he has received that certain Irish Catholics had entered into a conspiracy to go over to the French and Indians.[23]

The victualling Lists of 1752 and 1753[24] contain a host of Irish Catholic names - Cornelius Lanigan, Michael Sullivan, Dennis Roach, John Malloney and Bridget Butler, being but a sampling. Especially in the "Compassionate Lists of 'English' Inhabitants victualled at Halifax between the twenty-fifth of December, 1752, and the eighteenth of February, 1753, as well as that for the period from February nineteenth, 1753, to April fifteenth of the same year, we find scores of Irish Catholic names". It is of interest to note in both of these documents that the settlers victualled are grouped in pairs - whether husband and wife or

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22 T. B. Akins, Selections From the Public Documents of Nova Scotia, p. 657.

23 Minutes of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, July 2, 1751, B.T.N.S., Volume 43.

24 Enclosures in Hopson to Board of Trade, March 18, 1753, B.T.N.S., Volume 14, H 172 and March 28, 1753, B.T.N.S., Volume 14, H 175.

brother and sister, there is no way of noting. We find here John and Mary Tobin, Patrick and Mary Miller, Darby and Mary Cavanaugh, Bridget and Bartholomew Calahan, to name but a few of the groups. At least two of these family names, Tobin and Cavanaugh, would become prominent ones in the Catholic world of Nova Scotia within the same century. Although these are listed as English settlers, there would seem to be no question of their origin. Since it is not known that any boats left from Irish ports formally carrying immigrants before those of Alexander McNutt in 1760, which carried the Protestant Ulster Irish, it is likely that these Catholic Irish came through England whence many had probably emigrated earlier to work. This would constitute the reason why they are listed as English inhabitants.

Since there were no official records kept of immigrants into Nova Scotia before 1810, much of the question of source must be by inference only, since no organized groups came whose records were kept as to occupation, race, religion, and the like. From official reports we shall attempt to glean the circumstances under which these Catholic Irish seeped in, whose presence, at first unperceived, gradually came to be felt so strongly even in the 1750's that other settlers averse to them were prone to leave the Province.

It would seem that a number of them came as servants - hence one of the reasons why they were not all listed by name in the first original list of settlers. In this list of first settlers, there are 276 male servants and 143 female servants.[25] These are not listed by name, but only in numbers in the Servants' Column, with their masters listed as head of the family. A few are listed in Column One, but only impersonally as "five servants of Major Gillman".[26] Many of these were doubtless negro slaves, but some were Irish Catholics. Some of the prominent original settlers had Irish servants. Among them Richard Bulkeley, born and brought up in Dublin, who came to Halifax in the Sphinx among Cornwallis' suite, brought with him as part of his household from Dublin three servants.[27] One of these at least, Thomas Hogan, the butler, was Irish, and undoubtedly Catholic. Mention is made elsewhere of a Mr. Brown, an Irishman, bookkeeper to Captain Clapham, and another of the same name, gardener to Governor

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25 List of Settlers [...] Cornwallis in June, 1749, in T. B. Akins, Selections From the Public Documents of Nova Scotia, p. 506-557.

26 Ibid., p. 515.

27 James MacDonald, "Richard Bulkeley, 1717-1800", in Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, Volume 12, Halifax, McAlpine, 1905, p. 63-64.

Cornwallis, which gardener was scalped by the Indians near Halifax in 1750.[28]

The complaints made to Governor Cornwallis in 1751 of desertion from English loyalty to the French and Indians were made specifically against "Irish Roman Catholic Servants".[29] It is reasonable to assume therefore that, among the original inhabitants listed as servants, there were Irish Catholics. In addition to this objective statement made by Cornwallis himself, we know it to have been a common custom for the Irish to act as servants to English families. The Reverend Ian MacKinnon, writing on the original groups of settlers, states that in addition to the larger groups - settlers, soldiers and sailors, merchants and settlers from New England, Foreign Protestants and Acadian French - there were "several Irish Catholics who came as servants" between 1749 and 1753.[30]

In the eighteenth century, the "indentured servant" was a commonplace, especially in the new colonies. The home government, incompetent to cope with problems of over-

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28 John Wilson, A Genuine Narrative of Transactions in Nova Scotia Since the Settlement, London, Henderson, 1751, p. 13, (P.A.C. Pamphlet 477).

29 Minutes of Executive Council of Nova Scotia, July 2, 1751, B.T.N.S., Volume 43. Italics are mine.

30 Ian MacKinnon, op. cit., p. 12.

population, used this means with eagerness to develop their colonies overseas. The poorer classes, unable for want of funds to emigrate from a land where there was no work, signed up their services and sometimes those of their families for years in advance in order to secure transportation. Well-to-do planters, ship captains, and merchants, on security of a bill of indenture, seized upon this profitable trade.[31] In this way indentured servants were procured for the British-American colonies. While this type of slavery was certainly more common in Pennsylvania and the southern colonies, some authors hold that it was not unknown in Nova Scotia, and that some Irish Catholics apparently arrived at Halifax in this condition.[32]

But all the Irish Catholics of Halifax were not servants. When we think of Halifax, we think naturally of a military garrison, and hence, of soldiery. The army and navy formed another source of early Irish Catholics. This included all categories of military from disbanded soldiers and sailors who had lately served in the British Service to active British troops, and colonial militia. In all

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31 H. L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, Volume 2, New York, Columbia University Press, 1930, p. 484.

32 Ian MacKinnon, op. cit., p. 13; Thomas Raddall, Halifax, Warden of the North, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1948, p. 69.

these groups from the troops disbanded in England and sent as original settlers, in the transient regiments stationed for periods of years in the garrison, in the militia of the Province, we find Irish Roman Catholics, Those of the above, who were only temporarily settled here, made their contributions during the years of their stay, as well as did the permanent settlers.

With the maturing of a plan for a British settlement and military settlement at Halifax, encouragement was first given to such of the officers and private men lately dismissed from "His Majesty's Land and Sea Service as are willing to accept grants of land and to settle with or without families in Nova Scotia".[33] It is not too much to suppose that amongst these came a number of Irish Catholics who had been previously enlisted in the British army and navy. In the list of settlers these would be designated as "English". The inducements held out to these servicemen would appeal to the Irish since only necessity would have led them to leave Ireland in the first place, and no employment could have been had for them now in England. Free passage, a year's maintenance, materials for clearing land, erecting dwellings and prosecuting the fisheries would appeal to them. The latter enticement would be great, since

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33 Advertisement, Whitehall, March 7, 1749, in T. B. Akins, op. cit., p. 495.

this would have been the occupation of many of them before enlisting in the service. Many of those on the original lists, especially those listed as 'mariners' have Irish Catholic names - Terrence Flynn, Owen Cavanaugh, Patrick Malone, James Kelly. Some of these are listed as single men, others with wife and children.[34]

To these mariners the fisheries would have a strong appeal. We know from the earliest years of the settlement that the coves near Halifax, Ketch Harbour, Herring Cove, and Prospect, gradually became settled by fishermen, and that at the present day these coves are almost one hundred percent Catholic and of Irish extraction. As the eighteenth century moved into the nineteenth, these coves were augmented by more settlers as Irish Catholic immigration became stronger. They were, however, settled long before the beginning of the nineteenth century. For this we have the witness of Bishop Plessis who, during his pastoral visit to Nova Scotia in 1815, found at Prospect forty families of Irish Catholic fishermen served by a Capuchin, Father Jacques, commonly called Father Grace, who had at that time been ministering to the colony for twenty-five years.

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34 List of Settlers Who Came Out with Governor Cornwallis to Chebucto in June, 1749, in T. B. Akins, op. cit., p. 506 - 557.

These forty families composed the whole district of Prospect, Ketch Harbour, and Herring Cove.[35] Hence this places the Irish Catholic settlement in Prospect and the surrounding districts at least as early as 1790, and it is likely that they were there earlier without a priest to minister to them. John Cody, later a signator of the petition of Catholics for the repeal of the land law against Catholics, was given a license to occupy Callaghan's Island at Prospect for prosecuting the fisheries as early as 1765,[36] and Peter Martin was one of the grantees for Ketch Harbour in the same year.[37] It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that these coves originated from the earliest years of the settlement. Ketch Harbour is mentioned among the places settled between 1749 and 1752.[38] Hence it is also reasonable to suppose that the Irish among the disbanded soldiers and mariners, bred to the fisheries, would tend towards these coves. Bishop Inglis, the Anglican Bishop of Halifax later classified the Catholics of Halifax as "ninety-nine out of one

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35 Joseph Octave Plessis, Journal de Visites Pastorales de 1815, Quebec, Franciscaine Missionaire, 1903, p. 83.

36 Minutes of Executive Council of Nova Scotia, October 21, 1765, in N.S., B 13, p. 212.

37 Ibid., October 31, 1765, in N.S., B 13, p. 219.

38 T. B. Akins, Selections From the Public Documents of Nova Scotia, p. 667.

hundred of the Roman Catholics of Halifax are Irish fishermen".[39]

These erstwhile servicemen would serve again in the militia of Nova Scotia, which involved every man from sixteen to sixty.[40] Besides these there was the regular garrison formed from troops drawn from various places, and on full time duty. Describing his journey through Nova Scotia in 1774, an English gentleman noted that the trade of Annapolis Royal had declined, due to the fact that when Halifax was founded twenty-five years before, the soldiers from the garrison at Annapolis had been removed to Halifax.[41] That there were Irish Catholic Papists among the garrison at Annapolis and hence that there were some when they removed to Halifax may be concluded from the fact that Irish Catholic deserters appeared in Canada from Nova Scotia and prisoners of the same allegiance were sent there several years after 1741. The Church of Canada in 1741 was characterized as representing a perfect homogeneity of race, except for 'English' deserters from the army. In one day

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39 Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, March 30, 1802, P.A.C., Inglis Papers, MSS., 1799-1837, C 6, Volume 3. /no pagination/

40 Enclosure in Hopson to Lords of Trade, Halifax, July 23, 1753, B.T.N.S., Volume 14, H 194.

41 John Robinson, A Journey Through Nova Scotia, York, Etherington, 1774, p. 14, (P.A.C. Pamphlet 477).

as many as thirty such arrived from Chebucto (Halifax) of English, Irish, and Scotch descent. It was stated specifically that the Irish amongst them had not come directly from Ireland, but that "the hazards of war between England and France" had introduced these Irish Catholics into Canada as prisoners.[42] These Irish could not have been too obstreperous a group, since the French Minister wrote to Hocquart that if these prisoners desired to fix their abode there, he could see no reason why they should not be permitted to do so.[43]

If names have any significance, there were Irish Catholics among the troops evacuated from Louisbourg to Halifax after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, as well as among those who came from Annapolis Royal. Among the names on the victualling lists of Colonel Hopson's Regiment, arrived from Louisbourg, appear those of Dennis Donahue and William Kennedy; in Captain Flozer's Company, those of Dennis and Daniel Murphy; in Captain Loes' Company appear those of Michael Mahoney and Michael Kelly.[44] Raddall holds

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42 Abbé Auguste Gosselin, L'Eglise Du Canada, III, Quebec, La Flamma, 1914, p. 6-7.

43 Ibid., p. 7.

44 Enclosure in Hopson to Board of Trade, Halifax, October 16, 1752, B.T.N.S., Volume 13, H 99.

that the Catholics of Halifax in the early days (and here he is describing the period from 1750 to 1755) "were chiefly soldiers of the garrison and their wives and children; they were the beginning of an Irish colony, which grew steadily as time went by".[45]

In addition to the militia duty exacted of every male over sixteen, which would necessarily include the Irish Catholics, Governor Wentworth was ordered to raise a provincial regiment in February of 1793.[46] He reported the completion of the Nova Scotia Regiment in June of the same year.[47] This regiment served Nova Scotia for seven years during which period it was put on the footing of Fencibles, able to serve the King not only in Nova Scotia, but in any of the British North American colonies. The address of thanks tendered by the rank and file of the regiment to Wentworth contains a number of Irish Catholic names, one at least of whom, John Cody, had already played a prominent part in Catholic action in the town of Halifax, as this study will later show. Among the signatures of the privates

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45 Thomas Raddall, op. cit., p. 39.

46 Dundas to Wentworth, Whitehall, February 8, 1793; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 22, p. 196.

47 Wentworth to King, Halifax, June 21, 1793; A. & W.I., Volume 598.

may be found those of Timothy McCarthy, Patrick Kelly, Patrick O'Brien, Timothy Mahoney, Dennis Mahoney, John Cody, Patrick O'Flaherty and numerous others.[48] Apparently these recruits had been fishermen before their entrance into the regiment. Concern was expressed for their welfare on disbandment in 1802,[49] but a bounty passed for fishermen was a keen enticement to draw them back to resettle in the occupation in which they had formerly been engaged.[50]

In addition to these colonial militia, there were other transient regiments stationed at Halifax from time to time. All contained some Irish Catholic troops. The 84th Regiment, or Royal Highland Emigrants, recruited before the American Revolution, mostly of Scottish emigrants, contained some Irish recruits.[51] This Regiment was disbanded in Nova Scotia in 1783, its members being later granted land

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48 Enclosure in Wentworth to Portland, No. 74, Halifax, September 27, 1799; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 29, p. 182.

49 Wentworth to Hobart, Halifax, June 22, 1802; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 36, p. 429.

50 Wentworth to Hobart, Halifax, October 18, 1802; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 37, p. 18.

51 War Office Papers, 28, Volume 4, pt. 2; Field Officers' Letters, 1775-1805; Return of Recruits raised December 19, 1778; January 9, 1779, 1780.

in the Province.[52] At least one Irishman was found among the deserters from this Regiment.[53] How Irish Catholics enlisted in this Scottish Regiment may be explained partly from the fact that a large part of the corps had been raised from among the fishermen of Newfoundland.[54] Other Irish had enlisted in Quebec.[55]

To summarize the extent to which Irish Catholics had penetrated the military service of Britain in the last half of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth centuries, we have an interesting, albeit anonymous letter from a "loyal colonist" in Nova Scotia to Castlereagh. We may suspect the objectivity of the author's sentiments against the Irish,but the statistics are possibly close to correct. The perilous state of the colony he blames on the bad management of Wentworth and his favorites. His greatest concern, however, is the danger from disloyalty of the Royal troops stationed in Halifax, and from the militia,

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52 Parr to Sydney, Halifax, June 2, 1786; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 17, p. 59.

53 Major John Maire to Le Maistre, Montreal, February 1, 1779; War Office Papers, 28, Volume 3, p. 142.

54 Parr to Sydney, Halifax, June 2, 1786; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 17, p. 59.

55 Return of Recruits Raised December 19, 1778, January 9, 1779; War Office Papers, 28, Volume 4, pt. 2.

in the event of a rupture with the United States which was then impending. The King's troops, he explains,

> consist of three raised and indifferently disciplined regiments, seven eighths of which are composed of Irish Catholics, a considerable portion of whom it is said took an active part in the Rebellion in their own country and cannot be supposed very trustworthy at this moment [. . .].[56]

He does not confine the disloyalty to the troops for he adds a doubt concerning the Irish Catholic settlers of Halifax,

> [. . .] and there is strong reason to doubt the cordial attachment of many of their countrymen of the same religious persuasion who are engaged in the Fisheries near the Capital and settled in some other parts of the Province.[57]

Other than servants, and soldiery, and fishermen, a further source of Irish Catholic immigration, incredible though it may seem to find Irish among them, was the Loyalist migration. Many of the Loyalists were Catholic and Irish.[58] Some from the defeated British Army made their way to Nova Scotia after 1783.[59]

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56 "A Loyal Colonist" to Castlereagh, Halifax, August 26, 1807; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 41, p. 707.

57 Ibid., p. 708.

58 Jones to Bishop of Quebec, April 27, 1781, Archiepiscopal Archives of Quebec, Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, p. 7.

59 Ibid., p. 7.

It is likewise possible that Irish Emigrants bound for the United States, after the American colonies had gained their independence, stopped off at Halifax and that some were persuaded to remain there. Certainly it was true that in the letters of the British North American colonies to the Home Office concern was expressed for the loss of emigrants from the United Kingdom to the United States. On May 21, 1796, a ship bound from France had stopped off at Waterford, Ireland, and picked up Irish emigrants. On route, it was directed by Captain Mowatt of the Assistance to Halifax. Wentworth, the Governor, was jubilant and hoped that he would be able

> to persuade the latter (Irish Emigrants) to settle in this province, and thereby make it the instrument turning that spirit of Emigration from the British Dominions in Europe into this Province.[60]

In all probability, coming from Waterford, these would be Catholic Irish. His very reasoning, later in the dispatch that soon they must be loyal, that he had no fear of their political prejudices at home, since disloyalty could no more thrive in Nova Scotia, he felt, than "it is said noxious reptiles do in Ireland", would indicate this.

In addition to the certain and to the possible sources of this Irish seeping-in, there is a strong

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60 Wentworth to King, Halifax, May 21, 1796; Col. Cor., N. S., Volume 26, p. 102.

possibility of some infiltration of Irish fishermen from or through Newfoundland into Nova Scotia, though I have looked in vain for any official record of such. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Newfoundland became the one place in the colonial empire of Britain where settlers were not considered a form of wealth.[61] Settlement on this potential mine of fish meant that eventually the flow of trade to Britain would cease, as enterprising fishermen gradually took over the responsibility for the carrying trade with Europe. Catholic Irish fishermen had emigrated in swarms to this island and,in both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Board of Trade had advocated the removal of some of these settlers to Nova Scotia or other adjacent colonies.[62] The first official verification that this policy was ever carried out, I found to be in 1821,[63] and hence not within this seeping-in period. Harvey, however, maintains that the Province did receive some Irish via

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61 A. H. McLintock, The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783 - 1832, London, Longmans Green, 1941, p. 7.

62 Waldengrave to Portland, October 22, 1799, in C. O. 194, Volume 23, p. 471.

63 Hamilton to Bathurst, Annual Report of December 4, 1821, in C. O. 194/64, quoted by McLintock, op. cit., p. 129.

Newfoundland between 1775 and 1812.[64] Possibly in this he is referring to a transient population of such, referred to with great bitterness by Governor Wentworth. Commenting on the rumor that a number of inhabitants were leaving the Province, and emigrating to the United States, he denies that good fishermen are leaving, but adds,

> a more numerous emigration of useless Irishmen pass annually from Newfoundland through this Province, where some of them remain, one, two, or perhaps three years, and then proceed onward to the United States. This class of men are not disposed to industry, obedience or temperance. Nor is their departure to be regretted, except only as they might be serviceable if they could be engaged in His Majesty's army or navy.[65]

The speech is interesting - and if sincere, bodes not well for the calibre of His Majesty's servicemen!

This seeping-in period to 1815 can well be summarized from a contemporary source. Though anonymous, the author presents a fairly clear-cut image of the situation. His purpose is to impress on the home government the importance of turning the tide of immigration from the United States to Nova Scotia. Each of the immigrant races - English, Scotch and Irish, he characterizes. The Irish he represents as "often the best labourers" though he adds an

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64 D. C. Harvey, The Colonization of Canada, Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 1936, p. 73.

65 Wentworth to Castlereagh, Halifax, February 3, 1806; C. O. 217, Volume 80, No. 146, p. 135.

unfair comment concerning their lack of ingenuity, quick apprehension, - and, with somewhat more truth - their addiction to strong liquors. He adds a summary of their coming to the Province,

> The Irish usually come to this Province from their own country, by way of Newfoundland, - are either fishermen, or dispersed through the province as Laborers - those who are farmers on their own Account have not come here of late, but were those or the Descendents of those who came on the Encouragement of the Government, when Halifax was first settled in 1749. The New Comers are chiefly employed in the Fisheries. They are principally settled in and near Halifax, where they form ¼ of the Inhabitants, and are, in general, Catholics.[66]

Though this is not a complete picture of the situation as this study will show, it verifies some of the findings. Thus we may see that in the period from 1749 - 1815 there was no great wave of Catholic immigration from Ireland as such, and yet the small Irish colony at Halifax was augmented steadily both by natural increase and by dribbles of new settlers from Ireland via various means, whose origins I have attempted to explain.

Scattered comments throughout this period may give some idea of the numbers involved in this period of Irish infiltration. Between 1749 and 1763, the number had increased from a very small minority to about one thousand

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66 _____ to N. Atcheson, Esq., Halifax, August 20, 1812; C. O. 217, Volume 97, p. 79.

Irish.[67] Though the contemporary author of this statement could say "many of them Roman Catholics", I believe that a later comment on this by Archbishop O'Brien of Halifax could be closer to the truth - that "most of them (were) Roman Catholics".[68] Not all the Catholics of Halifax of Irish nationality professed themselves as such. Dr. Breynton, the Anglican Minister, lists among his parishioners in 1764 two hundred fifty Irish, suspected Roman Catholics.[69] This group would consist of those among the Irish Catholics of Halifax who for some political or social reason were conforming exteriorly at least to the Anglican Church. The official Census of the Province of Nova Scotia for 1767 lists the number of inhabitants in Halifax and its environs as 3022, which number included 667 official Catholics.[70] This number included besides Irish, any Scottish, English, American, German, and Acadian Catholics. At this date the number of the latter could be very few. This census did

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67 Alexander Grant to Reverend M. Stiles, Halifax, May, 1760, in Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, Volume 10, First Series, Boston, Munroe, 1809, p. 192.

68 Cornelius O'Brien, Memoirs of Right Reverend Edmund Burke, Ottawa, Thoburn, 1894, p. 56.

69 Lambeth MSS., 1124-2, fo. 272, June 19, 1764; C. O., A 74, N.S.

70 A General Return of the Several Townships in the Province of Nova Scotia, January 1, 1767; P.A.N.S., No. 443, Document 1, (Original Manuscript).

not include the army or navy, in which there were many Catholic Irish as we have seen, nor would it include the 250 "suspects" before mentioned. All these earlier reports, with the exception of the official census, are bound to be only estimates since it was difficult to identify religion in a place and at a time when it was often found expedient to keep it secret. Evidently it was even difficult for the Church authorities to get exact numbers. When in 1784, Monsignor D'Esgly took over the episcopal see of Quebec, he requested M. Bourg, then in charge of the mission of Nova Scotia, to acquaint him with the state of that Province, the latter was forced to reply that while he could give numbers for the other settlements at Cape Sable, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island, he was still ignorant of the number for Halifax.[71]

Probably the most accurate estimate, though not complete, is that which we can glean at the end of this seeping-in period from the Journal of Monsignor Joseph Plessis. When speaking of the fervour of the Catholics of Halifax, of which he says the great majority are Irish by birth or by extraction, he declares that of the six hundred

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71 M. Bourg to Bishop of Quebec, Halifax, October 3, 1785, in Mémoires Sur Les Missions de la Nouvelle-Ecosse de 1760 - 1820, D'Apres Les Archives de l'Archevêché de Quebec et La Propagande de Rome, Quebec, Dorveau, 1895, p. 39.

