Université de Montréal


The Importance of Being *English*?:
Identity and Social Organisation in British Montreal, 1800-1850


par
Gillian I. Leitch
BA, MA


Département d'Histoire


Thèse présentée à la Faculté des études supérieures
en vue de l'obtention du grade de doctorat
en Histoire


décembre 2006

© Gillian I. Leitch, 2006

**Université de Montréal**

**AVIS**

L'auteur a autorisé l'Université de Montréal à reproduire et diffuser, en totalité ou en partie, par quelque moyen que ce soit et sur quelque support que ce soit, et exclusivement à des fins non lucratives d'enseignement et de recherche, des copies de ce mémoire ou de cette thèse.

L'auteur et les coauteurs le cas échéant conservent la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent ce document. Ni la thèse ou le mémoire, ni des extraits substantiels de ce document, ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation de l'auteur.

Afin de se conformer à la Loi canadienne sur la protection des renseignements personnels, quelques formulaires secondaires, coordonnées ou signatures intégrées au texte ont pu être enlevés de ce document. Bien que cela ait pu affecter la pagination, il n'y a aucun contenu manquant.

**NOTICE**

The author of this thesis or dissertation has granted a nonexclusive license allowing Université de Montréal to reproduce and publish the document, in part or in whole, and in any format, solely for noncommercial educational and research purposes.

The author and co-authors if applicable retain copyright ownership and moral rights in this document. Neither the whole thesis or dissertation, nor substantial extracts from it, may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms, contact information or signatures may have been removed from the document. While this may affect the document page count, it does not represent any loss of content from the document.

Université de Montréal
Faculté des études supérieures

Cette thèse intitulée:

The Importance of Being *English*?
Identity and Social Organisation in British Montreal, 1800-1850

présentée par:
Gillian I. Leitch

a été évaluée par un jury composé des personnes suivantes:

Université de Montréal

C.P. 6128, succursale Centre-ville
Montréal (Québec) H3C 3J7

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Président rapporteur | : | Ollivier Hubert |
| Directrice | : | Michèle Dagenais |
| Membre du jury | : | John A.Dickinson |
| Examinateur externe | : | Jeffrey McNairn |
| | | Queen's University |
| Représentant du doyen | : | Kevin J. Tuite |
| | | F.A.S.-Anthropologie |

thèse acceptée à l'unanimité le 3 mai 2007

# ABSTRACT

The first half of the nineteenth century was for Montreal, a time of building. Within these fifty years the population of British origin created a network of institutions and associations. The reality of living in a multi-national colonial city brought about the articulation of the particular identities along with a more global and encompassing British identity. Through such organizations as churches, clubs, societies, and the more ephemeral occasions such as dinners, the British population commemorated and celebrated their identities.

This thesis, through the examination of these public manifestations and institutions, demonstrates the key role national identity played in Montreal society. It uncovers the use of particular identities as mechanisms for social control, defence in times of unrest, and the use of the same to form community networks. It puts the expression of British origins in context with the social and political climate of the period. By examining all British groups together, and by putting their national celebrations and associations with the context of the developing associational culture of the time, the phenomenon of national identity in Montreal is better understood.

# RÉSUMÉ

La première moitié du dix-neuvième siècle en était une de construction à Montréal. Ces cinquante années ont vu la population d'origine britannique se créer un réseau d'institutions et d'associations. La vie dans une ville coloniale multinationale a amené à l'émergence d'identités particulières ainsi qu'à la constitution d'une identité plus englobante que l'on nomme « britannique ». Ces gens commémoraient et célébraient leurs identités à travers des organisations telles des églises, des clubs ou des sociétés patriotiques, ainsi qu'à travers des événements plus ponctuels, comme des banquets.

Cette thèse démontre le rôle clef qu'a joué l'identité nationale dans la société montréalaise en examinant les manières dont elle se manifestait publiquement et les institutions qui l'ont incarnée. Cette étude révèle comment les identités particulières étaient utilisées à des fins de contrôle social, de défense dans les temps troubles et afin de créer des réseaux communautaires. Le présent travail replace l'expression des origines britanniques dans le contexte social et politique de l'époque. Les divers groupes britanniques sont analysés individuellement et les uns par rapport aux autres dans leurs diverses célébrations et associations nationales. Cette thèse situe ces groupes dans le contexte de la culture associative émergeant à l'époque, ce qui permet de mieux comprendre le phénomène de création des identités nationales à Montréal.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHARTS

# ILLUSTRATION

# ABBREVIATIONS

SPA:       Saint Patrick's Basilica Archives, Montreal.