"communiants" of the Church, "less than ten did not confess last Lent".[72] These were devout; doubtless, there were others whose faith had been weakened, as we saw in the case of suspected Catholics who had allowed their children to be brought up in the Church of England.[73] Likewise, we must add to this the forty families of Irish Catholics which the same prelate had found in the surrounding coves.[74]

This trickle of Irish immigration had as its point of origin, for the most part, the Province of Munster.[75] The earliest register of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, of Saint Mary's Cathedral confirms this.[76] In this latter document, the counties of Wexford, Tipperary, and Waterford predominate as the place of origin of parents. These counties, as well as those mentioned less often, are all in the Province of Munster. This trickle from Munster had already made its impact felt quite strongly by 1815. This we shall point out in subsequent chapters. The trickle was now to become a steady stream as the end of the Napoleonic

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72 Joseph Octave Plessis, op. cit., p. 77.

73 Belcher to Board of Trade, in Lambeth MSS., Volume 1124-2, 156 a, February 3, 1763.

74 Joseph Octave Plessis, op. cit., p. 83.

75 M. Jones to Bishop of Quebec, August 29, 1785, in Mémoires Sur Les Missions de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, p. 37.

76 Register Saint Mary's Cathedral, 1801 - 1809, Halifax Archiepiscopal Archives.

Wars poured into the Province a flood of Irish Catholics, until the Famine Years of the late 1840's increased the surge to river proportions. Turning now to these last phases of the immigration process, we shall then be equipped to evaluate the pressure of a century on the life of Halifax City and the Province of Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER III

A PERIOD OF INFLUX, 1815-1850

Securely the Irish yeast had been planted and had grown, but yet its numbers were limited. The increase had come from slow accession of small numbers augmented by natural increase. Even this small flow of emigrants from Ireland declined sharply during the Napoleonic Wars, as did all British emigration. It was understandable that the British Government would stay this migration of her people. Though Ireland's excess population had already looked toward emigration as a possible solution, the British army had absorbed some of excess.

The leisurely immigration to Nova Scotia prior to 1815 gave way to a flood of such after that date as swarms of British emigrants crossed the Atlantic to her shores and to those of Canada, fleeing from economic conditions at home which had only worsened by the close of the Napoleonic period. This outflow of people from the British Isles numbered 1,889 persons in 1815, and increased annually until in 1852 the number stood at 277,134 persons.[1] Not all of these came to the shores of Nova Scotia, nor were all Irish,

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1 Stanley C. Johnson, A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912, London, Routledge, 1913, p. 14.

but the numbers point significantly to the human exodus of a people from their homelands that has no parallel in the history of the world. In the years from 1815 to 1838, it is believed that 39,000 of these emigrants entered Nova Scotia itself from the British Isles and Newfoundland, of which number 22,000 are thought to be Scots, 13,000 Irish, and 2,000 English.[2] Those from Newfoundland are thought to have emigrated thence from Ireland a few years earlier.[3] From this study it is plain that in this period the Scots predominated, followed secondly by the Irish, and thirdly by the English. In the period that followed, 1839 - 1850, the Scottish continued to predominate in spite of the great influx of Famine Irish after 1846. Had it not been that the majority of these latter went to New Brunswick and the Canadas rather than to Nova Scotia, Irish immigrants may have overtaken the Scottish.

The close of the Napoleonic Wars did not however create the economic conditions in Ireland which led to mass emigration. It only increased the pressures. Having kept herself apart, more or less, from the main streams of European life, she suffered little during the wars from

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2 J. S. Martell, Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia, 1815-1838, Halifax, Public Archives of Nova Scotia Press, Publication No. 6, 1942, p. 9.

3 Ibid., p. 8.

them, but "caught the full impact of peace-time disorganization and turbulance".[4] Disbanded soldiers and sailors of the British army and navy, among whom there were undoubtedly some Irish Catholics, could not turn for employment to a country already in the throes of economic calamity. Conditions in Ireland in the early nineteenth century were even worse than those in England and Scotland. But the Treaty of Ghent did not present a problem for disbanded servicemen only. The whole population of England, Scotland and Ireland was affected by it. England now felt herself competing in foreign markets. The introduction of labor-saving devices lessened employment needs, while at the same time the growth of population was phenomenal. In Ireland especially population soared. In 1791, its people had numbered 4,206,602.[5] By 1841, it had increased to 8,175,124.[6] The majority of this vast people lived on little else than potatoes, which staple alone was left within their possession. All else was exported to England. When the potato crop failed, starvation and fever followed. Such was the

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4 William Forbes Adams, Ireland and Irish Immigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, p. 2.

5 Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Volume 1, p. 259, in Johnson, op. cit., p. 39.

6 Census of Ireland, 1901, Table 44, in Johnson, op. cit., p. 39.

situation in Ireland in the early nineteenth century. The Editor of the Acadian Recorder, in an effort to point out that economic conditions rather than religion were the chief source of stress in Ireland, vindicated strongly the Irish character in his opinion that it was "distress, actual and anticipated", as much as other causes that led to rebellion.[7] Others, many in number, would support this theory. Sir E. O'Brien, in Parliament, reiterated this point:

> It will therefore be seen that Ireland is not struggling in the mere spitefulness of discontent, [. . .], but driven to the 'pikestaff" by the actual want of food and as the last resource of despair and misery. This is the principal source of Ireland's evils - to this may be ascribed the Rebellion - the insurrection of 1803, and the long list of other disturbances which since that period, have agitated until they have unstrung the once 'buoyant elasticity of her spirits' [. . .].[8]

This would seem a fair judgment. Lecky would seem to support it strongly for he affirms that Irish aversion for the English is not due to the Penal Laws, nor to the Union, but to England's lack of settlement and help given in the emigration after the famine of 1846.[9]

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7 Acadian Recorder, No. 24, Volume 10, June 15, 1822, Col. 2, p. 3.

8 Acadian Recorder, No. 25, Volume 10, June 22, 1822, Columns 1 and 2, p. 3.

9 W. E. Lecky, in J. L.Morison, "Emigration and Land Policy" in Cambridge History of the British Empire, Volume 2, Cambridge University Press, 1940, p. 452.

During this period there were many potato crop failures. In 1821, excessive rains ruined the potato crops,[10] and a vicious circle ensued. Shortage of potatoes in 1822 caused the price to rise, and famine followed. There was distress and starvation in several counties of Munster and Connaught; people died of actual want. The Galway Advertiser told of despair on the countenances of the people as the potato crop failed. With present despair and no hope for the coming season through lack of seed, the people became wanderers.[11] Government relief made little impression on so vast a need.[12] The 1830's saw no relief for Ireland, only worsened conditions. Abundant potato crops in 1842 and 1843 only raised the hopes of the Irish people to have them completely shattered by the total destruction of the crop in 1846. Famine and disease stalked through the land in this entire period, and the resulting exodus of people along with those who died of starvation brought the population numbers down to six and one-half million by 1852.[13] It is estimated that as a result of the

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10 John O'Rourke, The History of the Great Irish Famine of 1847, third edition, Dublin, Duffy & Co., 1902, p. 30.

11 Acadian Recorder, No. 24, Volume 10, June 15, 1822, Col. 5, p. 2.

12 Ibid., No. 32, Volume 10, August 10, 1822, Col. 6, p. 2.

13 Census of Ireland, 1901, Table 44, in Johnson, p. 49.

Great Famine of 1846 alone, one half a million Irish died of pestilence and famine.[14]

The thread of famine which ran through Irish history ironically helped to solve the problem of a deficient economic basis and of over-population, which the English Government was either unable or unwilling to solve. This it did by starvation and death. What these did not solve, emigration completed, as through fear of like affliction a mighty exodus left the shores of Ireland for the New World. Here we are concerned only with those who came to Nova Scotia's shores, and in particular, those who arrived at Halifax.

The first official record of the Irish who came to Nova Scotia was enclosed, along with the statistics of immigrants from the rest of the British Isles, in an official dispatch to the home office. Omitting the influx of 606 Irish immigrants between 1810 when the first written records were kept to 1814, the total statistical account for the years from 1815 to April of 1831 is 5,130 Irish.[15]

Although these figures given above were stated by the Customs Officials of Halifax as the number of immigrants

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14 Edwin C. Guillet, The Great Migration, Toronto, Nelson, 1937, p. 7.

15 Return of Number of Emigrants into Nova Scotia, not including Cape Breton, from January 1, 1810, to April 28, 1831, Enclosure in Maitland to Goderich, Halifax, May 11, 1831, in C.O. 217, Volume 152, p. 297.

for the Province of Nova Scotia, it has been proven that in actual fact they were the numbers only for Halifax, and that even for that port they were inadequate.[16] The fact was that even the authorities of the Province had no idea of the extent of immigration and the numbers given above were only a rough estimate of those who came through the port of Halifax, given in answer to a request from the Imperial Government and to cover up their ignorance. Since we shall be in succeeding chapters concerned especially with the impact from the Irish of Halifax, the figures are, however, significant for us, even though they represent only a poor estimate. As the first official record, also, even though incorrect, they are important.

There were only two legal points of entry for immigrants in this period on the mainland of Nova Scotia - Halifax and Pictou. There was one likewise for Cape Breton at Sydney. If the Customs Officers at Halifax, the main port, were so lax as to present an official statement to the Home Office as inaccurate as that mentioned above, what might be said for the other ports? Likewise, during this period, we have proof of unscrupulous ship agents and captains who in order to escape inspection because of the violation of passenger regulations avoided the legal ports

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16 J. S. Martell, op. cit., p. 8.

where Customs Officers presided, and dumped their human cargo at outports in the Province.[17] Hence, as a result of incomplete records, the immigrant population of this period will always be more or less of a conjecture.[18]

Through the efforts of Dr. Martell, however, the picture has become more accurate. His study, covering the period from 1815 to 1838, was followed closely by a similar one by Susan Morse covering the years from 1839 to 1851,[19] and directed likewise by Nova Scotia Archivist, D. C. Harvey. Both of these research studies cover the whole field of immigration from the United Kingdom, and both are drawn completely from source material. To get the most accurate picture possible of the portion of this immigration which was solely Irish, I have borrowed freely from the Appendices of both studies.

Of a total of approxiamtely 12,949 Irish who emigrated to Nova Scotia between 1815 and 1838, about 10,915 entered the Province at Halifax.[20] Smaller numbers entered at Pictou, Sydney, Arichat, Granville, Liverpool, Pugwash

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17 Kempt to Wilmot, paper 2, (Private), Halifax, September 14, 1826; C.O. 217, Volume 146, part 1, p. 264.

18 D. C. Harvey, Preface to J. S. Martell, op. cit.

19 Susan L. Morse, Immigration to Nova Scotia, 1839-1851, Unpublished Master's Thesis presented to Dalhousie University, 1946.

20 J. S. Martell, Appendix II, p. 95.

and Wallace. Those arriving at Pictou, Granville, Pugwash and Wallace, a very small number, were most likely from Ulster, since these places were seats of Protestantism. Since Halifax had already become a stronghold of Irish Catholicism, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, this port along with perhaps Arichat and Sydney probably received many Irish Catholics. In the totals listed above, all did not come directly from Ireland, but over 1,700 came via Newfoundland.[21] These are all reckoned as Irish, since the great majority from the "Old Dominion", it is certain, Martell maintains, were Irish. Although there is no doubt that there were a few English among them, Martell feels that this fact is balanced in his study by accounting all those sailing from Liverpool as English although there were undoubtedly some Irish embarking from this port. This data, drawn up by an Assistant Archivist of the Province in question from Customs Returns, shipping reports in newspapers and official communications, gives us a fairly close estimate of the flow of Irish into Nova Scotia in part of the period under study in this chapter - that is, until 1838.

For a general picture of the subsequent period, 1839 - 1850, we shall draw the picture largely from the

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21 Martell, Appendix II, p. 8.

survey of Susan Morse. This, too, is a picture of the complete British exodus. The survey is as accurate a one as is available. From the all-over picture, I shall draw only that which concerns the Irish. Collecting her data mostly from the Colonial Lands and Emigration Commissioners' Reports for the years 1840 - 1851, she estimates that approximately 2,267 Irish entered Nova Scotia in this period. Of this number, 1,255 arrived in the single year of 1847, the year of the great famine following the complete destruction of the potato crop the preceding year.[22] A study of the ports of embarkation of these Irish immigrants of 1847 may reveal as closely as one can calculate the proportion of Catholics among them. Of the five ports listed - Galway, Cork, Waterford, Limerick and Belfast, the last only is in Ulster. Galway in the province of Connaught, and Cork, Waterford and Limerick in the province of Munster, are all overwhelmingly Catholic counties.[23] Of the total of 1,255 Famine Irish coming to Nova Scotia, only twenty-two came from Belfast.

The question may arise as to whether or not the same high proportion of Catholics as is presumed for the

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22 Susan Morse, op. cit., Appendix IV, p. 118.

23 W. F. Adams, op. cit., p. 64.

single 1847 influx holds for the entire period of 1815 - 1850. I believe it is so. Since there was no religious census in Ireland before 1831, in which year the Catholics formed eighty-two percent of the population,[24] this can only be a matter of surmise but a fairly sure one. Of the eighteen percent Protestant population in 1831, these were centered in the almost wholly Presbyterian counties of Antrim and Down in Ulster, scattered through the rest of Ulster, and in the eastern province of Leinster where the members of the Established Church may be found.[25] The provinces of the south and west, that is, Munster and Connaught, were and are predominantly Catholic, and it was in these two provinces especially that economic conditions had reached such an impasse in this entire period as to cause emigration.[26] It is also from the counties in these provinces that the majority of the parishioners listed in the earliest accounts of Saint Peter's Church had been drawn.[27]

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24 W. F. Adams, op. cit., p. 64.

25 Ibid.

26 Acadian Recorder, No. 24, Volume 10, June 15, 1822, Col. 5, p. 2; Ibid., No. 32, Volume 10, August 10, 1822, Col. 6, p. 2.

27 Wardens' Minute Book, being a Register of the Papers of the Parish Church of Saint Peter's in the City of Halifax, as also the Accounts of the Wardens, Halifax Archiepiscopal Archives, MSS., (original).

But these are cold statistics of mass immigration, and of all the sciences, History is the most human. To get more intimate picture of the flood of Irish immigration which inundated the Province in this second period of our study, we must return to the study of the details of source and condition under which the majority of these people came to our shores. For a convenient analysis of the categories of immigrants of this period, we might classify them into six groups. The reader must keep in mind that these are not hard and fast groups which preclude overlapping. It is only used for the purpose of portraying a more detailed study of this influx of Irish immigration subsequent to 1815, which had begun as a tiny stream in the 1750's. This classification of six possible groups might include: those who came from Ireland via Newfoundland, whence they had previously emigrated or on whose shores they stopped for food or medical assistance; disbanded soldiers or sailors of the Napoleonic Wars; the active garrison stationed at Halifax; those who came directly from Ireland on the specifically emigrant ships; those who came with timber merchants at lower rates; and the Famine Influx of 1847 and succeeding years. These groups we might now briefly consider in detail.

If, as some conjecture, the Irish emigrated in small numbers from their native land via Newfoundland

before 1815, it is a fact beyond doubt that numerous was their number after that date. From recorded Halifax shipping lists, Martell calculates a total of 1,769 in the years between 1815 and 1838.[28] After this period the flow seems to have ceased from this source. In the years mentioned above, the heaviest immigration was in 1816 and 1817, and it is known that these were Irish. Those who arrived in Arichat in 1830, one hundred strong, were also Irish. Of the toal number of 1,769, all except the one hundred to Arichat in 1830 and 25 to Sydney in the following year arrived in Halifax.

Apparently these immigrants were of excellent calibre, though lacking the material means of subsistence. It had not been their original intention to come to Nova Scotia, but the economy of Newfoundland could not support the vast yearly influx pouring into it from Ireland. Poor though they were, they were a welcome accession, for Dalhousie wrote of them:

> About 500 fine young men chiefly Irish have lately arrived totally destitute of bread or means of subsistence; they are, I am told the overflow of an immense Emigration to Newfoundland last summer; they are desirous to settle in this province, and if we can contrive to feed them or find them work

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28 Martell, Appendix III, p. 97.

during the winter, there is no doubt they will prove a valuable acquisition.[29]

Those mentioned above came in the winter of 1816 and probably are the same mentioned in the Acadian Recorder as having been fed by the provincial authorities of Nova Scotia.[30] Others came in the following year, as testified by Michael Tobin and Samuel Cunard in a letter to Dalhousie. These were the victims of disastrous fires in Newfoundland, only to lose what little they had salvaged from the fires by being shipwrecked en route.[31] Though written in 1818, this letter describes the arrival of these during the preceding winter.

An examination of Appendix III of Martell's study will show that small groups came thence annually in this period except in the years from 1820 to 1822, inclusive, and for 1828.[32] This is sufficient for our study, but we have singled out the more significant groups, and we will mention one other. If immigrants were a welcome accession in the first few years after 1815, a change of attitude

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29 Dalhousie to Bathurst, Halifax, January 2, 1817; C. O. 217, Volume 99, p. 6.

30 Acadian Recorder, No. 40; Volume 5, October 4, 1817, Col. 4, p. 2.

31 Michael Tobin and Samuel Cunard to Dalhousie, Halifax, February 9, 1818; P.A.N.S., Volume 305, Doc. 121.

32 Martell, Appendix III, p. 97.

soon became apparent later in this period. This apparent apathy of the Government constituted a real danger which could cause the loss of good immigrants. At least one outstanding citizen of Halifax, John Young, of famous "Agricola" pen-name, wrote warningly of the danger of loss of good citizens. An Agricultural Society which could give advice and which could succour immigrants would be of inestimable value. He says,

> The tide of emigration, which for the last two years set in upon our shores, has mocked us with delusive hopes and we have had the mortification to see it race past us to fill the creeks and harbours of the United States. Those strangers who visited us in quest of settlement were taken under the care and direction of no body of men, and after wandering through our streets - the outcasts of the old world and intruders on the new - they averted their eye from our inhospitable reception and sought in other regions that rest that was denied them here.[33]

Apparently this apathy was due to a change of attitude which was setting in even at this early date. It would become stronger as the period progressed to 1850.

As far as the year 1821 being omitted from Martell's study of the annual emigration from Newfoundland, he would seem at first sight to be in error. A closer examination of his earlier detailed study shows that he was conscious that some had come in that year, but not knowing the

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33 "Agricola", Letter 3, in Acadian Recorder, No. 32, Volume 6, August 8, 1818, Col. 4, p. 1.

numbers, he omitted rather than exaggerate the totals. Apparently some came that year even in opposition to the Nova Scotia Government's wish.

The winter months proved a matter of grave concern to the authorities in Newfoundland. Irish immigrants lured on by the hope of gains in the fisheries had swamped the island. Continual pleas from the citizens of St. John's urged the Government to "encourage the immediate departure of as many indigent persons for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or Canada as can be induced to go",[34] but though the Government supported the plea, it could not enforce it. Hamilton had learned the preceding year that in this matter he could not act on his own without reaction from the receiving province. Without sanction of the Imperial Government he had apparently shipped them on his own to Nova Scotia and had received a justifiable protest from Sir James Kempt.[35] The record pointed out that no more were sent that year.

The accession of immigrants from Newfoundland did not cease with this year, however, as has been pointed out. The year 1827, which was to see the disastrous effects on

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34 Hamilton to Bathurst, May 6, 1822; C. O. 194, Volume 65, p. 85.

35 Hamilton to Bathurst, Annual Report, December 4, 1821; C. O. 194, Volume 64.

immigrants of the removal of the Imperial Passengers' Act of 1825, was to witness the flow of Irish from Newfoundland to Halifax. Several died in passage: many others arrived in Halifax in a dying condition - almost all the objects of the greed of ship masters who had lured them on to a painted paradise, in some cases merely as a substitute for the ballast they would otherwise require for their shipping vessels.[36]

But not all indirect immigration was from Newfoundland. The close of the Napoleonic Wars cancelled the need for large standing armies and brought from 600 to 700 disbanded soldiers and pensioners into the Province.[37] At this particular time, 1815, the Province evinced eagerness for the coming of such. Hope was expressed by Lieutenant Governor Sherbrooke that the signing of the Treaty of Ghent would see the discharge in the Province of some of the land forces of British America. The Province could use a number of active and industrious farmers and it was hoped that encouragement would be held out in the form of grants of land to induce such to stay. A request to the Prince Regent asked that,

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36 Sir Thomas Cockrane to Viscount Goderich, St. John's, September 25, 1827; Imperial Blue Books, Emigration, 1828-1839, Volume 30, Paper 109.

37 Martell, op. cit., p. 8.

> all soldiers that may be discharged in Nova Scotia may receive the same gracious proofs of Royal Bounty and Munificence as were extended to those who were discharged at the close of the former American War.[38]

The Royal Newfoundland Fencibles were disbanded at Halifax on June 24, 1816,[39] and the Nova Scotia Fencibles on July 25 of the same year.[40] It is only reasonable to suppose that amongst these there were Irish Catholics. It will be remembered from the preceding chapter that the Royal Nova Scotia Regiment disbanded in 1802 contained numerous men with Irish Catholic names. The Peace of Amiens, however, which brought about the disbandment was short-lived and the problem of defence of the Maritimes rose again almost immediately. It was as a result of this situation that the Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland Fencibles were revived.[41] It is only reasonable to suppose that some of the men of the old Nova Scotia Regiment would again join the colonial militia.

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38 Sherbrooke to Bathurst, Halifax, March 15, 1815, Doc. No. 220; C. O. 217, Volume 96, p. 161-162.

39 Sherbrooke to Bathurst, Halifax, June 25, 1816; N.S., A 156, p. 88.

40 Smyth to Bathurst, Halifax, July 20, 1816; Col. Cor., N.B., Volume 20, p. 125.

41 George Stanley, Canada's Soldiers, Toronto, MacMillan, 1954, p. 140.

The disbanded troops - fencibles, regulars, and the pensioners from the Chelsea Royal Hospital were settled along a projected new road which would run from Annapolis to Halifax. They were settled in three distinct areas of this Halifax-Annapolis road - Sherbrooke (later New Ross), Dalhousie, and Wellington. The fencible group, which would most likely contain the largest number of Irish, was given escheated Loyalist land at Sherbrooke in 1819 and also in 1821.[42] Amongst these fencibles may be found Irish names.[43] Others of these fencibles and also regular soldiers, mostly from the Royal Artillery and the 98th Regiments, were given land at Dalhousie. Irishmen served in both of these Regiments.[44] The 98th, called 99th before 1816, was raised in Ireland.[45] Its full title, Prince of Wales Tipperary, is significant of its composition. Wellington, the third military town established, saw only fourteen settled, and these a most cosmopolitan group. Though these military towns quickly lost their original grantees, there is no

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42 J. S. Martell, "Military Settlements in Nova Scotia after the War of 1812" in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Volume 24, Halifax, Imperial, 1938, p. 102.

43 Ibid., p. 102.

44 H. M. Chichester, and George Burgess, The Records and Badges of the British Army, London, Gale & Polden, 1895, p. 683.

45 Ibid.

record that these latter left the Province.

The proportion of Catholics in the active garrison, remaining in service and stationed during these years in Halifax, was much higher than that among the disbanded groups. From official correspondence it would appear that it was almost totally Catholic. From 1815 to 1817, a Father Mignault, in addition to his services as missionary to the Indians, ministered to the Roman Catholic soldiers in the garrison at Halifax, who at that time "composed nearly the whole of the garrison".[46] This he did without remuneration. Hearing that Father Jones, first Irish priest to care for the Catholics of Halifax, had received a stipend for this service, he requested the same from the Government.[47] His statement of the number of Catholics was apparently correct, since Dalhousie felt it expedient to forward the request with his own approval to the authorities in England.[48] Later, in 1830, Bishop Fraser appointed for the first time a priest, Reverend John Chisholm, to officiate exclusively for the soldiers in the garrison. The Memorial of this

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46 P. M. Mignault to Dalhousie, Halifax, July 4, 1817; C. O. 217, Volume 99, p. 221-222.

47 Ibid., p. 222.

48 Dalhousie to Bathurst, Halifax, July 6, 1817; C. O. 217, Volume 99, p. 217.

49 Memorial of John Chisholm to Goderich, (undated), C. O. 217, Volume 152.

priest stated that the number of soldiers "who occasionally attend my ministrations to be at least 800". Catholics of Scottish and English nationality would be included in this total as well as Irish. Ten years later, in 1841, a census of the Catholic population of Halifax was ordered by the Government. The wardens of the Church, not only completed a door to door census of the town, but returned also a census of the Catholics living within the garrison, with families, and according to Regiment. The table, never before printed, is here given:

Return Showing the Number of Catholics
Belonging to the Regts in Garrison at the date

Regiment	Men	Women	Children	Total
Royal Artillery	18	9	2	29
Royal Engineers	1	1	0	2
8th Regiment	98	3	11	112
37th Regiment	314	33	30	377
64th Regiment	201	13	17	231
	632	59	60	751

Signed: Daniel Creamer (Warden in Charge)[50]

50 Wardens' Minute Book, p. 109; A.A.H., MSS., (original).

In an effort to get some idea of the Irish element in this Catholic garrison we might look for a moment at the regiments listed. That listed above with the highest Catholic population is the 37th. A study of the origin of this Regiment reveals that it was originally raised in Ireland.[51] In all likelihood the tradition of Irish origins would have continued. Some of the other regiments are worthy of note also. The Royal Artillery contained within it the Royal Irish Artillery, which latter was amalgamated with the former after the Union of 1801.[52] The original 64th Regiment was also raised in Ireland, and was stationed there ofter during its existence.[53] These observations would seem to indicate that besides being largely Catholic, the garrison at this time also had an Irish element.

There were others who came to Nova Scotia within this period, but whose passage was direct from Ireland. This constituted by far the largest group. Among those who came direct from Ireland, it is possible that a few came in other than the ordinary emigrant boats, at cheaper rates, on the boats that plied the timber trade between Ireland and the Maritimes in the 1820's and 1830's. It is stated

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51 Chichester and Burgess-Short, op. cit., p. 490.

52 Ibid., p. 146.

53 Ibid., p. 701.

that it is no exaggeration to say that Celtic New England owes its origin to the Maritime timber trade.[54] Needing barrel wood for the export of butter, eggs and salt pork, to England, Ireland had to import this from the Maritimes and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. By 1830, merchants in the south and west of Ireland sent out such vessels regularly. To keep them afloat on the journey across, emigrants formed the human ballast.[55] It is possible that some of those who came via Newfoundland also came thus as ballast.[56] There were "advantages", so-called, for the immigrant who chose to come thus on the timber boats. There were no customs officials to be met, the rates were often as low as 15 shillings, and since the run to the Maritimes was shorter than to Boston and New York, whence these emigrants had turned their eyes, they needed fewer provisions. They were sure of employment on arrival in loading the boats with timber. When the last boat was loaded and had left, however, they too were abandoned. The majority trekked their way through Maine to New England, or boarded coastal vessels thence.

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54 Marcus Lee Hansen, The Immigrant in American History, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 147.

55 J. S. Martell, Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia, p. 10.

56 Cockrane to Goderich, St. John's, September 25, 1827; Imperial Blue Books, Emigration, 1828-1839, Volume 30, Paper 109.

Wittke and Hansen imply that all did not proceed to New England, and between 1817 and 1842 Nova Scotia's immigration as well as New England's was tied up closely with the timber trade.[57]

But the vast majority of those who emigrated to Nova Scotia directly from Ireland in this period did not come in the timber vessels. Snatching at a painted paradise which callous-conscienced ship captains and agent painted as a land of plenty, an annual exodus migrated across the Atlantic, as a panacea for all social ills. Gleaning only the Irish influx from Martell's complete analysis of the British immigration picture from 1815-1838, the story looks like this:

Irish Immigration from 1815-1838
(Annual Influx)

Year	Number	Year	Number
1815	119	1827	1817
1816	847	1828	498
1817	1255	1829	180
1818	559	1830	674
1819	912	1831	1538
1820	93	1832	899
1821	237	1833	447
1822	74	1834	549
1823	50	1835	94
1824	3	1836	433
1825	50	1837	727
1826	807	1838	87

57 Carl Wittke, The Irish in America, Louisianna, State University, 1956, p. 14-15; Hansen, Marcus Lee, The Atlantic Migration, Cambridge, Harvard, 1945, p. 90.

In the first eleven years of this period, from 1815 to 1825 inclusive, 4,199 Irish immigrants arrived. With the exception of seventy-two of these who arrived in Cape Breton, all entered the Province at Halifax. The years 1816 to 1819 saw the steadiest immigration, partly explained by the Newfoundland overflow previously mentioned. In force of numbers outside the 1816-1819 years, the year 1821 will be seen to be the next heaviest. This also can be explained by the destruction of the crops in Ireland due to the excessive rains.[58] In the period from 1826 - 1838, an examination of the foregoing table will show that the number of immigrants doubled as the total reached 8,750. In this second period of a little over a decade, the year 1827 is especially worthy of mention, since it was this year which saw the repeal of the Imperial Laws governing passengers to North America. In this single year of 1827, one thousand six hundred seventeen impoverished Irish immigrants entered the Province at Halifax alone, and 200 elsewhere. This was the year of greatest influx for the Province, exceeding even that of 1847. In the third sub-division of the period under study, 1839-1850, the total immigration of Irish was about 2,300,[59] one thousand two hundred fifty-five of whom

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58 John O'Rourke, op. cit., p. 30.

59 Susan Morse, op. cit., p. 121.

came in the one year 1847.[60] Though the statistics enumerated above give the full picture of the period under study, the two aforementioned years of 1827 and 1847 deserve special mention.

In the year 1827, the Act for Regulating Vessels Carrying Passengers, 6 George IV, Cap. 116,[61] passed in 1825, was repealed by Imperial Statutes.[62] The pernicious effects of its repeal became immediately evident in Nova Scotia. No local provincial Passenger Laws existed as yet, and immediately a stream of diseased immigrants inundated the Province, and continued to do so throughout the following year. As far as the Irish were concerned exemption from the laws had always been available. The seventeenth section of 6 George IV, Cap. 116, had read,

> Provided always, and be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or any Three or more of them, by any Order or Direction to be issued by them from time to time for that purpose to exempt from the operation of this Act, or of any of the Provisions herein contained, any Ship or Vessel carrying passengers from Ireland to the British Possessions in North America; and that any such ship or vessel

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60 Susan Morse, op. cit., p. 120.

61 6 George IV, Cap. 116, Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 10, London, Eyre & Strahan, M.DCC.XXVI, p. 511.

62 7 and 8 George IV, Cap. 119, in ibid., Volume 11, p. 68.

> so exempted [. . .] shall not be subject to any of the Conditions and Forfeitures imposed by this Act [. . .][63]

Lieutenant Governor Kempt expressed strongly his disapproval of the seventeenth section of 6 George IV, Cap. 116, which exempted vessels carrying passengers from Ireland from the safeguards of the Act. On the morning on which he wrote his protest to the Home Office, the evil effects of such exemption were brought graphically to his attention. His own description will be of greater value than a summary:

> There this day arrived in Brig James from Waterford 120 passengers of the most wretched description, all of whom, as well as the whole crew are laboring under typhus Fever.[64]

He further declares that 160 had embarked from Ireland, five had died at sea, and the vessel had been forced into St. John's for medical assistance and provisions, and had been obliged to leave thirty-five behind, too ill to proceed. He declared that the disease was occasioned solely by scanty nourishment during the voyage, by overcrowding, by the filthy state of the ship, and by want of medical assistance. He added significantly, "I wish this were the only case of a like nature that I could adduce". During

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63 Section 17, 6 George IV, Cap. 116, in Statutes, Volume 10, p. 513.

64 Kempt to Goderich, Halifax, September 7, 1827; C. O. 217, Volume 147, p. 284-285.

the summer, he added, five vessels in like condition from Ireland had arrived crammed with passengers. So great was the number of diseased among them, that he had been forced to open a Hospital for these emigrants. The Lieutenant Governor hoped that the recital of these facts would force the Imperial Government to reenact the Passenger Act. His effort was for the moment of no avail.

The Poor House had first been filled and now the Lieutenant Governor had to assign a separate Hospital for the sick. This establishment was formed at Bankhead in July of 1827, and remained open until October.[65] So great was the distress caused by this 1827 immigration from Ireland, that a Committee was formed with two purposes in view: to satisfy the House that the expense incurred in opening the Hospital had been justified, and secondly, to propose a course to prevent the recurrence of such a fatality.[66] Mr. Uniacke, Attorney General for the Province, reported for the Committee. The Committee's study affirmed the truth of the drastic conditions under which the emigrants from the south of Ireland had come into the Province, and revealed

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65 Lieutenant Governor Kempt to the House of Assembly, in Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 11, 1828, p. 200.

66 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 11, 1828, p. 201.

the startling fact that not only had disease stricken the immigrants themselves but that these had transmitted it to the population of Halifax, to such a degree that it had "produced a mortality in this Town unknown from its earliest settlement, having swept off from a population of Eleven Thousand upwards of Eight Hundred Persons".[67]

Within this period of greater influx, a second single year stands out in relief, the year of 1847. Local passenger laws had in the meantime been passed, after the drastic spread of disease in 1827 and 1828.[68] In 1840, as a result of Lord Durham's report, the Colonial Lands and Emigration Commission had been constituted to curb the abuses of the emigrant trade. Some good had been effected and yet abuses existed as laws continued to be evaded by avaricious ship owners. In the early 1840's, however, Scottish immigration was the heaviest, and that of Ireland had subsided. It was only the lull before the storm. The failure of the potato crop of 1846 ushered in an Irish exodus from the homeland in 1847, unprecedented by any nation before or since. This Irish exodus claims the central

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67 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 22, 1828, p. 227.

68 Ibid., March 6, 1828.

place in the history of the nineteenth century emigration.[69] Morison calls it "an example of an abandoned people stumbling on the only solution possible". In March of 1851, the census showed a drop in the population of Ireland of 1,659,330 and the fall was to continue.[70]

But the human stream that left the shores of Ireland in 1847, fleeing from famine and disease, did not make Nova Scotia its chief point of rest as might expected. The majority sought refuge in New Brunswick and the Canadas, as well as in New England states.[71] Totally destitute, and yet incapable of work due to their physical state, they were received in Canada in kindness. The story of quarantine at Grosse Isle is scarcely surpassed in its recital of human misery. But that is outside the scope of this present study. Why had the vast majority by-passed the Nova Scotian shores where for almost a century they had unremittingly come? The answer lies perhaps in the action of Lieutenant Governor Harvey. Foreseeing the possible inundation of the Province by immigrants due both to the complete failure of the potato

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69 J. L. Morison, "Emigration and Land Policy" in Cambridge History of the British Empire, Volume 2, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1940, p. 454.

70 Ibid., p. 453.

71 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 11, 1848, p. 46; Grey to Elgin, December 1, 1847.

crop, and to the propaganda spread thither concerning the building of a railway between Halifax and Quebec, which would promise a supply of work, he pressed upon Lord Grey the reasons why any immigration of such would bring destruction upon Nova Scotia. The Province was not economically prepared to support such emigrants; it could scarcely now support itself. If the agricultural output of the Province should become insufficient again, as had already happened in two previous years, "the destruction will be as general and as appalling as that which now prevails in Ireland". He asked Grey strongly to prevent the disembarkation on the shores of Nova Scotia of any such emigrants.[72] Grey co-operated in some measure by directing the Colonial Lands and Emigration Commissioners to print such directions and to distribute them to emigration agents, customs officials, and the like.[73] He likewise sent the following month a report of what the Colonial Lands and Emigration Commissioners had done to discourage such immigration to Nova Scotia. Newspapers had printed it; Government agents had been sent copies of it, and had been specifically asked not to send

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72 Harvey to Grey, Halifax, April 1, 1847, No. 22; Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1848, Appendix 6, p. 42-43.

73 Grey to Harvey, April 29, 1847, No. 30; Journals of the House of Assembly, 1848, Appendix 6.

laboring people to Nova Scotia.[74] In spite of all these precautions, about 1255 Irish poor came to the Province in 1847.[75] The majority of them arrived in Halifax between the middle of May and the middle of June, and presented to the authorities of Halifax a grave problem.[76] Again the problem of fear and disease as in 1827 had to be met by Government.[77]

Apart from these outstanding examples where publicity was given to conditions brought glaringly before their notice, the emigrants from Ireland in this period were usually dismissed summarily by a simple announcement in the shipping news of the Province in the daily papers, thus: "Brig Betock, Hunter, 47 days, Waterford, 126 passengers".[78]

A distinct difference between the periods of immigration, 1749-1814, outlined in the preceding chapter, and that of 1815-1850, outlined in this present one, cannot but be apparent. There are several reasons for this, which we shall try briefly to summarize, in order that the picture

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74 Grey to Harvey, May 14, 1847, No. 30; Journals of the House of Assembly, 1848, Appendix 6.

75 Reference previously cited.

76 Nova Scotian, May 24, 1846.

77 H. W. Crawley to R. D. George, December 21, 1847; Journals of the Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1847, Appen.9.

78 Nova Scotian, No. 22, Volume 5, May 31, 1832, Col. 4, p. 174.

of this century of Irish immigration may be complete. In the first period under study (1749-1814), the immigration was slow, casual, even imperceptible at first. For the most part it consisted of individuals or small families, attached to groups coming for specific purposes. This leisurely flow spread itself over a period of sixty-five years, with the last four showing a slight speeding up process, as a total of 606 entered Halifax from Ireland in the years 1810-1812 inclusive.[79] In the second period (1815-1850) the flow, somewhat leisurely at first, became rapid, as large groups fleeing in panic from conditions at home sought relief in the unknown. Though much more populous in number, the immigration was concentrated within a period of 35 years.

In the initial period, the people for the most part were transported at the expense of the Imperial Government, land companies or interested individuals.[80] They were given land (if it was not known they were Catholic), rations and implements to till the soil, as well as bounties to encourage the fisheries. If, in the earliest days, they were not always welcome as Catholics, they were welcome as settlers, and once they were here the former "impediment" was gradually tolerated, as we shall see later. In the later period,

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79 See footnote 15, p. 68, of this chapter.

80 J. S. Martell, Immigration to and Emigration From Nova Scotia, p. 7.

the case was otherwise. Except for disbanded servicemen, the immigrants of the 1820's and 1830's came at their own expense, with the few savings that could be mustered, nearly all of which was spent in getting here. By now, the Province was becoming well populated, and the very sight of another shipload of immigrants in the later 1820's disturbed both officials and citizens.[81] After 1827, there was no granting of land; land was supposed to be sold after that date, and the settlers had not wherewith to buy it.

In the former period, the Irish were by no means rich, but they were not abjectly poor. Almost all of them who came before 1815, and indeed the majority up to 1830 who came, were from the populous farmer group in Ireland, which stood half-way between the gentry and the lowest type of "peasants", called the cotters. Although about ten percent of these smaller farmers approached the lower gentry in wealth (but not in rank or public esteem), the majority were small farmers of thirty acres or less. Often they were indistinguishable from the cotters in welfare or housing, but somewhat set apart in the minds of the people.[82] After 1830, the immigrants were paupers, had little else

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81 J. S. Martell, Immigration to and Emigration From Nova Scotia, p. 7.

82 W. F. Adams, op. cit., p. 34.

than their immediate clothing, little or no money, and could they have found work in the Province, they were not in a physical condition after the hardships of home and the conditions of the sea voyage to accept employment for some time.

Perhaps the greatest differences, outside of numbers, in the nature of the immigration of the two periods, were the conditions under which they came. In the earlier period, though the conditions of crossing the Atlantic would even then be inferior by our modern standards, by eighteenth century standards they were fairly good. The Irish were not a class apart; they mingled with other immigrants and received the same treatment. For the conditions of crossing in the later period, one need only read the exposition of such in Lord Durham's Report.[83] Although he speaks more specifically here of the immigration to the Canadas, he refers to the emigrant traffic to British North America in general. As we have seen, exemption from the Passengers' Act could be claimed for vessels from Ireland, nor did the regulations apply to those coming as hired servants for use in the fisheries.[84] This latter would embrace a large

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83 Report and Despatches of the Earl of Durham, London, Ridgways, M.DCCC.XXXIX, p. 176-190.

84 Cockrane to Goderich, September 25, 1827; Imperial Blue Books, Volume 30, Emigration, 1828-1839, Paper 109, p. 12.

portion of Irish immigrants. Kempt's protests did not have immediate effects, as we saw. The Province, however, took matters into its own hands and tried to protect itself by local laws. The Local Passenger Act thus passed protected all immigrants.[85] By its terms all boats were to be inspected on arrival; the master of the ship had to enter into a bond of ten shillings for each passenger to be landed; he had to go security for each passenger for one year, along with numerous other safeguards.[86] This Act, however, expired in 1830.[87] In 1831, it was suggested by the Colonial Office that local legislatures in British North America impose a small head tax on the master of the ship for each emigrant, to be doubled if the passenger had not been cleared by custom at the embarkation port.[88] The Nova Scotia Legislature took immediate measures to carry out these suggestions of Lord Goderich and in 1832 passed an Act providing that the owner or master of every ship from Great Britain and Ireland should pay for "each and every passenger the sum of five shillings, Halifax currency", to be doubled

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85 Journals of the House of Assembly, March 6, 1828.

86 An Act to Regulate the Introduction of Passengers in Vessels arriving in this Province; C. O. 217, Volume 152, p. 577.

87 Ibid., p. 582.

88 J. S. Martell, Immigration, p. 26.

if there were no certificate of clearance. The money collected was to be for the "benefit of Poor Emigrants arriving in this Province".[89] But laws are nothing to unscrupulous men. The tax continued to be evaded, in many cases the Emigrant paying it.[90] A further Imperial Passengers' Act of 1835 did not succeed in curbing the evil practices of the emigrant trade.[91] Need of inspection was evident. The result of Lord Durham's report was the creation of the Colonial Lands and Emigration Commission in 1840. Here began the reform of corruption, although even this was not infallible. In Nova Scotia, even after the further 1842 Imperial Act, there was no officer in Nova Scotia to enforce the provisions of the Act.[92] After 1840, there was, however, much improvement as inspection at the port of embarkation screened the immigrants. At least they were in a healthier condition in leaving the homeland.[93] The original Commissioners at the ports were a group of conscientious men.

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89 J. S. Martell, Immigration, p. 26.

90 Ibid.

91 Report and Despatches of the Earl of Durham, p. 179-180.

92 It was not until the 1860's that the local government of Nova Scotia appointed an immigration agent to care for immigrants. (D.C.Harvey, Preface to Martell).

93 A list of the regulations is printed in Stanley Johnson, op. cit., p. 110-112.

The death rate almost immediately began to decline.

In the emergency that had to be met in 1847 due to the famine in Ireland, apparently none of these regulations held weight. The Commissioners tried their best to cope with the situation which was an impossible one.[94] An attempt was made to have a surgeon aboard each ship.[95] In spite of all these regulations, however, there were still evidences of emigrants being abused during the crossings as late as 1850.[96] Such were the conditions under which steerage passengers came from Ireland in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and the difference between these conditions and those of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is apparent.

The immigrant picture in this period of thirty-five years is indeed a dark one. It seemed for a time that the population would exceed the economic ability of the Province to support it. The population growth of Catholics in Halifax alone was phenomenal. In 1827, a statistical return placed the number of souls belonging to the Church of Rome

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94 Crown Lands and Emigration Report, 1847, p. 35, cited in Susan Morse, p.16.

95 Grey to Harvey, December 16, 1847, in Journals of the House of Assembly, 1848, Appendix 6.

96 J. L. Morison, "Emigration and Land Policy" in Cambridge History of the British Empire, Volume 2, Cambridge, University Press, 1940, p. 459.

in the Peninsula of Halifax at 3,627 souls.[97] This did not include the soldiers and their families in garrison. In 1841, nine years before the close of this period, a census of the Catholic population of the Town and Peninsula of Halifax gives a total of 10,544 souls, exclusive of the garrison.[98] The areas encompassed by the terms "Peninsula", on the one hand, and "Town and Peninsula" on the other, are the same, and therefore the Catholic population had almost trebled within a period of fourteen years. All this was before the 1847 influx. Since most of the Scottish immigration had centered in Cape Breton and Pictou, most of this increase would be Irish. An interesting indication of this is seen in the Census document of 1841. The census is recorded according to street areas, with the names of the Wardens of St. Peter's who conducted the census for each area. An examination of this reveals that of the twenty-nine wardens who conducted the census, twenty-two have distinctly Irish names.

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97 A Statistical Return of the Province of Nova Scotia, this 31st day of December, 1827, not including the County of Cape Breton, in Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, March 31, 1828, p. 344.

98 Census of the Catholic Population within the Town and Peninsula of Halifax taken March, 1841, by order of the Government, in A.A.H. Wardens' Minute Book, p. 109.

The transplanted immigrants of the 1830 and 1840 famines would continue for a time to be a drain on the Province. Their positive impact would not be felt for another generation. In the meantime, those who had preceded them to Nova Scotia from the earliest days of the Halifax settlement into the first quarter of the nineteenth century had repaid the Province, for the faith it had placed in them, and in advance for those of their countrymen who would be a drain on it for a time, by their contributions to Nova Scotia life. These, too, had been poor in their origins: the wealthy do not emigrate. To make their impact felt, they had not all become wealthy either, but in every sphere - social, economic, political, religious and educational - they made their contributions, and to these contributions we must now turn our attention.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACT

To the superficial observer of Nova Scotia's history the contributions of the early Irish Catholics to the economic and social life of the Province, from mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, is not a spectacular one; to the student of history who cares to delve below the surface, the influence is great. In considering this impact, we must keep in mind that it was begun two centuries ago, shortly after the birth of Nova Scotia as a British colony - and actually at the threshold of the birth of Halifax. It is with the eyes of the past that we must judge the magnitude of their contributions to the infant Province - to a Province hostile to them immediately their presence was known.