ASSS:      Archives du Séminaire Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.

AFND:      Archives de la Fabrique Notre-Dame, Montréal.

ACAM:      Archives de la Chancellerie de l'Archevêché de Montréal.

LAC:       National Library and Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

ANQ-M:     Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montréal.

AAM:       Anglican Archives of Montreal, Montreal.

AAAQ:      Achives of the Anglican Archdiocese of Quebec, Lennoxville.

MMA:       Archives of the McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.

DCB:       Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online.

RHAF:      Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française.

CHR:       Canadian Historical Review.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my mother Sheila Paulin Leitch, who passed away the 1st of November 1999, as I was commencing my doctoral studies.
And
To the memory of my father Dr. Hugh Corley Leitch, P.Eng, who passed away the 31st of August 2004, as I was finishing the writing of this thesis.

Their passion for knowledge and loving encouragement made my progress in University possible. I am sorry that they could not see the finished product.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

INTRODUCTION

National identity had a major influence on how the city's population organised and conducted its social life in early nineteenth century Montreal. National identity served to connect individuals of common origins together in what was a new and changing environment. It facilitated the creation of networks and provided a sense of familiarity, stability and control. Through the auspices of voluntary associations, commemorations and celebrations, the various national groups expressed and controlled these identities.

Specific national identities were used to create social networks, whereas the British identity, also evident in this period, served to connect the different groups in Montreal. The Imperial tie represented, for those who expressed a British identity, a source of security. They emphasized institutions such as the crown, which appeared to be above political debate. In times of unrest the British identity was amplified, without prejudice to the Scottish, English and Irish identities. It was used to unify the different groups under a more general and complementary identity, to root the groups to the city, and to foster stability.

Each identity held itself as distinct, and invested much of its public expression in the symbols of their land. The English used Saint George, the rose, roast beef and the institutions of the government and the monarchy. They celebrated the greatness of their land, and its overriding influence as the centre of the British state. The Scots used Saint Andrew, the thistle, Wallace, Burns, Bruce and Scott. They celebrated a land which was strong and independent, and which had a glorious history. The Irish used Saint Patrick, the shamrock, and various Irish politicians as a sign of the potential of the Irish people, the political aspirations of Ireland, and their respectability.

Underlying these particular identities was a sense of belonging to a larger Britain, to the institutions of Britain which they had known in their homeland, and to the British empire of which Lower Canada was a part. When these institutions were under threat in the 1830s, the British groups banded together and promoted their commonalities. This was done by celebrating their national identities together, in tandem with a broader British identity. When the threat was over cooperation was relaxed, and the British groups, all formally organized, focussed more on their distinct national identities.

The construction of identities in British Montreal occurred within a developing society. The city's population was forming social, economic and political networks, creating a civil society through a myriad of voluntary associations. The formation of religious institutions such as churches was a part of this civil society. Through these they were providing a means of social security and the creation of a public space where the expression of identity was possible. It was also a means of social control, through the democratically agreed associational rules, which bound members to a standard of behaviour.

These British groups lived and worked in Montreal together, and it is as a whole that they should be seen. Likewise, national celebrations and voluntary associations were a part of a larger movement of social organisation, and so should be placed in that context. In Montreal it was important to be English, Irish, Scottish, and British. The population organised around these identities, and used them to build communities, to adapt to their new home, and to change society to suit them.

This thesis will demonstrate that through the first fifty years of the nineteenth-century that Montrealers of British descent and origin used national and British identities to facilitate

intergroup relations and cope with the changes brought about through immigration and the events which, over time, had proved a challenge to their sense of stability. British Montrealers were not only ordering their environment to cope, but also to impose their social norms on Montreal society. The city's economy and colonial administration was dominated by an elite which was made up of mostly those of British origins. This domination was extended through the power of social institutions to create a Montreal society which relied on British institutions and identity for their sense of belonging to the city and to the empire.

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one will analyse the historiography, examining how British identity and the particular national identities associated with the British Isles: Irish, Scots, and English were manifested in Britain and its empire. It will link these identities with the public sphere, and discuss the relationship between the public expressions of identity and the forms they took: associations, celebrations and commemorations. The activities of these social institutions were expressions of the identities of those involved. Montreal's social life was unique, but it was not isolated from the rest of the world by reason of its population, its part in empire and trade, and so shared a number of characteristics and influences.