What was the early social status of these Irish Catholics whose presence was beyond doubt, but whose manner of seeping-in seemed so shrouded in mystery? By 1760, Halifax was divided into three distinct sections - Halifax Proper, the North Suburbs known as Dutchtown where mostly Germans had settled, and the South Suburbs or Irishtown where apparently most of the Irish settled. Since, as we have seen, the Ulster Irish do not appear until after 1760,

and since the South Suburbs was marked off as early as 1752,[1] it would appear that these were all Catholic Irish, whether or not they openly professed being both Catholic and Irish. Since we can see from the assigning of lots of land to them in the South Suburbs as early as 1752,[2] we can conclude that they were treated at this time as "English" Protestant settlers, although a contemporary witness expressly states that the whole of Halifax, including the two suburbs, contained in 1760 about 3,000 souls, "one third of which are Irish and many of them Roman Catholics ".[3] In the earliest list of proprietors of lots in the South Suburbs we find the names of John Murphy, who later became a pillar of the infant Church in Halifax, as well as James Carroll, Dennis Sullivan, Patrick Malone, Bartholomew Callahan, Patrick Furlong, and Michael Vaughan. Their nationality cannot be mistaken.[4]

That these early Irish Catholics were the objects of much hostility until they began slowly to demonstrate their impact on the colony, as well as for some time after,

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1 Enclosure in W. Salusbury to Board of Trade, October 20, 1752, B.T.N.S., Volume 13, H 105, July 1, 1752.

2 Ibid.

3 Alexander Grant to Reverend M. Stiles, Halifax, May, 1760, in Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society, Volume 10, First Series, Boston, Munroe, 1809, p. 79.

4 Enclosure in W. Salusbury, as in (1) above.

is brought out strongly in the accounts of the day. This anti-Catholic feeling would seem to be more of a political nature, than a religious one. On every fifth of November, on the anniversary of the deliverance from the Gunpowder plot, Roman Catholics were insulted openly; a bonfire on the Grand Parade in the evening saw the Pope burned in effigy.[5] This practice was evidently of early origin in Halifax, for we find Governor Hopson as early as 1752 forbidding the carrying about of effigies on "Gunpowder Treason" Day, which might cause tumults.[6]

This animosity was evident almost from the beginning between the "English" (Irish) settlers and those who came from the older colonies.[7] In fact, such an impasse had come in this relationship that many of the New Englanders had early returned to their old homes, and the Government had to forbid settlers to leave the Province.[8] It would appear that the Irish Catholics were involved in this

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5 W. M. Brown, "Recollections of Old Halifax", in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Volume 13, Halifax, McAlpine, 1908, p. 83-84.

6 Minutes of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, Halifax, November 14, 1752; in C. O.; N.S., B 5, p. 159.

7 Hopson to Board of Trade, March 28, 1753, B.T.N.S., Volume 14, H 151.

8 Hopson to Board of Trade, October, 1752, B.T.N.S., Volume 13, H 94.

animosity in several instances. In 1756, Halifax is described by one observer as having lost most of its original settlers. He remarks that the number of these original settlers decreased from five thousand to scarce five hundred, and that two-thirds of the inhabitants are new, and mostly Roman Catholic.[9] This along with the criticism by the same observer that the Irish Catholics were preferred to the New Englanders contain some bias no doubt, but the comments are worthy of note that,

> few others are admitted into the public works; they must have the brogue, the wooden Cross pendant next to their dear hearts, and then they are sure to be paid by the Clerk in rum, sugar and brandy [. . .]. As to the language of the Country, My Lord, I've little to say, the common dialect spoken at Halifax is wild Irish.[10]

The figures quoted above would seem to be exaggerated. The number of original settlers to Halifax totalled only two thousand, five hundred and seventy-six, including Governor Cornwallis and his suite.[11] Hence, the "five thousand" is incorrect. Also, we know that in these early days Catholics formed only a small minority and seeped

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9 "J. B.", An Account of the Present State of Nova Scotia; in Two Letters to a Noble Lord, London, 1756, P.A.C., Pamphlet 189, p. 10.

10 Ibid., p. 10-11.

11 D. C. Harvey, The Colonization of Canada, p. 56.

in gradually. However, the remarks are indicative of an anti-Irish feeling, and the fact that settlers had to be forbidden to leave the colony shows there was an exodus. Drastic measures were employed. The captain of the vessel, being liable for the debts of the fugitive, he transported without permit.[12]

Even the lack of prosperity in the early colony was pinned on the unfortunate Irish by an original settler, "W.M.", returning to England. The military type of government exercised by Governor Lawrence was driving the New Englanders back to their homes, while the "employing of Irish Roman Catholics in public works while His Majesty's protestant English subjects are starving and begging their bread"[13] were listed as the causes of the lack of prosperity found there.

But even at this early date, the Catholics were not always on the "complained-against side". They, too, raised their voices in protest against conditions, even to the extent of issuing complaints against the Justices of the Peace and of the Inferior courts, the majority of whom were New Englanders. In at least one aspect of these complaints, Article III, the Irish Catholics were involved.

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12 W. M. Brown,"Recollections of Old Halifax", op. cit., p. 86-87.

13 "J.B.", An Account of the Present State of Nova Scotia, p. 5.

In this instance the complaints were tied up with riots which occurred on Guy Fawkes' Day.[14]

By the 1780's, however, this feeling of hostility seemed to be on the wane, as the Irish Catholics of Halifax became more militant in their demands for equal justice with the Protestants of the city, and received from Ireland Irish priests who understood their mentality, their weaknesses as well as their strengths and could give them the stimulus required to remove the unjust laws by which they were shackled in 1758, and thus raise their economic and social status. The influence of the Irish priests will be treated in another chapter, and we shall now turn to the impact of the Irish Catholic laymen themselves on the Province as a while and on Halifax in particular.

The Irish Catholics who came early to Nova Scotia were poor, but they were not paupers. It is gratifying to notice that in the reports of the Orphan House from 1752 to 1761, there are no more than five or six Irish names to be found. In fact, it would seem that the Irish were on the receiving end from the Orphan House. The records show an orphan put out to a Tobin,a Labourer in 1752; another, in 1754, was received by Carroll, a Butcher; and a third in

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14 Minutes of the Executive Council, holden at the Court House, January 3, 1753; C. O. Records, N.S., B 6, p. 7.

1760 to Jones, a Sailmaker.[15] Though poor, it would seem they could share what little they had with others. It is well to remember that all Ireland's emigrants to America before 1815, as well as the majority of them to 1830, were from the populous farming class at home - half-way between the ranks of the gentry and the lowest class of peasants.[16] It is true that there was little to distinguish them from the cotter, because in Ireland improvements belonged to the soil, that is, to the landlord, and there was therefore no incentive nor security for improvements. Though nearly indistinguishable from the cotter, they were, however, legally and in the minds of the people, of an industrious and respectable level. Hence, though poverty-stricken, they were not indigent, as is evident from their rise to respect and, in many cases to wealth, in the new country to which they emigrated.

Discouragement must have been the daily bread of those immigrants who had come with the desire to better themselves in Nova Scotia. On arrival they found that the system of land-granting was a close one. From 1749-1759, the land in Nova Scotia was at the disposal of the

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15 Enclosure in Belcher to Board of Trade, November 3, 1761, B.T.N.S., Volume 18, L 64.

16 William Forbes Adams, Ireland and the Irish Emigration to the New World, p. 34.

Governor-in-Council, subject to the approval of the Board of Trade. Few Catholics, with the exception of those who came with the original settlers, received grants of land. In 1758, the Act for Confirming Titles to Lands,[17] in effect, rendered Catholics propertyless, but long before this even, the policy against land-holding for Catholics had been formulated. In 1752, Hopson had written that,

> no alienation of Land is allowed by the Governor's Licence which licence is not granted before the purchaser takes the proper Oaths, and only granted to those who have improved these Lands, and upon no Account to Roman Catholics.[18]

Hopson was acting here on the advice given earlier in the year at a discussion of the affairs of Nova Scotia, at which he, as Colonel, was present. The observations and directions were entered on the journal of the day; he was to take care in the granting of land and in its alienation. It was likewise stated that besides other reasons that were enumerated it would also

> prevent the Purchase of £. . .7 grants by Roman Catholics which in the circumstances of that Province would be of very bad consequences.[19]

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17 32 George II, Cap. 2, 1758 - See Chapter I, p. 24 of this thesis.

18 Hopson to Board of Trade, October 16, 1752, B.T.N.S., Volume 13, H 94.

19 Board Trade Journals, Volume 60, April 21, 1752, p. 22.

Thus with the exception of a few isolated Irish Catholics who had been granted land by the Crown before 1758, after that date it was impossible for a Papist to hold, possess or enjoy his own land. As Cornelius O'Brien in his Memoirs of Bishop Burke writes "not even his own Mother's grave could the poor Irishman own".[20] Without a change in this policy, there was little possibility of any great rise in economic or social status. No land meant no home, no church. It meant more: it meant he had not the franchise, and without this, contribution to the economic, social, or political growth of the Province was at a minimum. The first step then to be taken was to extract from the Government the right to own land. It was the Irish Catholics of Halifax who won this boon for the Catholics of Nova Scotia.

On July the fifth, 1781, a petition signed by two Irish Catholics of Halifax, John Mullowny and John McDaniel, "for themselves and others" was sent to Sir Richard Hughes, Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, begging the passage of an Act to repeal the laws against land-holding by Catholics. Drawing his attention to the obnoxious laws already outlined in our first chapter, the two sons of Erin went on to say that as a result of this, the Roman Catholics had petitioned

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20 Cornelius O'Brien, op. cit., p. 54.

the House of Assembly for the repeal of these oppressive Acts. The Assembly had passed a Bill repealing that part of the Act which forbade Catholics to hold land except by grant from the Crown, and had suspended for one year the other sections of the Act oppressing Catholics. This Bill was now before the Council, and the petitioners begged that the Lieutenant Governor comprehend the true intent of the petition and request of the Honourable Council "that they will not Negative but pass this new Act of the Honourable House of Assembly made in their favor".[21]

The petitions were set aside for reconsideration at the next session, "it being alledged that the people at Large might be Discontented with such Mitigation, amendment, or repeal of Laws" before the members put it before the constituents. The Irish of Halifax did not give in to discouragement, nor did they flag in their determination. A second petition was sent to the new Lieutenant Governor, Sir Andrew Snape Hammond. A comparison between the two documents brings out several interesting factors: the number of petitioners had increased by three. This time it is "The Humble Petition of William Meany, John Cody, James Cavanaugh, John Mullowney, John Murphy, and Several

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21 John Mullowny and John McDaniel to Sir Richard Hughes, Halifax, July 5, 1781, in P.A.N.S., General Papers, Volume 4, 1758-1781, Document 91, original manuscript, (no pagination).

Others professing the Roman Catholic Religion in this Province"; the petition this time is less servile and more aggressive, requesting the relaxation of certain laws, now considered "injurious" and "oppressive"; the second petition does not beg merely for consideration, but for justice - relief as the Legislature's "great Justice shall deem meet".[22]

The laws were repealed at this session and the grateful thanks of the Irish Catholics was expressed in an address in the handwriting of John Cody to the Governor, Council and Assembly. In return for thus freeing them from unjust laws, the Roman Catholics of the Province promised, at "least to some extent" that they would,

> at all times be ready to lay down our Lives and Fortunes in defence of His Majesty's Person and Government and support our most Excellent Constitution.[23]

That these promises by the Irish Catholics were not idle words will be seen in the progress of this chapter. The militant attitude as shown by the above three documents

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22 Petition of William Meany, John Cody, James Cavanaugh, John Mullowney, John Murphy, and Several Others to Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Halifax, June 25, 1782; P.A.N.S., General Papers, 1758-1781, Document 92, (n.p.) Original Manuscript.

23 Address of Roman Catholics to Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Halifax, no date; P.A.N.S., General Papers, Volume 4, 1758-1781, Document 93, (n.p.) Original Manuscript.

is not the workof illiterates but of aggressive people who were coming into their own. The way was now open for progress, and this initial wedge was the first major contribution of the Irish Catholics to the growth of the Province. Much spadework on their part had led to this major accomplishment, as we shall see, and the steady progress which followed it was rewarding both for the Catholics themselves and for the Province as a whole.

This major impact was made by a few Irishmen who had become prosperous in a short time. It was evident to the eyes of all. We shall see in the progress of this chapter their further contributions to the growth of the Province, and how their numbers increased tremendously with the ability to own land in their own right. But not only this group, but others were making an early contribution to the Province, though a less obvious one in the eyes of all. I would like to contend that it was the Irish Catholics who paved the way for the accomplishment in Nova Scotia of one of the purposes for which Halifax was founded - the development of the fisheries.

The thread of this economic impact made by the Irish Catholics on the fisheries I have picked up in many numerous, isolated and scattered references in the early documents of the Province. I shall attempt here to piece together the story.

That fishing and its protection was one of the major objects for which Halifax was founded has already been pointed out in a previous chapter. We might add here only two references. In 1751, the Council offered a bounty on fish caught and dried in the Province since, "the prosperity of this province greatly depends upon the success and increase of the fisheries".[24] The site of Halifax, itself, was selected because of its suitability for the fisheries. The two original spots suggested, one Sandwich Point (Point Pleasant Park) and the second Bedford Basin, were both rejected on account of their inadaptability to the fisheries.[25] An extract of a letter dated August 21, 1749, taken from a London Magazine, appeared in the Nova Scotia Gazette on May 27, 1758, describing Halifax thus:

> As to the town, there is not its fellow in the world, for a man may catch as much fish in two hours as will serve six or seven people for a whole week, such as cod, halibut [. . .] and they lie as thick as stones in Cheapside.[26]

Murdock, likewise, points out that an arrangement made for the Orphan Asylum allowed the children to be cared for there until they could be apprenticed to fishermen.[27] These brief

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24 Minutes of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, April 29, 1751; C. O. Records, N.S., B 4, p. 252.

25 Beamish Murdock, op. cit., 2, p. 139-140.

26 Ibid., Appendix to Chapter XII, p. 169.

27 Ibid., p. 176.

references point to the importance that the fisheries were to occupy in the economic life of the Province. Throughout the century under discussion in this thesis, the Irish Catholics played a large part in the implementation of this industry.

Thomas Power, one of the settlers given land in 1749 by Governor Cornwallis, was evidently a fish merchant residing in Halifax. That he employed men in the fishing industry may be seen by his complaint in court in 1753, against an injustice done to him while on a fishing voyage in Newfoundland.[28]

When through the instrumentality of the Irish Catholics of Halifax the obnoxious laws against Catholics buying or being granted land had been repealed, Dennis Meagher of Prospect, a small fishing village in Halifax County, sent a memorial to the Council begging a grant of 750 acres of land at Prospect which he promised to improve immediately. The land was granted, but his Memorial sheds much light on the work of the fisheries by the Irish Catholics long before this land was granted to him. The Memorial was written in 1783, but Dennis Meagher states that he has been carrying on the fisheries there for nineteen years - hence since 1764;

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28 Minutes of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, April 5, 1753; in C. O. Records, N.S., B 6, p. 125.

that he has employed from fifteen to twenty servants; that he had never been granted any land, but that he had purchased the improvements made by John McDaniel (one of the signators of the first land plea from Catholics) at Prospect, on which he carries on the fisheries.[29] It would seem thus to me that John McDaniel had carried on the fisheries at Prospect prior even to 1764. That the latter was a fisherman, rather than a fish merchant, might be evidenced from the fact that he could not write even his name. John Mullowney, his co-signer on the plea to the Assembly, had signed for him, and he had simply affixed his mark "X".[30]

Similar memorials may be found after 1783 for requests for land by Catholics in the Executive Council Minutes. Another involving an Irish Catholic and the fisheries is that of John Cody, requesting a licence for occupying an island called Callaghan's Island, near Prospect, where "he had built and made other improvements for the Fishery to the value of three hundred pounds and of which he had been in possession by the permission of the Government during eight years".[31] The request was granted. The

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29 Minutes of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, August 22, 1783; in C. O. Records, N.S., B 18, p. 93.

30 John Mullowney and John McDaniel to Sir Richard Hughes, op. cit., (n.p.).

31 Minutes of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, October 16, 1775, in C. O. Records, N.S., B 16, p. 201.

The implications are that the fisheries in this area were being developed in 1767. On September 9, 1766, there is a record of a request made by John Cody for a cove at the Eastern head of Saint Margaret's Bay for the fishery "together with 200 acres of land contiguous to the said cove." At that time he was granted a license"to occupy 300 feet".[32] This was apparently the initial step in his fishery prosecution which ended in 1775 with the granting of Callaghan's Island to him.

It could not have been an easy existence in these coves for the early fishermen, but their development was certainly accomplished by Irish Catholic fishermen. When Bishop Joseph Plessis in 1815 made his pastoral visit to Nova Scotia, he visited the Prospect village which even then he described as one "where one sees nothing but bare rocks, a place where one might expect to find slaves or criminals condemned to death",[33] but where he found instead Irish fishermen. At least these fishermen, as well as those in the neighbouring coves of Herring Cove and Ketch Harbour, he found to have had the ministrations of their faith for at least twenty-five years.[34] By 1790 Halifax abounded in

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32 Minutes of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, September 9, 1766; C. O. Records, N.S., B 14, p. 45.

33 Joseph Octave Plessis, op. cit., p. 82.

34 Ibid., p. 83.

fishermen and we find Prince Edward adding his recommendations to those of the Lieutenant Governor that Father Jones, the Irish priest at Halifax, have his salary increased for his ability to keep "that disorderly set of men, the fishermen, of whom there are a very great number here, under control".[35]

The early nineteenth century saw an increase in the number of Irish Catholics carrying on the fisheries in the Province. Bishop Inglis, the Anglican clergyman, relates that "ninety-nine out of a hundred of the Roman Catholics at Halifax are Irish fishermen".[36] In 1807, the anonymous letter referred to in an earlier chapter expressed fear of rebellion among the King's troops most of whom are Irish Catholics. The fear arose from the fact that they might gain support from "many of their countrymen of the same religious persuasion who are engaged in the fisheries near the Capital, and settled in other parts of the province".[37] The numbers of Irish involved in the fisheries at this date, 1808, was brought forward in a magazine article of the day. Halifax

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35 Prince Edward to Duke of Portland, Halifax, November 8, 1795; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 30, p. 51.

36 Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, Clermont, March 30, 1802, in P.A.C., Inglis Papers, C 6, Volume 3, p. 62.

37 A Loyal Colonist to Lord Castlereagh, op. cit., p. 707.

in 1808 is described as having as principal employment fishing and containing about 9,000 inhabitants, "mostly from Ireland".[38]

Nor was the implementation of the fisheries by the Irish Catholics restricted to the mainland. Cape Breton, which until 1785, was part of the mainland politically, and would become permanently so in 1820, was also the seat of a large fishing establishment owned and operated by Lawrence Cavanaugh, a rich Irish Catholic merchant.[39]

Another instance of Irish initiative in the fisheries appears in 1828, when the House of Assembly resolved that the sum of fifty pounds be granted and paid to James Quinlan, in consideration of his enterprise in fitting out the first sealer in the Province of Nova Scotia.[40]

From the foregoing isolated references we can readily conclude that the Irish Catholics played a vital part in the prosecution of the fisheries in the early days of Nova Scotia. Father Jones' comment to the Bishop of Quebec that

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38 The Irish Magazine and Monthly Asylum for Neglected Biography, (also known as Watly's Magazine), July 1808, p. 340.

39 Joseph Octave Plessis, op. cit., p. 55-56.

40 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, March 14, 1828, p. 285.

"most of the Irish are bred to the fisheries"[41] lends weight to the argument. It would seem, also, from the foregoing references, that their impact extended all the way from the prosperous fish merchant to the ordinary basic fisherman.

In basic industry, it was in the fishing field that the ordinary average Irish Catholic made his contribution. There was little farming carried on in this early British colony, so little in fact that the chief Surveyor's report in 1762 could say that "not one family in the town, nor in the parts circumjacent that subsist by Husbandary".[42] But it was not only as laborers that the Irish Catholics made their contribution. In both the business and in the professional fields they contributed to the progress of the Province. When we consider the educational restrictions under which they laboured, their rise to positions of wealth and influence is stupendous.

In the business world of the Halifax of the late 1700's and early 1800's, the Irish Catholics played a prominent role. Even as early as 1753, we find in a list of "proprietors" who were given liberty to build wharves on

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41 Jones to the Bishop of Quebec, April 27, 1781; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, p. 5.

42 Charles Morris' Report, January 1762, Enclosure in Belcher to Lords of Trade, January 11, 1762, B.T.N.S., Volume 18, L 70, January 9, 1762.

the "beach before the Town of Halifax and before the North and South Suburbs", the name of Terence Fitzpatrick from the South Suburbs[43] - Irishtown. As we shall see it was not long before other Irish Catholics had wharves also, for many became importing merchants.

While a number of these became importers of wines and other liquors, there are also found among the licensed retailers of spirituous liquors many Irish Catholics. At a Council meeting in 1760, the following were licensed to "keep Public Houses of Entertainment": Thomas Power, Dennis Roach, Charles Cavanaugh, Elizabeth Murphy, and Thomas Sullivan.[44] Their nationality is unmistakeable. To Henry O'Brien, at the same meeting, was given the right to sell spirituous liquors retail from shops.[45] This Henry O'Brien is likely the same to whom the Council later granted land at Five Mile Camp about five miles from Fort Sacville on condition that he would "take the oaths and provided that he open a house of entertainment for travellers on the same land.[46] Of all the grants listed at this meeting this is

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43 Enclosure in Hopson to Lords of Trade, April 14, 1753, B.T.N.S., Volume 14, H 157, 1753.

44 Minutes of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, December 5, 1760; C. O. Records, N.S., B 10.

45 Ibid.

46 Minutes of the Executive Council of Nova Scotia, August 20, 1762; C. O. Records, B 11, p. 115-116.

the only one which stipulated the oath condition. This would seem to indicate the catholicity of the man concerned. The possible taking of these oaths may account for the presence of Protestant O'Briens in Nova Scotia today.

Part of a letter in the Halifax Archdiocesan Archives, stated to be a copy of an original letter, indicates that a Mr. O'Bryan, a native of Queens County and a trouper often quartered in Kilkenny, ran an inn in Halifax.[47] This same letter mentions another Irish merchant, Edward Phelan, who is "purchasing many houses and has a few spots of clear ground near the town and several grants of lots from 500 to 1000 acres".[48] This same Edward Phelan had been keeper of the Golden Ball, a house of entertainment in Halifax, before it was taken over by a John O'Brien who is advertised as its keeper in 1780.[49] Many of the Irish Catholics of Halifax apparently made their money on the selling of liquor and also on its importation.

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47 William Phelan to Troy, Bishop of Ossory, Halifax (no date), 1787; A.A.H.

48 Ibid.

49 Royal Nova Scotia Gazette, March 12, 1780, in George Mullane, "Old Inns and Coffee Houses of Halifax", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Volume 22, Halifax, MacNab, 1933, p. 7.

Another business man of prominence was John Skerry, who was granted the ferry concession between Halifax and Dartmouth in 1797. His activities bear witness to his contributions in the building-up of the Halifax-Dartmouth area of the day.

But there were others whose business involvements were not merely local, but who were importers and general merchants, who became very wealthy and who contributed to the prestige of the whole Province as well as to their local community. Among these may be pointed out the following: Lawrence Doyle, a wine merchant, importing rum, sugar, and molasses, as well as other wines from Demerary;[50] James and Michael Tobin, Dairy merchants, importing goods from Cork and also engaged in general importation;[51] Moody and Boyle, wine and cloth merchants;[52] Robert Phelan, an importer of goods from Liverpool, as well as wines from Jamaica.[53] The catholicity of the latter is evident from the record of

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50 Acadian Recorder, Advertisement, No. 21, Volume 5, May 24, 1817, Col. 1, p. 3.

51 Acadian Recorder, Advertisement, No. 24, Volume 5, June 14, 1817, Col. 2, p. 1.

52 Ibid.

53 Acadian Recorder, Advertisement, No. 15, Volume 6, April 11, 1818, Col. 5, p. 3.

his marriage.[54] In a memorial of residents in Halifax "interested in trade, agriculture, and Fisheries", we have a John Moody, a fish merchant, requesting Parliament to equalize the duty on oil and blubber into England with that from Newfoundland, showing that not only were they importers, but engaged in export trade as well.[55] There were others, too. "Occasional" finds in old Recorders the names of "Bennetts, Doyles, Kenneficks, Boyles, Conroys, Maddens and many others who carried on extensive business concerns in the early part of the nineteenth century".[56] Another, James Cochran, a wealthy Irish Catholic, became director of the People's Bank.[57] Edward Kenny, later to be knighted, advanced from clerkship in John Lyons' (another wealthy Irish Catholic businessman) dry good store to owner of his own business firm of T. and E. Kenny, and later identifying himself with banking and big business.[58]

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54 Acadian Recorder, Advertisement, No. 15, Volume 6, April 11, 1818, Col. 5, p. 3.

55 Memorial of Persons [illegible] Interested in Trade, Agriculture & Fisheries, Halifax, August 18, 1815; C. O. 217, Volume 96, p. 397-398.

56 "Occasional's Letters" in Acadian Recorder, July 22, 1916; P.A.N.S., Volume 1, p. 75 A.

57 Ibid.

58 "Occasional's Letters" in Acadian Recorder, July 8, 1916; P.A.N.S., Volume 1, p. 80.

That these merchants were province-conscious and not mere individualists may be seen from their contacts with the Lieutenant Governor and also with their willingness and ability to lend him money for government purposes. During the War of 1812, a large quantity of British manufactured goods meant for the United States had landed in Halifax, and was being held in custom. Also collected there was other "Prize Goods", brought to Halifax, but meant for the United States. When the War of 1812 ended, this goods was still dormant and a group of Halifax merchants petitioned Sherbrooke to have them immediately exported to the United States, lest the Halifax merchants suffer a severe loss, since with the war terminated they would now seek to import such commodities more cheaply from the United States. Among the signators of the petition we find a number of Irish Catholic names, showing that they had gained prominence in the business world. The petition is signed by J. & M. Tobin, Robert Phelan, Moody and Stewart, Tobin and Boyle.[59]

That the Irish Catholics had become not only wealthy but government-conscious, even before the close of the eighteenth century, is shown by the Treasury Records. There we may find numerous references to show that the Irish

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59 A Petition to Sir John Sherbrooke from the Merchants of Halifax, March 4, 1815; C. O. 217, Volume 96, 1815; p. 133-136.

Catholics lent money for government purposes to the various Lieutenant Governors of the Province. Amongst these the most prominent name seems to be that of Edmund Phelan, whose name appears continually in the Treasury Book, for interest paid to him on the money lent. One cash payment on July 7, 1785, is for thirty-four pounds, two shillings, three pence,[60] a considerable sum in those days. Other references to interest on debt paid to him, too numerous to cite, are equally high. A receipt signed by Edmund Phelan, on August 8, 1795, reads for fifteen pounds, nine shillings and nine pence, received from Benning Wentworth, being interest for eighteen months, on a Principal of 172 pounds, four shillings, seven pence.[61] The combined amounts lent give an amazing insight into the wealth that this Irish Catholic had amassed, as well as into his courage in lending it.

But Edmund Phelan was not the only creditor of the Nova Scotia Government among the Roman Catholics. Others are also cited as receiving interest on money lent. There is John Mullowney, being paid interest of sixteen pounds, seven shillings, one pence, on May 31, 1779.[62] Likewise,

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60 Treasury Provincial Debt, 1764-1797; P.A.N.S., Document No. 16, Original Manuscript, (n.p.).

61 Nova Scotia Treasury Interest Receipt Book on Old Funded Debt, 1794; P.A.N.S., original receipt, (n.p.).

62 Treasury Provincial Debt, 1764-1796; P.A.N.S., Document No. 16, (n.p.).

interest rates are paid to John Murphy, to William Welsh.[63] Among the receipts for interest received on the Old Funded Debt of Government, we find one made out to Constant Connor on the 14 Aug., 1795, and another for him on Feb. 20, 1796.[64] All this, while I fully realize that the lenders were benefitting in a pecuniary sense themselves, showed likewise a strong community interest, and must of necessity been of benefit to the Province.

Since we are dealing with a period in the history of the Province when the penal laws barred Catholics from institutions of learning in the higher spheres, so that the children of Irish Catholics must needs go abroad for higher education, it is understandable that we find few professionals among the Irish Catholic population. There were, however, exceptions even here. Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, the son of Lawrence Doyle already mentioned, was the first Catholic lawyer in Nova Scotia.[65] Being educated abroad was a necessary prerequisite for this. We shall meet him again in our discussion of the political impact of the Irish Catholic on the Province. Doubtless there were others such

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63 Treasury Provincial Debt, 1764-1797; P.A.N.S., Document No. 14, (n.p.).

64 Nova Scotia Treasury Interest-Receipt Book, on Old Funded Debt, 1794; P.A.N.S., original document, (n.p.).

65 Petition of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle to be Notary Public, April 25, 1828; P.A.N.S., Misc. A, 1828, original manuscript, (n.p.).

as Dr. Bernard Sullivan, who attained professional status in the colonies before coming to Nova Scotia. He was a Loyalist from Boston, who took an active interest in the Province of his adoption.[66]

With their ability to own land, had come a growth in their economic status; it had no less an effect on their social status and now they became prominent in the social life of the community, setting their stamp on works of service to their King, their Province, and their local community. Stewart, in his book, The Irish of Nova Scotia, gives the impression that it was to the Ulster Irish that all credit is due for the Irish impact on the Province. It is my contention that this is far from true. To the Catholic Irish of Nova Scotia must go a large share also. A study of the original minutes of the Charitable Irish Society will, I think, support this claim.

From its inception on January 17, 1786, the Charitable Irish Society contained the elite among the Irish of the Province. Its purpose was set up in the preamble to its Constitution, which stated as its end the relief of the poor and indigent among its fellow countrymen. Catholics were among its members from the beginning. Among

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66 "Occasional's Letters", Acadian Recorder, July 8, 1916; P.A.N.S., Volume 1, p. 80.

the signators of the original constitution we find the names of James Cavanaugh, Edmund Phelan, Michael Tobin, John Cody, Edward Phelan, Jr., James Meany, Lawrence Cavanaugh, Peter Lynch, all proven Catholics, along with numerous others who must have been Catholic or have lost their faith - such as Timothy Murphy, Patrick Lanigan, Patrick O'Brien, etc.[67] To show that the Catholic membership in this organization continued, and grew, we might take a typical meeting of the association later on. At the meeting held on May 17, 1797, we find James Cavanaugh as Acting Vice-President, and Michael Bennett as Secretary of the Society. A comparison between the other members present at this meeting with a list of subscribers present at a meeting at Saint Peter's Parish to elect wardens, in 1801, shows, including the two mentioned above, a duplication of sixteen names, common to both. These were: James Cavanaugh, Michael Bennett, Edmund Butler, John Ballard, Constant Connor, Patrick Heffernan, Patrick Ryan, Peter Lynch, John McGuire, Patrick O'Brien, Michael Tobin, James Tobin, Bartholomew Sullivan, John Sands, Lawrence Doyle, Edmund Hussey.[68] Of the forty-two present

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67 Charitable Irish Society, Minute Book "A", 1786-1807; P.A.N.S. original manuscript, (n.p.).

68 Charitable Irish Society, Minute Book "A", op. cit., February 17, 1798, (n.p.), and Warden's Minute Book, Halifax Archiepiscopal Archives, op. cit., p. 22.

at this meeting, there was approximately thirty-eight percent definitely Catholic, with others among those present who were possibly so.

But the Irish Catholics in the Society were not only names on a list, they were active members playing prominent parts in the social welfare of the city. That they were respected, trusted, and capable, is evident. At the February 17, 1798 meeting, the Committee of Charity appointed was one hundred percent Catholic - Peter Lynch, Patrick Ryan, Michael Bennett. The duty of this Committee was to examine into the needs of the poor and to advise on the distribution of the funds of the Society to the needy. Two more Catholics, James Cavanaugh and Constant Connor, were to constitute the Committee of Collection and Examination.[69] The tendency to elect them to office is seen throughout the three Minute Books. To cite but another instance of this, at the meeting of February 17, 1804, six of the seven executive officers chosen were Catholics. At the same meeting, the entire Committee of Charity, consisting of six members, was Catholic and Irish.[70]

Likewise, though solidly loyal to all things Irish, it is of interest to note their devotion to the British

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69 Charitable Irish Society, Minute Book "A", op. cit., February 17, 1798, (n.p.).

70 Ibid., February 17, 1804, (n.p.).

cause. If the tenacity to hold on to bitterness for ancient wrongs is the mark of a narrow man, the descendants of the first generation of Irishmen in Nova Scotia could claim growth in intellect and soul. While it is not surprising to find Ulster Irish in the Society supporting the British cause against Napoleon, it was with some surprise that I scanned the list of Irish Catholics who not only signed the declaration of the Society which declared that "it was their unanimous determination to support their King, Country, and Constitution, with their lives and fortunes", but who subscribed money from their personal fortunes to the cause.[71]

Their interest in the welfare of their community took precedence over personal pleasure, and it was on the initiative of an Irish Catholic member, Peter Lynch, that the motion was made and passed that in place of the annual banquet for the year 1802 they have a charity collection for the relief of the "Indigent of the Town of Halifax, to be paid into the hands of the Committee of Charity, and by them to be distributed to such distressed objects as to a majority of them seem most in need".[72] The meeting of March 17 shows the sums contributed to the above cause by

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71 Charitable Irish Society, Minute Book "A", May 17, 1798, (n.p.).

72 Charitable Irish Society, ibid., February 17, 1802, (n.p.).

the members, with R. J. Uniacke and Reverend Edmund Burke contributing the second largest sum.[73]

Their social contributions were not limited to their activity as members of the Charitable Irish Society. Outside that organization, their services likewise found scope. We find John Carroll, Secretary to a Committee of Charity, distributing money to the poor and asking contributions of those who had not contributed.[74] In the city, each month a respected citizen was chosen as Acting Commissioner of the Poor House. On February 1, 1833, we find Michael Tobin appointed to that office,[75] and in the following year, we find Robert Phelan as Clerk to the Poor House Commissioners.[76]

But this was in the 1830's. Even earlier they were called upon for services. J. H. Attwood writing from London in 1817 to James and Michael Tobin requested that these two Halifax citizens do what they could to publicize the victims of fire in Newfoundland, and to obtain subscriptions to a general fund in aid of these victims. The Tobins

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73 Charitable Irish Society, March 17, 1802.

74 Acadian Recorder, No. 11, Volume 5, March 15, 1817, Col. 3, p. 3.

75 Ibid., No. 5, Volume 11, February 1, 1833, Col. 3, p. 3.

76 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1834-1835, December 22, 1834, Appendix 12, p. 22-23.

stated that "they would be happy to receive subscriptions on behalf of the sufferers at Newfoundland".[77]

Through their membership in the Saint Mary's Temperance Society, they did much to maintain the respect they and their predecessors had built up. A record of one of their annual meetings shows from two hundred to three hundred persons present, and witnessed the names of one hundred twenty steadfast teetotallers enrolled on the books. The Officers for the year show the high percentage of Irish among them: President - Mr. D. Creamer; Vice-President - Mr. Patrick Swayne; Assistant Vice-President - Mr. Patrick Mahoney; Treasurer - Mr. B. O'Neill; Secretary - Mr. Joseph Quinan.[78] Though there may seem to be a contradiction here, it is not necessarily so. It is true, as stated earlier in the chapter, that many of the early Irish of Halifax made their livelihood in the sale of liquor. It does not necessarily follow from this that they themselves were addicted. In fact, there is a traditional saying that in the early days of Halifax it was the business of half the town to sell liquor and the other half to drink it. Perhaps they were the sellers. However, it seems more likely,

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77 Acadian Recorder, No. 15, Volume 6, April 11, 1818, Col. 6, p. 2.

78 The Nova Scotian, February 1, 1847, Col. 4, p.35.

knowing the propensity of the Irish for drink, that they too were addicted. The St. Mary's Temperance Society was likely formed for this very reason, and the progress made in this direction can in all likelihood be attributed to the influence of the Irish priests who, knowing their native weaknesses, as well as their strengths, saved many of them from this "enemy of the Irish".

It was in the homes of the Irish of the Province that the Bishop of Quebec was rested, cared for, and entertained in his pastoral visits to the Province. During his visitation of the Missions in 1815-1816, Bishop Plessis was accompanied to Mount Uniacke by an Irish Catholic doctor, Reegan, by name.[79] During his stay there, he was accommodated in perfect hospitality at the home of Richard John Uniacke, who though not a Catholic himself, was a friend of Catholics and an ardent Irishman.[80] During Plessis' visit to Saint Mary's Bay, the Bishop dined at the home of an Irish Catholic, Charles McCarthy, Esquire, whose hospitality the Bishop remarked unequalled.[81] At Saint Peter's, on Cape Breton Island, it was at the estate of Lawrence Cavanaugh

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79 Joseph Octave Plessis, op.cit., p. 87.

80 Ibid., p. 87.

81 Ibid., p. 105.

that the Bishop's every need was answered.[82] In Halifax, one of the leading Catholic merchants of the town, Lawrence Doyle, not only entertained him, but provided that the principal Catholics of the congregation would have the opportunity to eat with their Bishop.[83] Here was hospitality at its height, and it likewise represented a change in social prestige which was a far cry from the protests of the English of the 1750's against Irish Catholics.

The Irish immigrants had been poor, but not indigent. Their social and economic position in the 1830's was the result of their own initiative and hard work abetted by the stimulus of the Irish priests sent to minister to their spiritual needs. Their growth economically and socially spelled a corresponding growth for their Province and their community. Step by step they had broken down barriers of prejudice and suspicion, as they gave their all to their adopted Province. But even as they set their stamp upon the growth of fishing and basic industries, as trade grew under their impact, as laws against them were repealed through their influence, they still could contribute little to the making of laws in the Province of their adoption. This, too, would come. Within the scope of the hundred

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82 Joseph Octave Plessis, op. cit., p. 56.

83 Ibid., p. 82.

years under consideration in our thesis, only a beginning was effected - but this a potent one. We must now turn our eyes to this political impact made by the Irish Catholics, which would grow after the 1850's from its mustard seed proportions to a mighty tree.

CHAPTER V

THE INCEPTION OF A POLITICAL IMPACT

It is difficult to speak of a political impact of any magnitude in a century whose first decade saw the attainment of representative government which was far from representative, and whose close saw responsible government only two years old. Despite this fact, an examination of the activities of the Irish Catholics in the early political life of the Province bears examination here, and to it we shall now turn.

It was one thing to be instrumental in the repeal of obnoxious laws through indirect pressure as was the case in the repeal of the land laws outlined in the preceding chapter; it was yet another to sit in the elected House and be instrumental in the making of the laws. Even this was attained, however, within the century - and that by two Irish Catholics, one in spite of the penal laws and the other when the ink was scarcely dry on the repeal of the last vestige of them. But some further indirect pressure was also needed before this was possible. Again, the Irish Catholics as a body exerted that pressure.

As outlined in Chapter I, the unjust and obnoxious Test Act of 1673 with its machinery completed by the second

Test Act of 1678,[1] made communion with the Anglican Established Church and repudiation of Catholic doctrines a condition of eligibility to all offices of rank, civil and military. Thus it excluded them from the Council, the Legislature and the Bar, unless they were willing to receive the Lord's Supper in the Anglican Rite, and in addition to taking the State Oaths, renounce their belief in the Mass, Transubstantiation, and in the intercession of the Mother of God.

That there was a desire for moderation in the application of this Test Act in Nova Scotia by at least some elements in the Government, and among some non-catholics, became evident in 1820. In that year, Cape Breton was reannexed to the mainland and two members were called to the House of Assembly at Halifax to represent that Island in the Government. Richard John Uniacke, Jr., an Irishman but not a Catholic, was one of those returned. The other was Lawrence Kavanaugh, an Irish Catholic of high repute. But the Test Oath barred Kavanaugh's entrance to the Assembly unless he took the oath against Transubstantiation and Popery. This he refused to do when the Legislature met in 1822, although he came to the city prepared to take his seat and the State Oaths, but not the Test Oath. Sir James Kempt,

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1 See Chapter I, p. 8.

the Lieutenant Governor, on suggestion from the Council sent a message to the Home Government laying Kavanaugh's case before it, and suggesting the expediency of admitting Roman Catholics to the Legislature, and to practise at the Bar "without making the declaration against Popery and Transubstantiation".[2] Kempt's letter is of interest for many reasons. It shows the caution of Kempt, as well as the breaking down of intolerance in both the Legislature and the Council. Kempt explains in detail Kavanaugh's election, the latter's determination to take his seat without taking the oaths repudiating Catholic doctrine, and his expectation that Kempt would relax the laws to permit this. Kempt adds, however, that he had made up his mind "not to admit of any relaxation [. . .] and intimated this to him".[3] The question being brought before the House, a Bill was passed by it, "opening the door to the general admission of Catholics into the Legislature upon taking State Oaths without the declaration against Popery and Transubstantiation".[4] The Council objected to the general nature of this Bill feeling that it would be better to await the King's wishes on the subject. Kempt strengthened the proposal by adding that he

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2 Kempt to Bathurst, Halifax, March 20, 1822; P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents of Nova Scotia, 1821-1822, Volume 230, Document 154, (n.p.).

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

himself felt that "no evil is to be apprehended in this Province from the admission of Catholics" provided they take the State Oaths without the other.[5]

In a reply to Kempt, Bathurst in the name of the King, commended and approved the course taken and the "moderation with which the question appears to have been discussed", and permission was granted to Kavanaugh to take his seat without repudiating his faith.[6] But the concession was given to Kavanaugh alone. It was the thin edge of the wedge, but a glorious accomplishment that in a colonial parliament of the British system sat an Irish Catholic, six years before Daniel O'Connell sat in the Imperial House of Commons. The message sent to the House of Assembly by Kempt,[7] brought a further burst of toleration from that branch of the Legislature, and it resolved:

> That this House, grateful to His Majesty in relieving His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects from the disability they were hitherto under from sitting in this house, do admit the same Lawrence Kavanaugh to

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5 Kempt to Bathurst, Halifax, March 20, 1822; P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents of Nova Scotia, 1821-1822, Volume 230, Document 154, (n.p.).

6 Bathurst to Kempt, Downing Street, May 8, 1822; P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, Volume 230, Document 164, (n.p.).

7 Message to the General Assembly Respecting Mr. Kavanaugh's admission to the General Assembly; P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, 1823-1824, Volume 231, Document 13, (n.p.).

> take his seat, and will in future permit Roman Catholics who may be duly elected and shall be qualified to hold a seat without the declaration against popery and Transubstantiation, and that a committee be appointed to wait upon His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor and communicate to him this Declaration of the House.[8]

Thus did Kavanaugh take his seat on April 3, 1823. The request was apparently considered too liberal at the time, for the Test Oath was not abolished. A Catholic was however seated in the elected Branch of the Legislature in Nova Scotia, and he, an Irish Catholic.

Before other Catholics could share the privilege of sitting in the Legislature and entering the professions, the Test Act had to be removed from the books. One voice in the Legislature was not enough. There were others, Protestants, in that same body, who were now equally revolted by the unjust act.[9] Though the technicality of emancipation from this Act may be attributed to liberal Protestants, since laws are only cancelled by laws, and there was only one Catholic in the Legislature, there was another influence. It was the initiative of the Irish Catholics of Halifax which restimulated the voices of Protestants raised in their

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8 House of Assembly, April 3, 1823; P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents of Nova Scotia, 1823-1824, Volume 231, Document 14, (n.p.).

9 Sister Mary Liguori, "Haliburton and the Uniackes-Protestant Champions of Catholic Liberty" in Canadian Catholic Historical Report, 1953, p. 34-48.

defense. A clear-cut, definitive explanation of their Catholic Faith in words, which carried the convictions of their hearts, was now prepared by the Catholics of Halifax, and presented to the House of Assembly by Richard John Uniacke, Jr.. It was a request for the abolition of the last vestige of intolerance, the Test Act, known by some as the "Black Charter of Protestantism".[10] The forthrightness of this petition undoubtedly reawakened the movement towards reform and brought about the abolition of the Act. Its content is worthy of being quoted here. In asking to address the House of Assembly, the petitioners stated that they believed they as much consulted the conscientious scruples of many of their Protestant fellow-countrymen as the exculpation of their own faith. The request ran as follows:

> [. . .]The grounds of our present complaint are created by the exaction of the Oaths, now used as Tests of Eligibility to the various preferments and offices in the Province. These contain a misrecital of our tenets and are (as it seems to your Petitioners) the sustenance of feud and controversy - finally they compute to us practices our souls abhor; but as it would be too much to expect any measure on this ground, unless we first apprised your Honourable House what our tenets are, we beg you to accept this summary exposition:
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> We do not adore the saint; but we pray to them. We know they possess no inherent power, but that they feel an interest in us. Even this present Petition will illustrate the tenet. In it we pray your Honourable House to intercede with His Majesty

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10 Sir Charles Grant Robertson, op. cit., p. 80.

> tho' you have none of his authority; so we solicit the saints to interpose for us, with Christ, though they have nothing of His Divinity. As they, we can pray for the intercession of your Honourable House, without an insult to our Sovereign, so we pray for the intercession of the Saints, without any offence to our God; He told us He gave us His Body. We only believe that He meant what He said.
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> We forbear from further details as they would only give us a needless prolixity to this Petition. We confide that we have shown to your Honourable House that the Test Oath misrecites while it libels our doctrines.[11]

This original manuscript, written in beautiful penmanship, believed to be that of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, is in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. It is endorsed by the signatures of six hundred eighty-eight Catholics, almost all with Irish names. Among them are some who obviously could not write their own names, and simply affixed an "x" - his mark - while another signed. The majority, however, are personal signatures. The first seven are obviously the most distinguished: John Carroll, V.G., Rev. James Dunphy, Lawrence Doyle, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, James Tobin, Michael Tobin, Sr., Michael Tobin, Jr.. That this petition had far-reaching effects is evident, not only from its results, but also from the distance that it travelled. A London paper commented:

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11 Petition of Reverend John Carroll and Others Professing the Roman Catholic Religion, Rec'd February 13, 1827; P.A.N.S., Manuscript Documents, Volume 308, Document 64, (n.p.). An original manuscript.