The historiography will be followed by methodology. This will first present the sources which were used for the thesis. It will underline the strengths and weaknesses of these sources, and the methodology employed in gathering information. Two databases were constructed from these sources, providing some quantitative data to compliment the qualitative. The methodology in categorizing the data and compiling the databases will be discussed.

Chapter two begins with a discussion of Montreal society, emphasizing the movement of peoples into the city, the various differences within the population based on national origins, and the demographic changes over time. Associational life and religious life in Montreal were complementary systems of social organisation. Because of this, and because of the important role in which they played in the lives of Montrealers, the bulk of this chapter will illustrate the divisions in Montreal society based on faith, and the development of the different faith groups and denominations over the fifty-year period.

Associations and denominations were established in Montreal in a similar manner. Churches were established by a group of people with a common goal, who formed a committee, elected an executive, and then proceeded as a group to create a religious body. The creation of religious institutions, in most cases, used the same social conventions that formed secular associations. Religious identity was also strongly associated with specific national identities. Many British Montrealers expressed their national identity within their religious identities as well as their voluntary associations.

Organised essentially in chronological order, the body of this thesis will be divided into three distinct periods. Each period represents a change in how identity was presented in the public, how specific identities were controlled and used to promote stability. Chapter three covers the first period, spanning between 1800 and 1832. This rather long period encompasses the beginnings of associational formation. While Montreal had been British since 1763, the actual number of those of British origin was small. It was only after 1800 that the population had grown and developed enough to begin to organising itself more formally, and along more narrow interests. Within these first thirty-two years Montrealers began to

form associations which served their social needs. Various Protestant denominations began to break from the Anglican church they once shared, English-speaking Catholics gained their own services, and religious societies were created to sustain their faith organisations. Charities were formed to maintain a social safety net. And finally, within this period the first organised events and societies which supported and celebrated their national identities appeared.

Chapter four begins in 1833, and starts a period of political and social turmoil. This turmoil would lead to the outbreak of violence and the Rebellions of 1837-8. The city's population had grown and shifted. Those of British origin now composed the majority of the city's population. The British population and their social forms were more established in the city. The agitation for a change in the colony's political system, and the radicalisation of the rhetoric by the Patriotes, inspired a great deal of associational activity. Beginning in 1834 both political sides began organising around particular national identities. The saints' days which had enjoyed some popularity in the first period, now took on more important role. This role was enhanced with the formation of more national societies which represented most of the national groups present in Montreal. The more conservative of these societies also promoted a British identity, rooted in the institutions of the empire which they valued, and thought under threat.

Chapter five begins in 1840, the first year of political union with Upper Canada. The Act of Union was designed to support the ambitions of the British population by making them a numerical majority in the united province. The British population had triumphed. The population continued to grow, in its last large wave of immigration. The British

associational and celebrational forms were dominant in Montreal, and as evidenced through this period, the principal way that the various national groups interacted publicly. The national societies of the 1830s continued to function, though with less intense cooperation. The British identity that the national societies had promoted in times of social crisis, did not disappear, rather, it became a backdrop in their particular celebrations. It served as a sign of belonging to Montreal and the empire.

This thesis ends in 1850. That year marks the close of a decade, and the end of pre-industrial Montreal. The British associational culture created in the first half of the nineteenth-century continued to flourish in the next. They however would alter drastically as a result of the changes underway in the city. The city would continue to grow, but without the large-scale immigration which marked the early nineteenth century. Natural increase and rural migration became important factors in the city's growth. The majority enjoyed by the British would end just before Confederation. French Canadians would take the associational and celebrational forms and dominate the city's social scene much as the British had done in the first period. Religious tensions between Protestants and Catholics would come to the fore, resulting in violence, and several deaths. The St. Patrick's Society would split along religious lines, and form the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society. The Orange Order would become more open and active in the city's associational life.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

This thesis focuses on the public manifestation and expression of identity in nineteenth-century Montreal. While Montreal had its own particular set of social circumstances, the city's population was influenced by, and formed part of a larger social network. Montreal was a city of immigrants, populated by several different nationalities, of people who had experience living elsewhere at different times. Individuals brought with them a sense of identity, and once settled, adapted it to Montreal's particular environment. Montreal was a part of the colony of Lower Canada, was situated in North America, and constituted part of the British empire. The city was connected to the larger world through trade, politics and population.