> We cannot help observing that the spirited conduct and plain statement of their grievances on the part of our religious brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, form a striking contrast to the narrow-minded procedures and equivocating style of expression adopted by the leading Catholics of England. The Nova Scotia Catholics speak in their petition, in clear and undisguised terms on the graceless tendency of the abominable oaths [. . .] and they are met by an unequivocal confession of the uselessness of these distinctive marks of political sagacity, followed by an act of justice to remove, as far as their power will allow them, the odious qualifications to become a lawmaker or fill the meanest office under government.
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> The Nova Scotia Catholics in expressing their religious tenets speak in language that cannot be misconstrued, their expression is concise and clear.[12]

The Catholic petition was a happy one in its results. Well received in both Houses, it was debated in the House of Assembly, during which the heritage of the Catholic Church throughout history was reviewed and applauded. Finally, Richard John Uniacke, T. C. Haliburton, and John Young were chosen to draft a petition to the King asking for the abolition of the Test Oath.[13] Contrary to precedent, the Government did not await the King's reply. The bill for the abolition of the Test Oath was introduced into the Council, passed and returned to the Assembly.[14] Here it was amended to include the repeal of all Catholic disabilities. These

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12 "Occasional's Letters", P.A.N.S., Volume 1, p.22, in Acadian Recorder, February 11, 1899.

13 Journals of House of Assembly of N.S., February 26, 1827, p. 46.

14 Journals of House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, April 16, 1827, p. 179.

amendments were approved by Council and the Lieutenant Governor gave his consent on April 17, 1827.[15] When the reply from the Crown was received to reserve the bill as being too liberal for British policy, it was already too late. The Colonial Legislature had already gone the whole way, and the Act remained on the books. The petition of the Irish Catholics had had its reward.

Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, author of the petition now awaited on the threshold of politics to take an active part in the political life of the Province. Son of Lawrence Doyle, a leading Irish Catholic merchant of the city, he had been born in Halifax, but could not be educated there. The Halifax of his day offered no opportunity for a youth of the Catholic religion without danger to his faith. The only institution in the Province capable of training for the professional world was King's College at Windsor, and those wishing to obtain a degree there had first to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles - in effect, he must become a member of the Church of England.[16] For this reason, he had

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15 Journals of House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, April 17, 1827, p. 182.

16 Ordinances of King's College, in George Mullane, "A Sketch of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle", in Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, Volume 17, p. 154.

been sent abroad and trained in the legal profession. With the abolition of the Test Act, his way was now clear to practise law and to enter the Legislature. On January 29, 1829, he was admitted to the Bar, the first Catholic outside the Province of Quebec permitted to practise law.[17] He would now become the second Catholic in Nova Scotia to be elected to the Legislature, and a predecessor of Joseph Howe in the battle for reform of government in the Province of Nova Scotia.

On February 8, 1833, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, Esquire, duly elected to represent the Township of Arichat in the County of Cape Breton, took his seat in the Legislature at Halifax.[18] From the first he was a"Liberal"and thus he remained throughout, bending every energy towards the achievement of constitutional reform. For a brief space let us consider in what and why reform was needed, so that we may evaluate Doyle as an advanced young"Liberal"reformer.

In 1758, Nova Scotia had been granted a legislative assembly, but its defective constitutional set-up rendered it representative only in name. The impotence of this legislative assembly was due to the inconsistency between theory

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17 Ordinances of King's College, in George Mullane, "A Sketch of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle", in Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, Volume 17, p. 154.

18 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 8, 1833, p. 325-326.

and practice. Basically, it was due to an irresponsible council. The council, appointed by the King on good behaviour (which virtually meant for life) had both legislative and executive control, outside the power of the Assembly. It acknowledged no responsibility to the people, sat behind closed doors, vetoed the bills of the Assembly, and generally carried out policies in opposition to the people's representatives. It was composed of the banking, business, and legal elements, and in it sat likewise the bishop of the Anglican Church. In fine, the Government of Halifax had slipped into the hands of a leading oligarchy of Church and State members closely resembling the Family Compact of Upper Canada. Thus while the council was supposed to share the legislative and executive control with the Lieutenant Governor, it actually was the ruling body. Each new and inexperienced Lieutenant Governor sent out from Britain fell immediately under the control of this oligarchy at Halifax. By them he was wined and dined and they were powerful propaganda agents. On them he depended often for his knowledge of the colony. It also became a vicious circle from which the people's representatives were excluded, since having once fallen under the influence of this closed group of magnates, his reports to the Colonial Office were colored by the influence of the council as to what was transpiring in the colony. The situation was accepted as related, since

colonial secretaries changed virtually from day to day, and in the early 1800's they were not particularly interested in what was going on in the colonies - except that they remain colonies! Ocean transportation was long and difficult; time elapsed while messages were sent and answered; most of all no man had yet arisen who embodied and exemplified the spirit of the people of Nova Scotia. To Joseph Howe would later go the epitaph of being Nova Scotia's greatest son in the movement for reform, but Joseph Howe was not always the author of those reforms for which he received the glory. His ambition, his oratory, his ability to meet a challenge on the spot and sway a mob, may have brought the reforms to fruition, but he was not always the initiator of the schemes. For at least some of them Lawrence O'Connor Doyle was the brain behind the reform. In his fruitful mind the seed had germinated - not in Howe's. Let us now turn to this young Irish Catholic reformer.

At the opening session of the 1837 Legislature, the first in which Howe was to sit, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle was by far the more prominent reformer, striking out at the very beginning of the session against the vested interests of the Church of England. The Chaplain of the House had always been of that denomination. The House had proceeded to the election of officers and a motion had been made and seconded to appoint the Reverend Robert Fitzgerald Uniacke, an

Anglican, as Chaplain. Howe moved an amendment that instead of the above, since the Province was peopled by several denominations that the House recognize no religious distinctions. Following this was another vague request to cover the situation by requesting that all the "Reverend Gentlemen of the Town" pray for the blessing of God on the House. But Doyle, in his direct and forthright manner, but without heat or bitterness, struck at the abuse directly and concisely and moved an amendment that all the"Reverend Gentlemen of the Province" (the localizing interest of the government was a further abuse) be asked to implore God's blessing on the House, and "that this House will dispense with the personal attendance of a Chaplain".[19] The House was divided 28 - 18 for the amendment; it passed in the affirmative. It was a brave move for a young Irish Catholic who was only the second of his religious adherents to sit in the Legislature of the Province. His spirit for reform was not to stop there.

One of the most outstanding of the Council's abuses was its practice of deliberating behind closed doors. Early in the 1837 session, Doyle spearheaded a movement against this abuse. A resolution before the House for an

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19 Journals of House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, January 31, 1837, p. 9-10. Underlining is mine.

examination of the Public Accounts jointly with His Majesty's Council, brought the more basic remedy from Doyle in the form of an amendment, stating,

> that the practice hitherto pursued by His Majesty's Legislative Council in this Province of excluding the People from their deliberations is not only at variance with that of the House of Lords in England and that of several of the Legislative Councils in the other British North American Colonies, but contrary to the spirit of the British Constitution, and injurious to the interests and liberties of this country,

he moved that this abuse be remedied.[20] Four resolutions condemning the practice were moved by him at a subsequent meeting. The motions that the sitting behind closed doors of the Council was at variance with the policy of the Mother Country; that although he did not object to occasional secret meetings that the permanent practice of exclusion was fraught with evil and would breed distrust; that the House of Assembly was willing to incur the expense of admitting the public; that a conference by the Committee be desired with the Council on the General State of the Province, were passed unanimously.[21] These resolutions which were seconded by Howe were later incorporated in the Twelve Resolutions of the latter gentleman. Though the later correction of

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20 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, January 31, 1837, p. 11.

21 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 2, 1837, p. 17.

these abuses is attributed to Howe, the truth remains that the initiative was taken by Doyle - they were his resolutions. Not only were they his resolutions but he followed them until he was sure they were in a position to succeed. On February 6, he moved the appointment of a Committee to search the Journals of the Council in order to ascertain what had become of these resolutions.[22]

Howe's libel suit of 1835 had been brought on by a criticism in his paper of the financial administration or misadministration of the city. Doyle now made a daring motion that a Committee wait on the Lieutenant Governor and request that he lay before the House of Assembly an account of all fees received at the Provincial Secretary's Office during the previous five years, specifying the items, the sources from which they came, and how they were disposed of.[23]

Reforms within the House of Assembly itself did not escape his fruitful mind. While it is yet impossible to speak of definite parties in the Assembly at this time, the lines of battle were certainly being drawn between the old order and the young "Liberals" or reformers. The

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22 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 6, 1837, p. 27.

23 Ibid., p. 26.

Quadrennial Bill was Doyle's from start to finish, though again Howe played a part. On February 1, 1837, Doyle presented a Bill to repeal Septennial Assemblies and to "substitute other recommendations ".[24] Its substitute was the Quadrennial Bill, which reduced the life span of the Assembly from seven to four years. Its purpose was to enable the electorate to scrutinize its representatives more often and change those not satisfactory. Though rejected by the Council in 1837, it was passed and became law during the session of 1838.[25] Howe, himself, acknowledged the part played by Doyle in the Reform movement, when on November 27, 1843, both he and Doyle were returned by the electorate for the County of Halifax, and he delivered a speech vindicating his acts and policies. He delighted that Doyle was still with him in the Assembly and stated that the latter,

> was not only the parent of the Quadrennial Bill, but of the Act for vacating the seats of members accepting certain offices, besides having his share in all the conflicts of his party from 1836 to 1840.[26]

Throughout the struggle for responsible government and long after its attainment in 1848, the name of Lawrence

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24 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 1, 1837, p. 15.

25 Joseph Chisholm, The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe, Volume 1, p. 187.

26 Ibid., p. 440.

O'Connor Doyle is coupled with that of Joseph Howe, and when finally in 1848, Sir John Harvey read the dispatch of Lord Grey, indicating the latter's policy that the executive branch of government should enjoy the confidence of the people, the first successful non-confidence vote was given by the Opposition - the reformers. Mr. J. B. Uniacke, leader of the Opposition, when called upon to form his Cabinet, submitted it on February 2, 1848. Among its members is found the name of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle. Howe himself paid tribute to the outstanding Irish Catholic in reply to a toast proferred to him by the latter. Of him he said:

> [. . .] he is the only man I ever knew who has not an enemy; whose humor never flags, whose wit never wounds, who, by common consent, is everywhere welcome, and who, if ubiquity and immortality could be conferred by universal suffrage, everybody would vote should enliven every scene of festivity down to the end of time.[27]

In addition to the representation of two Catholics in the popular branch, we also have that denomination represented in the Council, both before the latter was a responsible body and after. The three were Irishmen of the same family connections, the Tobins. Had the family papers of this respected family been preserved, its influence on the economic, the social, the religious, and political life of the Province might be more fairly evaluated. As it

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27 Joseph Howe, in Chisholm, op. cit., Volume 2, p. 306.

stands, the story must be pieced together from fragments only. The direct ancestors of the Tobins who sat in the Councils of Nova Scotia were believed to have come from Ireland the year following the passing of the penal laws in this Province, 1759.[28] The first Tobins were butchers and coopers. One of them, Michael, supplied meat for the army. Both brothers went into trade in partnership.[29] This Michael Tobin had two sons, later to become the Honourable Michael and the Honourable James Tobin, both of whom would sit in Council. Later, the Honourable Michael Tobin, Jr., would also be admitted.[30] Though we are interested here only in their political influence, it is of interest to note how they had risen to wealth in a Province alien to their religious persuasion. The Honourable Michael Tobin, Sr., died on April 11, 1843, at the age of 67 years. The total value of his real and personal property, listed in his Will, amounted to over 35,574 pounds - a fair amount in those days.[31]

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28 Cornelius O'Brien, op. cit., p. 55; "Occasional" in Halifax Mail, March 21, 1936, Col. 3, p. 4.

29 "Occasional's Letters", Volume 1, p. 75, in Acadian Recorder, July 1, 1916.

30 "Occasional's Letters", Volume 1, in Acadian Recorder, January 27, 1917.

31 Estate of the Late Honourable Michael Tobin, Family Papers, Michael Tobin; P.A.N.S., original manuscript, (n.p.).

James sat in the old Council before its powers were separated. In transmitting his name to the Home Office, the Governor stated him to be a "Roman Catholic, a merchant in affluent circumstances, of sound understanding and good judgement".[32] In this same dispatch of June 6, he affirmed that he had considered appointing the Roman Catholic Bishop, but that since Mr. Tobin was of the same persuasion, it seemed unimportant to him.[33] When the Home Government in 1838 decided to divide the old Council and attempt a re-organization along more democratic lines, the Honourable Michael Tobin, Sr. was appointed as member of the new Executive Council.[34] He was sworn into office on April 2, 1838.[35] On January 25 of the same year, James was appointed to the first separate Legislative Council.[36] Michael, Jr. followed in his father's footsteps to the Legislative Council on March 23, 1840. In 1848, when J. B. Uniacke was asked to form a Cabinet which enjoyed the confidence of the

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32 Maitland to Goderich, June 6, 1831; in C. O. 217, Volume 152, p. 368.

33 Ibid., p. 406.

34 Minutes of Executive Council of Nova Scotia, January 23, 1838, p. 2.

35 Ibid., p. 50.

36 Journals of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, January 25, 1838, p. 5.

people, Michael Tobin, Jr. was one of those nominated.[37] Thus he too was of the reform party as was his uncle Honourable Michael Tobin, before him. Of the latter, "Occasional" could say that he was a reformer before the advent of Howe, and lent his support to the brilliant William Cottnam Tonge, the first advocate of popular rights in Nova Scotia.[38]

After the 1850's other Irish Catholics would become influential in politics, but beginnings are important. The extent of their political impact before this date may not seem vast, but it was doubtless solid, and due to their own initiative. Within three decades from 1820 to 1850, the initiative of the Irish Catholics had forced a member of that denomination into the Legislature with the penal laws still in force, and had him accepted by the Crown with laws against it on the books; they had by intelligent persuasion and a straightforward exposition of their tenets had the Test Oath removed from the Nova Scotia Laws, two years before they were erased from the Imperial Books; one amongst them had gained the honor of being the first Catholic

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37 Joseph Chisholm, op. cit., Volume 1, p. 657.

38 "Occasional's Letters", Volume 1, p. 80, in Acadian Recorder, July 8, 1916.

outside the Province of Quebec to be admitted to the Bar; this latter man, Lawrence O'Connor Doyle had preceded Howe in some militant reform measures, being the initiator of many of the reforms which Howe brought to fruition; the first Catholics admitted to the Councils were likewise of the Irish race. When one considers that by 1850 Nova Scotia was fast becoming a melting-pot of European immigration, these humble beginnings in the political field were real triumphs for the sons of Erin. From the foregoing chapter I dare to assert that the Irish Catholics of Nova Scotia, and of Halifax in particular, exerted a potent influence of a political nature, which both benefitted Catholicism in the Province and which led also to the reform of the Provincial Government. All this was the work of laymen, but behind the scenes one must look for the influence of Irish priests who came to tend the needs of their native flock. To their impact on religion, in Nova Scotia, we must now turn for the final chapter of our narrative.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL IMPACT

Catholicism of its very nature is universal. It is neither French nor English, Irish nor Scottish. Its universality is its strength. This chapter is neither a history of the Church in Halifax, nor of the latter's educational system. It is merely an attempt to show the part played by the Irish Catholics in the development of both. It does not imply that other national groups made no contributions, nor is it intended to augment the controversy that evolved from the publication of Cornelius O'Brien's Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke. It will be seen here that it was in the capital city of Halifax that the Irish made their greatest contributions to the religious and educational life of the Province. While the force of their influence was great in the religious field, only a beginning was made in the century under discussion in the educational area. This latter aspect, therefore, will receive but brief and incidental treatment, and we shall hope that others will bring to light their contributions in this field after 1850.

The Church in Halifax which blossomed out under the impact of the Irish Catholics did not represent the rebirth of a faith which had been extinguished. It was but the continuation of that Church whose seed was sown by the French in 1604, and nurtured by that people until their

expulsion from the Province in 1755. Before their exodus they had converted the Micmac race and these latter had kept alive the spark of faith until the coming of another people - the Irish.

With the French expelled it seemed an easy matter to supplant the Catholic faith with that of the Church of England - the faith of the conquering nation. The Act for the Establishment of Religious Public Worship in the Province and for the Suppression of Popery, along with the other Acts already discussed, were to effect this end. In addition, the Education Act, passed in 1766 would bar Catholics from establishing schools. Its clauses were drastic. By it no person was permitted to set up or keep a grammar school within the Province until he was first examined by the minister of that town where he wished to set up the school. For Catholics there was little hope, for it declared that,

> if any Popish recusant, papist, or person professing the popish religion shall be so presumptuous as to set up any school within this province, and be detected therein, such offender shall for every such offence, suffer three months imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and shall pay a fine to the King of ten pounds, and if anyone shall refuse to take the said oaths and subscribe the declaration, he shall be deemed and taken to be a popish recusant.[1]

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1 Geo. III, Cap. VII, 1766, in Statutes at Large, Laws of Nova Scotia, Volume I, 1758-1804, p. 120.

But bigotry did not conquer. Cornelius O'Brien attributes the failure of Nova Scotia to breed and harbour bigotry to its nearness to the ocean,[2] inferring that the expansiveness of the sea produces largeness of intellect ! This is a poet's interpretation. Historically, the answer lies in the facts.

At the commencement of our narrative there was but one Catholic diocese in what is now Canada. This was the diocese of Quebec, which had jurisdiction over all French possessions. In 1749, the year in which our narrative begins, Nova Scotia had been permanently British for thirty-six years, but the inhabitants were still predominantly French and continued to be directed ecclesiastically from Quebec. With the expulsion, the preponderance of French in the population had disappeared, and Irish Catholics commenced to dominate the scene. Since these were suspect in the early days, and not granted the privileges of their religion, the faith planted too deeply to be eradicated by legislative means was kept alive by the native sons of Nova Scotia, the Micmacs, converted to the Catholic faith by the French.

Until 1785, French priests, ministering to the Micmacs openly by permission of the government, and secretly to

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2 O'Brien, op. cit., p. 57

the Irish Catholics without that permission, kept the faith from dying out until these latter were strong enough to make their voices heard. The first of these missionaries to the Micmacs was the Abbe Maillard who was brought to Halifax by the English civil authorities. He was the only priest permitted to remain in the Province after 1760 and this for the sole reason that he alone could pacify the Indians.[3] Maillard's oratory was believed to be a barn somewhere near the intersection of Barrington and Tobin Streets.[4] Surreptitiously, he attended to the spiritual needs of the Irish Catholics.[5] With the death of Maillard in 1762, the Micmacs again demanded of the civil authorities in Halifax, a priest.[6] It was six years before their plea was answered. The need was great. According to Franklin, there were upwards of "Two Thousand Roman Catholicks" scattered through the Province by 1768.[7] This statement is bourne out by the

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3 Mémoires Sur Les Missions de la Nouvelle-Ecosse de 1760-1820, Quebec, Darveau, 1895, p. 11.

4 John E. Burns, "The Development of Roman Catholic Church Government in Halifax from 1760 to 1853" in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Volume 23, Halifax, Imperial, 1936, p. 90.

5 O'Brien, op. cit., p. 56.

6 Abbé Gosselin, L'Eglise du Canada, II, Quebec, La Flamme, 1917, p. 153.

7 Franklin to Hillsborough, July 20, 1768; Col.Cor., N.S., Volume 3, p. 168.

census of the previous year,which estimates the number of Catholics throughout the Province as 2,146, exclusive of army and navy.[8] Delay seemed no longer possible, and a plea to Governor Carleton brought Father Bailly to minister to the Acadians and Indians at a salary of one hundred pounds annually from the government - the same sum previously allotted to Father Maillard.[9] Apparently, Father Bailly carried on the tradition of his predecessor in ministering secretly to the Irish Catholics, since he notes in a letter to Quebec that bigotry had been stirred up against him in Halifax by the Presbyterian Minister; he had been forced to withdraw to a cove six miles from the town to say Mass on Sunday after having celebrated it in the town itself for three months. He adds:

> I need not have done this had I concented to shut the door of the barn where I had been saying Mass against all except the Acadians and Indians.[10]

Apparently the Irish Catholics were attending on the sly ! Father Bailly left Halifax in 1772, not to return.[11]

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8 A General Return of the Several Townships in the Province of Nova Scotia, the first day of January, 1767; P.A.N.S., MSS D443, Doc. No. 1, Census and Poll Tax, 1767 - 1794.

9 Franklin to Hillsborough, July 20, 1768; Col. Cor. N.S., Volume 3, p. 176.

10 Bailly to Hubert, April 24, 1771; A.A.Q., Evêques de Québec, II, 65.

11 Gosselin, op. cit., p. 154.

For twelve years no priest attended separately the Catholics of Halifax. Father La Brosse, residing at Baie Chaleur served the whole of the Province as best he could.[12] Father Joseph Maturin Bourg, the first Acadian priest,[13] residing at Tracadieche, received in 1784 a request from his Bishop asking that he transfer his residence to Halifax, to examine the needs of the parish, and to report back to him of conditions. It was the Bishop's desire that Father Bourg remain in Halifax, and this in answer to a request of the Catholics of Halifax demanding a priest.[14] Apparently, Father Bourg went to Halifax that Fall, as we learn in a letter the following year from the Catholics of Halifax.[15] Grave, the Bishop's Vicar-General, conveyed the requests to Father Bourg. His letter to Bourg gives us an insight into the Bishop of Quebec's estimate of the Irish Catholics of Halifax, at this time struggling without a pastor - and apparently doing it quite well. Halifax, he stated, was one of the first posts of his diocese. The Catholics there

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12 Gosselin, op. cit., p. 155.

13 P. L. Le Jeune, O.M.I., Dictionnaire Général, Ottawa, University of Ottawa, 1931, p. 228.

14 Gravé to Bourg, July 16, 1784; A.A.Q., Lettres, V, p. 307.

15 Catholics of Halifax to Bishop of Quebec, September 3, 1785; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, II, 6.

appeared to be a very respectable people, since they had obtained from Parliament some privileges in favor of the Catholic religion that others could not get.[16]

Apparently after his visit in the Fall of 1784, Father Bourg had returned to Tracadièche with the intention of moving his residence immediately to Halifax. Other circumstances had intervened and he did not arrive there until August 1, 1785.[17] In the meantime, the Catholics of Halifax, finding themselves without a pastor, had taken the initiative to write to Ireland for a priest. This they reported to the Bishop of Quebec.[18] The response from Ireland was almost immediate, and they learned from Cork that Father Jones would visit them. They assured him by letter that they felt he would be so pleased with the situation in Halifax that if he came he would stay for life. To this they added an appeal to his zeal for souls. Certainly he would feel compassion,

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16 Gravé to Bourg, July 16, 1784; A.A.Q., Lettres, V, p. 307.

17 Catholics of Halifax to Bishop of Quebec, September 3, 1785; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, II, 6.

18 Ibid.

> on seeing many of our Congregation in the Agonies of Death departing this life, deprived of the Spiritual Comforts of the Church.[19]

They further added their concern in the same letter for "the rising generation who are very numerous here" and who need a priest versed in English. They assure him that all his expenses will be paid. They compliment themselves and give encouragement to him by the information that they have already,

> a Genteel Chapel Erected and almost finished within where the respective heads of Families with their children mornings and evenings of Sundays assemble to prayer, singing of Vespers, etc., though at this time deprived of a Pastor.[20]

The letter is signed by John Mullowny, Edmund Phelan, John Cody, John Stealing, Mark Mullen.

The arrival of Father Jones was a happy culmination to the efforts of this Irish Catholic congregation. Hopes for a renewal of fervour reached a high. On September 3, they stated,

> He arrived but last Monday, and there is scarce a Respectable person in our City but is determined to appear at our Chappel tomorrow which circumstance affords the greatest pleasure and the strongest hopes to an hitherto oppressed and neglected people.[21]

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19 Catholics of Halifax to Jones, May 24, 1785; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, II, 2.

20 Ibid.

21 Catholics of Halifax to Bishop of Quebec, September 3, 1785; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, II, 6.

Father Bourg had been in the city since August 1, and when Father Jones arrived in late August the former ceded the place to the latter and returned to the Baie Chaleur, leaving Father Jones alone in Halifax to minister to the Catholics there.[22]

But Father Jones needed authority from the Bishop of Quebec. James Kavanaugh, a parishioner, wrote a recommendation of high quality for him, noting that he had brought with him the "most powerful recommendations that can be" from the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Cork and Kerry, and stating also that he was known already by several among them from Ireland.[23] In addition to this recommendation went his own letter and qualifications to the Bishop.[24] In his reply, Mgr. D'Esgly stated that he needed no greater assurance of the merits and qualities of Father Jones than the recommendation he had received from the Bishop of Cork.[25]

What was the state of the Church in Halifax on Father Jones' arrival? Three years before he had arrived

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22 Etat de la Mission de l'Acadie en 1787; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, 12.

23 James Kavanaugh to Simon Fraser, September 3, 1785; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, II, 4.

24 Jones to Bishop of Quebec, September 4, 1785; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, 3.

25 D'Esgly to Jones, October 23, 1785; A.A.Q., Lettres, V, p. 185.

in Halifax, and immediately after the obnoxious laws against land-holding by papists had been repealed, the groundwork for the erection of a Catholic church had been laid by leading Irish Catholic laymen. Taking the leadership in this project was William Meany, originally from Waterford, who put pressure on his Catholic fellowcountrymen to prepare for the erection of their church. Fearing that if the purchase of the land was obviously for the erection of a Catholic church there would be difficulties, Meany purchased it as an individual from a Protestant gentleman, William Thursby by name, on September 6, 1782, and transferred it to the Catholics of Halifax on October 16, 1782.[26] In July of 1783, the small frame structure of St. Peter's began to rise.[27] By May of 1785, the parishioners could write that it was almost finished within, and was in use.[28] Father Bourg could describe it thus in 1785,

> The Church is spacious, very strong, completely finished outside and well advanced within. With

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26 Indenture between William Meany and John Mullowny, John Cody, John Murphy, John McDaniel, Edmund Phelan, October 16, 1782; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, II, 29.

27 The Cross, Halifax, March 31, 1849.

28 Catholics of Halifax to Jones, May 24, 1785; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, II, 2.

> the intention of building a presbytery they have rented a beautiful strong house. [. . .] This congregation is already numerous and is augmented daily.[29]

Father Jones' coming initiated a new era in the Church of Halifax, and in Nova Scotia in general. It would add its force to the religious impact already begun by the Irish laymen. Preceding his arrival these laymen, as we have seen, had themselves taken the initiative in effecting the repeal of laws from a solidly Protestant Legislature; they had built a church completely on their own; they had taken the initiative in sending for Irish priests who, understanding their mentality, would direct this initiative into the proper channels. These were no mean achievements. With the coming of Father Jones, however, a new era was inaugurated. Now a succession of priests from Ireland would work side by side with these laymen for the faith in the Province.

The coming of the Irish priests did not mean, however, that, ipso facto, progress would be instantaneous. Much had been achieved by a strong and fervent but comparatively small group of Irish Catholics; there was yet much to be done. Yet the step was a vital one. Father Jones' first letter to the Bishop of Quebec stresses its

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29 M. Bourg to Mgr. D'Esgly, August 22, 1785, in Mémoires sur les Missions, p. 37.

merit, and at the same time gives us interesting details of the Halifax congregation. After stating his qualifications and sending on his letter from Dr. Butler, Bishop of Cork, he makes note of the great intercourse which exists between the Catholics of Halifax and Cork in Ireland. Though perhaps slightly exaggerated, he stipulates that all the Roman Catholics of Halifax are Irish from the Province of Munster and that hence it is more satisfactory that they be ministered to by Irish Clergy since these latter would understand them better and profit them more. He hopes, too, to get priests or religious from Ireland for the education of the children of Halifax and feels there should be two resident Irish priests in Halifax to satisfy the needs. These latter, he feels, must be strictly moral men of high calibre as, "not every person would answer here".[30]

That Father Jones had a job to do among the lower class of his people, and that he did it well, may be judged from a comparison between descriptions of his parishioners in 1787, and similar ones only six years later. In his own report of his congregation he compares the law-abiding Roman Catholic congregation of French and Indians in the Cape Breton

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30 Jones to Bishop of Quebec, September 4, 1785; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, 3.

mission, "accustomed to rule and order since the days of the immortal Maillard" with his Halifax congregation. Here,

> it is quite the reverse, for since the peace this province is filled with men of all nations and religions; the greater part of the Irish are bred to the fisheries and not accustomed to any rule for years back.[31]

Three years later, another Irish priest, Father Phelan, substituting for Father Jones while the latter was visiting in Philadelphia, was even more vehement in his condemnation of the congregation, characterizing them as little more than a "band of adventurers", whose hearts nothing was capable of touching - "wretches of the English army". Judging from appearances, he felt that many of the old men had received nothing but the Sacrament of Baptism.[32] Doubtless there is some exaggeration in these letters, but basically they probably give a picture of the lowest class of the congregation. In the first place, as we have seen, the congregation was not composed entirely of the laboring class. It would seem, too, from a further letter that Father Jones is referring especially to the Loyalist and members of the army and navy, when he speaks of the unruliness of his

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31 Jones to the Bishop of Quebec, April 23, 1787; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, 5.

32 Mémoires Sur Les Missions, P. 65 - 66.

parishioners,[33] and not so much of the Irish who had come directly there. However, even if these are included in his castigations, it is easy to belive that the faith of these people had been weakened by the lack of spiritual leadership in the previous years. Indeed, Father Jones went so far as to predict that unless some mode were adopted for supporting a few missionaries "the Roman Catholic religion will soon die in these parts".[34]

Six years after his coming Father Jones' influence on these people was so marked that the Lieutenant Governor petitioned the Home Government that he be paid a salary stating that Father Jones had been of great assistance to him in establishing good order and loyalty among the Roman Catholics of the Province. His praise was generous:

> He has also been instrumental in reducing to order the lower class of that people in this town, and those dispersed through all the coast fisheries, who from being little better than savages are now as regular and orderly as any description in the Province and during the late expected invasion came forward with the same spirit and zeal for the defence of the Province.[35]

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33 Jones to B ishop of Quebec, April 27, 1787; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, 7.

34 Jones to the Bishop of Quebec, July 24, 1787; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, 11.

35 Wentworth to Dundas, November 9, 1793; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 22, p. 449.

Enclosed in this letter to the Secretary of State was Father Jones' own memorial requesting the allowance of one hundred pounds formerly paid to others, since desire to promote the Christian religion led him to "quit a good Living, in the city of Cork, to come into this country".[36] A further recommendation the following year for the same grant, "as it will be the best means of keeping 16,000 Catholics warmly attached to the Crown", [37] brought the desired effect and reward.[38]

While Father B ourg was the first parish priest of Saint Peter's Church - afterwards to become St. Mary's - it was Father Jones who first organized the parish. From Quebec came a document constituting him "Superior of the Missions of Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, the Magdalen Islands, and part of New Brunswick".[39] For all these missions priests were needed and it became Father Jones' duty to procure such. The

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36 Memorial of James Jones to Wentworth, enclosed in Wentworth to Dundas, November 9, 1793; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 22, p. 457.

37 Wentworth to King, January 25, 1794, (Private) in A & W.I., Volume 598, 1794.

38 Wentworth to Dundas, March 25, 1794; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 23, p. 213.

39 D'Esgly to Jones, October 20, 1787; A.A.Q., Registre de L'Evêque de Québec, D, p. 95 - 96. (in Latin)

Bishop of Quebec regretted that he would now, in 1787, be no longer able to supply the needs of Nova Scotia, and added that there was therefore "no resource for Nova Scotia except in the zeal of Irish or English priests, who may wish to come and work under your orders".[40] Thus was left in the hands of Father Jones full responsibility for the Catholic faith in Nova Scotia, not only for those speaking the English language, but even for the French Acadians. He did not shirk his responsibility. When he left in 1800 for Ireland, though a somewhat broken man, he left the people - Irish, Scotch and French - all provided with missionaries, as far as he could arrange, of their own race and language. For Halifax he was but the first of a long line of Irish apostles whose influence on the town and Province are inestimable. Since this is not a history of the church in Halifax, but merely a dissertation on the influence of the Irish on that church, we shall now touch on the achievements of the most outstanding of these Irish pastors and their works.

Before leaving for Ireland, Father Jones confided the care of his flock in Halifax to Edmund Burke.[41] The

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40 Hubert to Jones, October 22, 1787; A.A.Q., Cartable: Vicaires Généraux, I, 40.

41 Jones to Plessis, June 10, 1800; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, 74.

latter is not to be confused with the Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, who after serving in Quebec and Ontario, would come to Halifax the following year as Vicar General. The first Father Burke was an Irish priest from Placentia in Newfoundland.[42] The dissensions which came to a head during his year of ministry tend somewhat to blur the good he accomplished. His work with the children is worthy of note. He suggests the necessity of a school "without which our religion will never be firmly established".[43] Finding the children ignorant with regard to the study of catechism, he wrote to Newfoundland, asked for donations of catechisms from the various families there whom he had known, and upon receiving one hundred of such, he henceforth

> catechised the Boys three days in the week, [. . .] read the Epistle, Gospel, and Collect of the day in the English tongue [. . .] in the afternoons read them a spiritual lecture.[44]

In addition he clothed the boys in surplices, taught them to serve Mass, and trained them for choir.[45] After one

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42 Jones to Plessis, October 20, 1799; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, 71.

43 Burke to Plessis, June 10, 1801; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, III, 60.

44 Burke to Plessis, May 15, 1801; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, III, 57.

45 Ibid.

year, he abandoned the church in Halifax, and was succeeded by one of the same name and nationality.

For nineteen full years, Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke was to administer church affairs at Halifax, as Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec until 1817, and as Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia after that year. On the appointment of Burke as Vicar Apostolic, the Bishop of Quebec, who by this act was losing his authority over Nova Scotia Catholics, issued a pastoral letter to the Catholics of Nova Scotia, pointing out to them that their allegiance was now due to Bishop Burke who would henceforth care for their souls, appoint their missionaries and the like.[46] In these years Edmund Burke fulfilled a long life in a short time.

Born in Maryborough, in the County of Kildare in Ireland in 1753, he had come to Canada in 1786. He came to Quebec strongly recommended by Mgr. Hussey, Vicar General of the Bishop of Quebec and his agent in London, as an Irish secular priest, talented, of good moral conduct and piety.[47] His ability to speak English and his nationality were qualities which would fit him for Halifax. With the departure of the first Edmund Burke, it was necessary to find

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46 Lettre Pastorale de Monseigneur L'Evêque de Québec aux Catholiques de Nouvelle - Ecosse, January 15, 1818, in Sigogne Papers, 1791 - 1833, M.G. 23, C-10, I, (n.p.).

47 M. Hussey to Mgr. D'Esgly, June 4, 1786 in Mémoires Sur Les Missions, p. 96.

another priest and for a congregation composed almost entirely of Irish it was necessary to find a pastor of like nationality. When Mgr. Denaut offered the appointment to Edmund Burke,[48] he accepted willingly, considering it a worthwhile nomination and eager to spend himself for those of similar nationality. It would be easy for him to understand the spirit of his parishioners. During his nineteen years his influence was great and spread over a wide area. To relate this impact is to tell the story of nineteen years of progress. We will attempt to relate briefly these achievements.

Apparently in 1800, a spirit of dissension had grown up among the parishioners of Halifax. The committee charged with the temporal affairs of the church demanded jurisdiction beyond their rights, even to the point of control of some of the ecclesiastical functions of the priest. An abridgement of the regulations drawn up in 1800 by a committee of Saint Peter's parish was sent to Bishop Denaut by Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke. A copy of the same with Bishop Denaut's criticism point by point is contained in the Wardens' Minute Book. The regulations which this self-

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48 Denaut to Burke, September 1, 1801; A.A.Q., Registre de Lettres, IV, p. 83.

constituted committee drew up and adopted on August 17, 1800,[49] are fantastic and their radical defect, in Bishop Denaut's comments, was that they were made without any authority, even the missionary being excluded from the committee.[50] Mgr. Denaut revised carefully the rules governing the committee's duties, eliminating all those which could lead to abuse and thus strengthening church discipline. To Rev. Edmund Burke he left the administration of this new code of behaviour. Edmund Burke's second letter to the Bishop of Quebec revealed the docile and immediate acceptance of the new rules for peace and order, for he said that he encountered no obstacles on the part of the congregation; the use of sacraments was more frequent; in fine that the order and discipline of the diocese were established with the consent of all.[51] Two days later, on January 18, the new Committee paid its homage and the old received the gentle admonitions of their pastor and could say that "all dissentions are done away, peace and harmony are restored".[52] It would appear from Bishop Denaut's letters,

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49 Rules adopted August 17, 1800; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, II, 19.

50 Wardens' Minute Book, p. 13.

51 Burke to Mgr. Denaut, January 16, 1802; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, III, 63.

52 Committee of Temporal Affairs to Bishop Denaut, January 18, 1802, in Wardens' Minute Book, p. 4.

and also from the immediate submission and acceptance by the Old Committee, all of whom were Irish Catholics - John Maguire, Constant Connor, Peter Lynch, Michael Tobin, and Pat O'Brien - that Bishop Denaut's comment that he believed that the dissensions had been sown by some evil-minded or ill-informed individual and that the greater and wiser part are peaceful, was true.[53] Apparently, Father Burke was able to handle the new situation, as a change was noted as early as 1803 by Mgr. Denaut himself on his visit to Halifax,[54] and likewise by the report of Bishop Plessis in 1815. The latter could say in his Journal that in the midst of numerous sects the Catholic religion shone forth in Halifax by its "unity and general esteem".[55] Apparently this spirit of unity was accompanied by a renewal of fervour. Characterizing this he noted that "of 600 communicants less than ten did not confess the previous Lent; confessionals served by three priests were busy whole afternoons; children flocked to catechism; parents were eager to have their boys in the sanctuary; in short, he witnessed a fervent christian

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53 Pastoral Letter of Bishop Denaut, in Wardens' Minute Book, p. 4.

54 Mémoires Sur Les Missions, p. 155.

55 Plessis, op. cit., p. 77.

community - and these, he added, were mostly Irish either by birth or descent.[56] Surely this represented the success of Rev. Edmund Burke's apostolate.

Cornelius O'Brien credits Bishop Burke likewise for the pastoral visits of the Bishops of Quebec in 1803 and 1815. For one hundred and twenty-five years, Nova Scotia or Acadia had fallen under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Quebec, but never during that time had any prelate visited these missions to evaluate the state of the faith there. In 1803, Mgr. Denaut, and again in 1815, Bishop Plessis visited the Province, and found a most apparent contrast between what they saw and what had been the opinion expressed upon the parishioners as formerly relayed to them by pen and recorded earlier in this chapter.

Under Burke's zealous pastorship the Church of Nova Scotia and especially that of Halifax began an era of expansion. After striking quickly and effectively at the root of a dissension that might have meant the dissolution of church unity in the congregation, he proceeded to confirm this unity throughout the diocese of which he had been appointed Vicar General under the Bishop of Quebec. Bishop Denaut, in his visit of 1803, attributed the peace and harmony prevailing in the Halifax congregation to the tact

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56 Plessis, op. cit., p. 77.

and zeal of the pastor and to the solid nature of his instructions.[57] Scarcely was he established in Halifax when his thoughts turned to education. In a Province where formerly the "price of intellectual food was apostasy" this was a daring move. He knew, however, that nothing would be attained by timidity.

On March 22, 1802, he petitioned the Lieutenant Governor to enable him to provide for the education of youth

> by the only means which appears feasible, or can prove effectual, that is, an incorporation for that purpose of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, his Coadjutor, his Vicar-General for the time being in Halifax, the Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Montreal, and their successors in office, thereby enabling them to receive donations, acquire, Possess and dispose of real and personal property to the use of any school or schools, which they shall think necessary to erect [. . .].[58]

The reaction of this petition by Governor Wentworth and Bishop Inglis pay involuntary tribute to the work of Edmund Burke. Bishop Inglis, in his reaction, was vehemently opposed to this danger of "popery", naming Burke as its instigator:

> He is the Popish priest at Halifax, where he is very active and assiduous in confirming the Roman Catholics of that place, consisting chiefly of

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57 O'Brien, op. cit., p. 88.

58 Petition of Edmund Burke to Wentworth, enclosed in Wentworth to Hobart, March 22, 1802; Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 36, p. 233.

> fishermen from Ireland, in their attachment to the religion of Rome. His petition affords a specimen of his zeal in the cause.[59]

And again, in tribute to the Roman Catholics,

> Ninety-nine out of a hundred of the Roman Catholics of Halifax are Irish fishermen. These have all that implicity and violent attachment to Popery which the Irish Catholics are known to possess.[60]

Governor Wentworth, also, could set no limits to Father Burke's zeal, nor to that of the Catholics of the Province. Of the latter he says: "That sect is numerous and increasing in most zealous activity". In the same dispatch he attributes Edmund Burke's apparent cessation of his college building to lack of funds and reports that now the latter is "erecting a large building for charitable education of youths of their own church". Having notified Mr. Burke that no Seminary or School could be erected in the Province without government consent, he adds: "but Mr. Burke still persists in erecting the building".[61]

Opposition brought on by Edmund Burke's zeal did not die out - neither did his zeal. In 1804, having given up the idea of a college, Father Burke proposed a free

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59 Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, March 30, 1802, in Inglis Papers, Volume 3, p. 61.

60 Ibid., p. 62.

61 Wentworth to Hobart, September 10, 1802; Col.Cor., N.S., Volume 36, p. 477 - 479.

school to be conducted in the now finished college building, and "offered to instruct the children of the poor gratis":[62] His offer had been accepted and 400 children engaged to enter the school.[63] Though Charles Inglis felt that in the opinion of many it would be an "act of political suicide", it was neither opposition from Bishop Inglis nor lack of zeal on the part of Rev. Edmund Burke that prevented the school from being opened at this time. It was lack of teachers. The church authorities at Quebec feared to advance in opposition to the government in Nova Scotia, and Europe failed to respond to Edmund Burke's plea for teachers for his school.[64] A certain Father Ricchi, who agreed to come but wished the permission of the government, received from Father Burke the answer "there is no use in asking help from the devil to combat iniquity".[65] The controversy on the school erected without governm ent consent continued to shower involuntary praise on the growth and vigor of the Catholic religion in the Province so that Inglis could say in 1804 "Protestants of all denominations in the Province

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62 Charles Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, February 16, 1804, in Inglis Papers, Volume 3, p. 130.

63 Ibid., p. 130.

64 O'Brien, op. cit., p. 81.

65 Ibid., p. 82.

are greatly alarmed at the progress which this 'Intolerable Sect' has lately made and dread the consequences of a more extensive diffusion of its principles...".[66]

Thwarted in 1804 in his educational desires, his hopes would yet be realized before his death. In June of 1806 he received the permission of the government to conduct a school exclusively for the education of Catholic youth,[67] but he still continued to have difficulty obtaining teachers.[68] In the meantime education on another scale was to occupy his interests. Until 1817, Edmund Burke was Vicar General under the diocese of Quebec. In that year, through the efforts of Edmund Burke himself, Nova Scotia became independent of Quebec as an Apostolic Vicariate, under the direct authority of the Pope. The Holy Father was represented on the spot by the Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, who became Vicar Apostolic.[69] On July 5, 1818, Burke was consecrated with

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66 Charles Inglis to Hobart, February 16, 1804, in Col. Cor., N.S., Volume 39, p. 337 - 338.

67 Burke to Bishop of Quebec, June 2, 1806; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, III, 109.

68 Nouvelle-Ecosse, IV, 2, 20.

69 Burke to Plessis, November 18, 1817; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, IV, 122.

this title.[70] Now, besides responsibility he had authority. With only two years of his earthly existence left to him, he began to prepare young men for ordination. His first seminarians he brought partly trained from Kilkenny in Ireland. This seminary, filled to overflowing with ecclesiastics, had been suggested to him as a source for priests.[71] Denis Geary and James Grant he ordained in 1819, and James Dunphy and John Carrol in 1820. Another, John Loughnan, finished his studies under Bishop Burke but was ordained in Boston.[72]

His early desire of educating the youth of his flock came to fruition during the last two years of his life. In September of 1820, there were 193 girls attending school in his old presbytery, and almost 100 boys being educated in classrooms in the glebe house.[73] Reverend John

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70 John E. Burns, "The Development of Roman Catholic Church Government in H alifax from 1760-1855", in Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXXIII, Halifax, Imperial, 1936, p. 96.

71 Plessis to Burke, November 8, 1812; A.A.Q., Registre de Lettres, VII, p. 450; also Plessis to Burke, December 14, 1816, Registre de Lettres, IX, p. 11.

72 A.A.Johnstone, A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, Volume 1, Antigonish, St. F. X., 1960, p. 268. It will be noted in this Chapter, and in the preceding one that Father Johnstone and the present writer used many of the same sources.

73 Burke to Plessis, September 8, 1820, Nouvelle-Ecosse, IV, 160.

Carroll, now ordained, directed these studies with two seminarians under him. Bishop Burke's last Will bears testimony to the closeness that education for his children was to his heart, as he arranged that "the rents in Water Street should be appropriated to the Schoolhouse and the support of the teachers".[74]

Edmund Burke's nineteen years in Halifax, years of rapid expansion for the church in Nova Scotia, came to an end in 1820. In addition to the contributions already mentioned, his work as an administrator had been superior. All church records begin with his administration, and the Register of Births, Marriages, and Interments, as well as the Wardens' Minute Book are mines of information for the historian.[75] It was through his instrumentality that the first Trappists came to Nova Scotia.[76] Though the educational field was barely opened in its formal stage, he had worked for the intellectual progress of his flock. As shown by the testimony of his rival, Bishop Inglis, the Catholic congregation had grown in influence, and had been augmented in numbers and in piety. He was no less zealous by his pen

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74 Last Will and Testament executed September 20, 1820; Nouvelle-Ecosse, IV, 165.

75 Archiepiscopal Archives of Halifax, Register of Births, Marriages, Interments, No. 14; Wardens' Minute Book.

76 O'Brien, op. cit., p. 89.

than by his word and example, and had he been provided with a Coadjutor who could carry on his work, there would have been less lull in the progress of the Halifax Catholics. As it was no Vicar Apostolic was appointed for Nova Scotia until 1827, when Rev. William Fraser, a Scotchman, was consecrated at Antigonish for this purpose. In the meantime Rev. John Carroll, nephew to Rev. Edmund Burke, and one of the first priests whom the latter had ordained, had been appointed by Bishop Burke, before his death, to administer the Vicariate of Nova Scotia until such time as the Holy Father appointed a new Vicar Apostolic.[77]

Father Carroll carried on for seven years the legacy of apostolic zeal displayed by his predecessors among the Irish clergy. That he played an active part in the interests of the community has already been shown in one instance - the petition for the repeal of the Test Oath, and also in his direction of the schools set up by Edmund Burke. Succeeding Father Carroll at Halifax was another Irish apostle, the Rev. John Loughnan, likewise a seminarian student of Bishop Burke. Father Loughnan had been labouring at Prospect, in the neighbourhood of Halifax,

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77 John Carroll to Plessis, December 5, 1820; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, 154.

among the Irish fishermen there and in other coves close by, since 1823.[78] He had taken over this pastorship at Prospect from Father Grace who had laboured there since 1794 or earlier.[79]

In 1842, to promote the spiritual life of the Catholics of Halifax, the Holy See changed the Vicariate of Nova Scotia into a diocese with Rev. William Fraser as Bishop of Halifax, though not resident there, and Rev. William Walsh as his coadjutor. The latter, raised to the episcopacy by Most Rev. Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, for Halifax, is indicative of the lively interest which the prelates of Ireland took in this little city overseas, which had now become a militant Irish community.

Bishop Walsh's episcopacy began in a spirit of utter selflessness, and culminated in the same spirit. His coming to Halifax from Dublin cost him much. In an address to the laity of Halifax on October 29, 1843, he stated that his appointment "involved the sacrifice of everything that was dear to me on earth - the country of my birth, and affections, the cherished authors of my existence, the

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78 John Carroll to Bishop of Quebec, September 10, 1823; A.A.Q., Nouvelle-Ecosse, I, 178.

79 J. Lanigan, Fourteen Decades in Prospect, 1794 - 1929, printed privately, 1929, p. 8. This pamphlet contains a store of information on the Irish settlement in this village.

companions of my youth...".[80] This same address, delivered actually one year after his appointment, bears witness unwittingly to a year of progress attributed by him to the Catholics of Halifax,

> During that time (the last twelve months) your religious possessions in Halifax have been increased to the value of four thousand pounds, the mysteries of your faith have been celebrated with befitting splendour - new institutions have sprung up to quicken and attest your zeal, and all that was valuable in the old has been consolidated and preserved.[81]

One of the institutions to which Bishop Walsh refers is doubtless that of Saint Mary's College. The Irish of Halifax had not ceased to fight for educational equality in the interval since the establishment of private schools by Rev. Edmund Burke. The newspaper controversies of the late 1830's are evidence of that fact - as is also the championing of this cause by Lawrence O'Connor Doyle in these same newspaper controversies. His Irish wit struck hard in defence of a faith of which he said: "By accident of birth a Catholic, I find my spiritual moorings to that faith trebly-linked by the convinctions of manhood".[82] He had to leave

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80 William Foley, The Centenary of Saint Mary's Cathedral, 1820-1920, Halifax, Connolly, 1920, p. 22.

81 William Foley, op. cit., p. 22.

82 Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, in Mullane, "A Sketch of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle", op. cit., p. 156.

Halifax as a youth and travel 3000 miles to receive an education of which the penal laws deprived him a right in Halifax. In his plea for equality of educational rights he could see nothing but bigotry at the base of the controversy. His defence of this right is strong:

> The Roman Catholics of the province have been an unobtrusive class; they have not been as mendicants for private or public alms; they have erected their edifice of worship at the cost of thousands, without the solicitude or receipt of one penny from a member of any other class of Christians; and yet forsooth, they are not to be permitted to rest in peace, if after a discharge of allearthly claims upon their establishments, they venture to apply the surplus of their monies for the purposes of education.[83]

For the recognition of Saint Mary's College, established in Halifax, they now desired government recognition. A petition of that worthy Irish Catholic, Hon. Michael Tobin, had been presented to the House of Assembly in February 1841, praying that "St. Mary's Seminary may be endowed with the usual and necessary chartered rights and privileges, and that aid may be granted toward the support of the Institution".[84] On March 31, 1841, Council agreed to the resolution of the House of Assembly to grant 300 pounds to St. Mary's College,[85] and two days before, on

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83 Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, in Mullane, op. cit., p. 156 - 157.

84 Journals of House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 20, 1841.

85 Journals of House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, March 31, 1841.

March 29, 1841, the Governor had given his assent to a bill entitled "An Act for Incorporating the Trustees of Saint Mary's College at Halifax".[86] From this it is evident that the ground work had been done before Bishop Walsh's arrival, the laymen taking an active part. The progress of this college and its new status is doubtless included in Bishop Walsh's commendations. A vote to have the grant increased to 441 pounds, 8 shillings, 10 pence, for three years[87] was rescinded two days later.[88] However, on the following day a new resolution was introduced which carried with it hopes for educational opportunities for the college education of the poor, for on this day, March 8, it was resolved that a grant of 444 pounds for support of Saint Mary's College for the next three years would be given if it were certified by the Lieutenant Governor that in each year twelve youths of exemplary conduct and poor parentage have been educated at the Institution, if so many should apply. One-half of these latter were to be nominated by the Lieutenant Governor.[89] Though there was a division on this motion, it passed the

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86 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, March 29, 1841.

87 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, March 5, 1842.

88 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, March 7, 1842.

89 Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, March 8, 1842.

House by a majority of 29-17, and the Council agreed to the vote on March 15, 1842. That this Institution continued to grow - and that under Irish auspices - to the end of the period under discussion in this thesis, is evident from its Return for 1846. In that year, the number of students numbered 48; its professors were: Rev. Mr. Nugent, Rev. M. Daly, and Mr. Charles McCarthy; there were ten free students in the College; the Return is signed by Thomas L. Connolly, a native of Cork, and later Archbishop of Halifax.[90]

During Bishop Walsh's pastorship efforts were being made by Catholic laymen for support of the church schools - those attached to St. Mary's Church (previously St.Peter's), and likewise that in Dutchtown, St. Patrick's.[91] Though passed by the House of Assembly, the Council disagreed "to vote 50 pounds for the Catholic School in Dutchtown".[92] Though not successful, the movement had been initiated and its success was left for others to reap, after the 1850 mark had been passed. Under Archbishop Connolly, the

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90 Return for College of Saint Mary's for the year 1846, in Journals of House of Assembly, of Nova Scotia, 1847, Appendix 66, p. 266.

91 Petition of Edward Power and Others, Journals of House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 2, 1846, and April 10, 1848.

92 Journals of House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, April 11, 1848.

Catholic parochial schools would become in 1864 public schools, state-supported, and taught by qualified Catholic teachers. But this is outside the scope of our story.

One of Bishop Walsh's initial moves was to take over the charge of the temporalities from the Wardens.[93] This was as it should have been and represented progress when we consider that in 1800 the missionary was excluded from the negotiations! From the time that Bishop Walsh took over the temporalities, November 4, 1842, the Minute Book takes on the appearance of a diary. An interesting anecdote, indicative of this man of decision, is found among others similar in this diary. It is the story of the preparation of the new Catholic cemetery in Halifax. On July 23, 1842, at a large meeting held after High Mass, it was agreed that on the Feast of St. Anne, after Divine Services, the parishioners would proceed to the ground intended for the cemetery and by "simultaneous movement" enclose, drain, level, and prepare the same. The plan was carried out, with Dr. Walsh as chairman, and his three Irish curates - Fathers Connolly, Hannon, and O'Brien assisting. Upwards of 200 parishioners engaged in the said work, until seven in the evening. Their labour was valued at 470 pounds.[94] Nor did

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93 Wardens' Minute Book, p. 115.

94 Ibid., p. 129.

the zeal of these people end there. On August 31, of the same year, they erected in this cemetery the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows, which still stands in the heart of the cemetery today. On this occasion, the church was raised, roofed, lathed, covered in, floored, and a great part of the outside shingled - in a day.[95] Bishop Walsh blessed the church on September 17, and named the Well, St. Patrick's Well.

Dr. Walsh was a man of learning. Letters in the diocesan Archives show his contacts with great people and his influence on them. Others show his respect for civil authorities while keeping well aloof from political entanglements.[96] "My politics is the Gospel", he said. Rightly has it been said that Bishop Walsh was no inconsequential factor in the progress of Halifax; into this city he poured his life-blood. What he had of physical strength, he expended generously. His constitution was weak, compared to that of Bishop Burke, but he gave unstintingly of what he had as he journeyed through the different parts of his diocese. He lost no opportunity to raise the level of the intellectual life of his people. In recognition of his services as Coadjutor Bishop and to provide for the future

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95 Wardens' Minute Book, p. 131.

96 Foley, op. cit., p. 23 - 24.

progress of the Church, the Holy See would create, in 1852, the Ecclesiastical Province of Halifax with Bishop Walsh as its first Archbishop.[97]

Thus may we indeed say that the Catholic Church in Halifax grew under the careful guidance of a priesthood emigrated from Ireland, directing a predominan tly Irish congregation. In addition to its leaders among the priesthood guiding this infant church - Father Jones, Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, and Bishop Walsh - other Irish priests served as assistants. A list of the priests serving at St. Mary's from 1820 - 1920 shows the names of thirty-three priests serving there to 1850. Of these, twenty-eight are either natives of Ireland or Nova Scotians of late Irish extraction.[98] The stream would continue throughout the nineteenth century in church leaders as well as in militant laymen. The small frame of Saint Peter's, begun in 1783, had given way under the plans of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke to Saint Mary's Cathedral, whose cornerstone was laid on June 5, 1820 - the first stone church in Halifax. This was definite progress, and progress not only for Halifax but for Nova Scotia in general. By 1848 recognition by the government

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97 Foley, op. cit., p. 25.

98 Ibid., p. 48.

of the titles of Roman Catholic prelates had also come. A dispatch from the homeland instructed that Roman Catholic prelates be given the titles of rank given them in their own church - Your Grace or Your Lordship.[99]

A summary of the impact made by the Irish - laity and clergy alike, will bring our story of achievement to a close.

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99 Grey to Harvey, November 20, 1847, in Journals of House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, February 17, 1848.

CONCLUSION

Following the Great Famine of 1846-1847 in Ireland, a host of Irish Catholics came to the shores of Nova Scotia. They were poor - wretched in the extreme - and became for some years after the turn of the half-century a drain upon the Province. But in the preceding century, from mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth, the Irish Catholics had paid in advance a deposit in progress for these fellowcountrymen. Their example, for they too had been poor, was a guarantee of what Nova Scotia might expect from this new infiltration of Irish.

With the coming of the English to settle Halifax in 1749, and the exodus of the Acadians in 1755, the Province's Catholic birthright had been seriously challenged. The ensuing struggle to gain equality and recognition in all fields of endeavour spent itself for nearly a century following the adoption of the English Penal Laws in 1758. The twofold purpose of this dissertation on the Irish Catholics - to discover the manner of their coming and to establish the fact that they exerted a definite impact on the city and Province - has, it is hoped, been accomplished. A closer look, however, at the conclusion of thisstudy, separated from the body of the material, may prove an easier method of evaluation.

CONCLUSION

The founding of Halifax, the expulsion of the Acadians, and the passing of legislation which imposed on Nova Scotia the Penal Laws of the Home Government, rendered Catholics propertyless, disfranchised them, and barred them from universities, the Legislature, and the professions. Its total effect was to reduce them to the lowest strata in the economic, social, political, and intellectual life of the Province. While doubtless it was aimed particularly at those French Acadians who had remained in the Province, as well as at any who would augment the latter's strength, all Catholic immigrants who might evade the careful screening of boats for "Papists" fell under the indictment.

The policy of exclusion of papists, regardless of nationality is shown by the correspondence between the Board of Trade and Immigration agents as early as the 1750's. Equally has the fact been established that certainly by 1752, and perhaps earlier, Irish Catholics were among the citizens of Halifax. An eye-witness account of Halifax in 1760, and the first census of the Province in 1767, establish the fact of their numerical growth. How had they come, and why?

Some arrived as servants to the English and are merely listed in numbers, and not by name, in the original lists. Others came classified as "English" settlers, because they came through English ports. Some of these brought

households with them. Others of these came singly, as mariners, or in brother-sister groups, as may be conjectured from the Victualling Lists. Though listed as "English" their names betray them. Since the first known Ulster Irish came to Nova Scotia with McNutt in 1761, and by this time Halifax already had its Irishtown, we can assume that these were Catholic as well as Irish. Since Halifax was founded as a garrison town, we might expect to find a further source of Catholic Irish among the active garrison. Fishermen direct from Ireland, as well as some who had come through Newfoundland, had invaded, at least by the 1790's, the coves surrounding Halifax, where even to this day we have strong communities of Irish Catholic families. A further source has been found among the Loyalists, especially from the defeated British army. Suchwere the sources of Irish Catholic immigration in the priod between 1750 and 1815.

Since no statistical data, even of an erroneous nature, was kept of immigration before 1810, the conclusions reached above have been deduced from isolated references in official reports, and in the early 1800's from the Church Register of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke. It would seem that up to 1815, these Irish immigrants had come singly, in families, or in small groups, for reason of occupation. They had trickled in by private enterprise and without

government assistance and numbers can only be conjectured.

With the close of the Napoleonic Wars, and its concurrent overpopulation and economic stress in the homeland, this trickle became a mighty stream. The numbers immigrating to Nova Scotia from Ireland during the period 1815-1850 have been extracted from the general United Kingdom emigration found in the scientific studies of Dr. J. S. Martell and Susan Morse. From these the Irish immigration to Nova Scotia totalled over 15,000 in this thirty-five year period. An attempt has been made to determine the extent of the Catholic element among the latter. A study of the ports of emigration in this later period reveals that only one of the five ports listed is in the Protestant Province of Ulster. Munster and Connaught, predominantly Catholic, have the largest emigration. A study of the geographical origins of the parishioners of Saint Peter's Parish, shown in the Register, as well as the growth of the Catholic Church in Halifax, as shown by astudy of the Census of 1827 and the Catholic Census of 1841, have also given weight to the coming and their growth. How or Why had they come in this second period under study?

Large numbers came from Newfoundland as the Irish of that province overflowed into Nova Scotia. As in the earlier period, the army proved to be another source. Specifically and especially, this was the period of the

"Emigrant Ships", the floating coffins, in which the Irish Catholics tried to escape starvation and overpopulation at home. Some came as a direct result of the timber trade, as "ballast for the boats", while others fled the famine of special years in government-sponsored attempts to solve a population problem at home. Most of the Catholic Irish in these years came to Halifax, with Sydney and Arichat as a possible second and third. Halifax had become a seat of Irish Catholicism and it was in this center that their impact was felt most strongly, while it spread likewise out into the Province. Let us turn now to the conclusions of the second part of this thesis - the impact of the Irish on their adopted land.

Fleeing from a homeland which had felt for centuries the force of the Penal Laws, they found themsleves in a colony to which this English legislation had been transmitted intact. Through their conscious efforts they were responsible for the eradication of this intolerance, step by step, until they participated in wiping out its last vestige in 1827, two years before the Imperial Government had done the same at home. Their social, economic, political, and religious status depended basically on land, but land was forbidden them. The movement for land reform, begun in 1781, spearheaded by Irish Catholics, reaped its reward in 1782 when the right to hold land was granted to them. This

was their initial contribution to Catholicism and to their Province. From this date growth and influence became apparent, and their impact felt.

Socially, the ability to hold land was the impetus needed to lift them from the lowest level of society to a place as peers of their Protestant neighbours. While this would and did take time, beginnings are important. From being a cause of many leaving the Province in the early days as well as being an irritation to those who remained, they became within the century under discussion, trusted, respected, and law-abiding citizens. Their services were asked in the community as Commissioners for the Poor, in the distribution of alms, and in support of their government. They became - some of them - prominent in local and provincial society. Their contributions, financial and personal, in the Charitable Irish Society have been pointed out. Their establishment of the Saint Mary's Temperance Society showed the sincerity of their efforts to lessen the social evils of alcoholism among their people. Some owned a considerable amount of real property in both town and province; others became sufficiently wealthy to be of financial assistance to the government.

Economically, they contributed their share to the progress of city and province. Considering their numbers and the difficulties attending their acceptance it was

no mean share. Their economic impact was felt from the level of basic industry to that of provincial trade. The early prosperity of the Province depended on the prosecution of the fisheries. In this the Irish Catholics played a vital role. With the repeal of the land acts, petitions to own land on which their fishing establishments were centered was granted to them. In the research for this thesis no other national group was seen to have been connected with the early fisheries of NovaScotia. In addition to the laboring group engaged in the fisheries, and the fish merchants, there was the impact of the merchant group engaged in trade. These latter ranged from local merchants to general importers. Wines, liquors, cloth, and dairy products passed through their hands from Ireland and the West Indies. They operated their own wharves, and were considered by government officials. Surely in a young province, this contributed to general progress.

Politically, also, there had been the "inception" of an impact. Again, it had stemmed from their initial contribution, their ability to hold land. But while they had received the franchise early, the Test Act still barred them from sitting in the Legislature, from the Bar and the professions. With the Test Act still upon the books, one Irish Catholic forced his way into the Legislature. Courage was thereby stimulated, and along with the growing

tolerance of Protestant legislators, the Irish Catholics struck again. Their petition of 1827 and its success dealt the death blow to inferiority of status for Catholics in Nova Scotia, though this certainly did not eradicate all inferiority immediately. Beginnings, however, are of importance. Following this success, a second Irish Catholic educated abroad, now entered the Legislature. It was his second contribution to Catholicism - the first being his admission to the Bar as the first Catholic lawyer of Nova Scotia. In the Legislature he became an active voice against the corruption of unrepresentative government. He initiated reforms against the exclusion of all but Anglican ministers from the chaplaincy of government, the deliberation of council behind closed doors, the secrecy of financial accounts of the province, the seven-year term of the assembly, and the like. These were vital issues in the popular branch of the government. An Irish Catholic was now admitted in 1831 into the old exclusive council. When this body was divided into separate legislative and executive branches the Tobins again represented the Catholics there, and likewise represented a reform party - a party eager for the attainment of responsible government.

The religious impact permeated all fields and was perhaps responsible in large measure for the growth in each as it was certainly responsible for what small measure

of educational growth of a formal nature was attained within this century under discussion. With land came the right to build a church. The wooden frame of Saint Peter's begun in 1783 gave way under the influence of the Irish priests to Saint Mary's Cathedral of which, in 1820, Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke laid the first stone. Before the arrival of the first Irish priest, French priests recognized by the government administered to the needs of the Irish Catholics. Whilst there are official reports of apostasy on the part of some Irish Catholics, this is understandable when one considers the lack of spiritual help received by them before the coming of the priests from Ireland. The success of these Irish apostles from Father Jones, Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, and Bishop Walsh to the less prominent but most zealous of these Irish priests in the building up of the ecclesiastical life of the Province is evident in the growth of church government. In 1771, Irish Catholics were secretly ministered to by French priests; in 1852, the Holy See had created the ecclesiastical province of Halifax with a native of Ireland as its first Archbishop. This was growth. The church too had invaded the educational field. In 1820, without government consent and in spite of a barrage of abuse from certain elements of protestantism, an elementary parochial school was opened in connection with St. Mary's Church; St. Mary's College and a second parochial school in

connection with Saint Patrick's Church followed within the next thirty years; by 1842, St. Mary's College was being subsidized by the government; by 1864 - outside the scope of this study - the parochial schools, under Archibishop Connolly's influence, would become public schools, state-supported, but taught by qualified Catholic teachers. These were tremendous strides, whose impact can scarcely be localized.

Perhaps it may be argued that the century under discussion, 1750 - 1850, was in itself a period of progress for Halifax, and for the Province in general, and that the Irish Catholics merely enjoyed the impact of this progress. It has been the purpose of the author to show that while undoubtedly they shared in the general prosperity, they likewise contributed to its progress. Their growth in all fields of activity appears to be more the result of their own initiative than the effect of a new homeland upon them. The wealthy and influential do not emigrate usually. If then they entered the Province as an inconsequential group and within one hundred years had broken down prejudice, penetrated the higher levels of society and politics, built their own institutions and made their presence felt, so that they finally constituted an essential element of stability and progress in Halifax City and, to a lesser degree in the Province, - then this was the result of personal effort.

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AN ABSTRACT

of

THE IMPACT OF A CENTURY OF IRISH CATHOLIC IMMIGRATION IN NOVA SCOTIA 1750 - 1850

With the exodus of the French Acadians from Nova Scotia, and the adoption of the English Penal Laws by its first Legislature in 1758, the Micmac race alone held the responsibility for keeping the Catholic faith alive in the Province. Then came the Irish, an insignificant people, poor, unwelcome, uneducated, but with strong faith and willing hands. Their early status gave no promise of influencing eve the local community toward which they converged - Halifax. They were landless with no right to acquire it; they were uneducated, with no hope of acquiring intellectual food, except by apostasy; they were without the franchise; they were pastorless, except for isolated periods when they benefitted secretly from the clergy provided for the Indians. This was their status on arrival, and to be in H alifax was itself a crime for them. The screening of boats for papists and the determination that Halifax would be a Protestant settlement were policies that militated against Catholic entrance into the Province. And yet they were there, practically from its founding. The purpose of this thesis is twofold: to discover the manner of their

entrance, and to evaluate their impact.

The immigration picture divides itself naturally into two periods: the first is a "seeping-in" period, from 1749-1815; the second is a period of influx, from 1815-1850. In the earlier period they came as servants; they came as "English" settlers; they came both as disbanded soldiers and sailors and as part of the active garrison; as fishermen, they seeped in direct from Ireland and through Newfoundland; strangely enough, some came as Loyalists. In the later period, after the Napoleonic Wars, they came as disbanded servicemen, and as part of the active garrison; Newfoundland Irish overflowed into Nova Scotia; the majority came on the emigrant boats fleeing a land of starvation; a few came annually on the timber boats.

Fleeing the Penal Laws at home they found them also here. Step by step they worked for their eradication. Socially, inferiority of status disappeared when they gained the right to hold land. Economically, their impact became gradually felt from basic industry to provincial trade. Politically, their entrance into the legislative bodies of the Province, and the removal of the Test Oath through their pressure, constituted a rise in status for all Catholics. The institution of parish schools, and a College, paved the way for intellectual equality. Finally, the impact made on the spiritual life of the people by a clergy emigrated from Ireland completed the picture of their influence.

This thesis attempts to discover the manner and reasons of this Irish infiltration and to evaluate its impact.