This chapter will be split into two sections. The first, the historiography, will situate the creation and expression of identity in the context of Canada, North America and the empire, the larger network of which Montreal was a part. It will examine the various identities which were constructed, and the role these identities played within society. Emphasis will be placed on those identities which were expressed in Montreal. It will be followed by an examination of the vehicles by which the identities were expressed publicly: voluntary societies as well as celebrations and commemorations. The second half will discuss the types of sources available for the study of Montreal's identities. It will present the strengths and weaknesses that these sources present in relation to this work. It will then

highlight the creation of two separate databases formed from these sources, and their utility for this thesis.

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

### 1.1 Identity

This thesis relies heavily upon the concept of identity, for identity was an important characteristic which influenced the social life of early nineteenth century Montrealers. Isajiw defines identity as "the manner in which individuals locate themselves psychologically in relation to one or more social systems and in which they perceive others as placing them in relation to those systems."[1] Identity was key to the functioning of social systems because it provided members of a group with a reference point when dealing with others in society. Identities were like identification badges which told others basic information and facilitated communication. Different occasions necessitate different labels.

Nineteenth-century society relied upon identities, based upon reputation, in forming social or business relationships. This reputation came from knowing from where a person came, their family and their business partners. This information came from social networks. In established communities information came easily from long established social and business networks. In areas of new settlement, this was not always possible, although there were some networks which continued to exist, new settlers had to find a way to fit into new networks, and into the community in general.

---

[1] Wsevolod Isajiw, "Social Incorporation" *Encyclopaedia of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 1189.

National identity was the most common identity expressed in Montreal in the early nineteenth-century. It was a means to create new relationships and networks, providing a basic identity, based on the inherent assumptions which were made about the national groups. It also gave those coming from the same group common ground, though they might not have known, or have been a part of the same networks before emigration. Religion likewise provided a basis for creating social networks, supplying a basic identity, and often relating to national identity.

National identity, as used by Montrealers in the first half of the nineteenth-century was not related specifically to citizenship, since one identified to the ruler as subject rather than to the state as citizen. It existed apart from, but not necessarily unconnected to political aspirations of statehood. Identity came about as national consciousness, a sense of belonging to a nation, and sharing with others from that national "a measure of common ground in terms of religion, culture, political history and language."[2] This did not automatically imply a political identity, although it was rooted in a common political history. It was more a romanticisation of the traditions and cultures of groups in a geographic place. In the sources this identity was often referred to as race, which implied a sense of being one people, connected not only by the external trappings of tradition, but also by blood.

Identity was experienced individually, based on a personal sense of belonging to a specific group or network, but it is the group by which they were known. The group identity was determined by those within the group, and by the greater society which recognised the

---

[2] Edward Acton, "Nationalism," *A Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century History*, John Belcham and Richard Price, eds., (London: Penguin, 1994/2001), 407.

group's distinctiveness. Identities not only located individuals within certain social networks or groups, but also excluded others. Identities defined and shaped social interactions within different networks as well as the interactions between the different networks.

## 1.2. The Public Sphere

The public was the stage on which identity in Montreal (and elsewhere) was both seen and mediated. Jürgen Habermas has situated the public sphere in relation to the development of civil society and an emerging bourgeoisie. The public sphere came to represent a place where people gathered, and the space and relations within it were governed by the public through debate and reasoned discussion.[3] The creation of the deliberative public sphere commodifies culture and "established the public as in principle inclusive."[4] Habermas underlines the fact that even exclusive societies, groups which limit their membership, can never be closed off completely from the larger and more inclusive public.[5]

The existence of a mediating public then touches how national identity was expressed. While those within the national group may adopt exclusive attitudes, and the discussion and interaction of their group may occur in private, the very nature of grouping private individuals together becomes a public act, and as such is open to the view and input of the larger public.

---

[3] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, trans. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991/2000) 27.

[4] Ibid, 37.

[5] Ibid.

Mary Ryan's examination of public life and public culture in the nineteenth-century United States reiterates that exclusive groupings were mediated by a larger public. The public became a pivotal force in the creation of democratic institutions. Democracy requires "open, accessible, shared space, sites where the people can actually see each other in all their diversity and can mobilise, debate, form identities, and forge coalitions."[6] Jeffrey McNairn's evaluation of public debate in Upper Canada also placed the emphasis on the creation of a public opinion and the importance given to its existence in a developed political society.[7]

How were this public opinion and authority created? The interaction of individuals within the public sphere was mediated through the creation of various institutions, and the utilisation of rituals and traditions. These were creations of the public. Identities, as stated previously, existed on the level of the individual and the group, and were determined by those within and without. The identities then were a result of mediation, discussion and the identification of common characteristics and interests. These institutions and rituals were frameworks by which negotiation of identities could be facilitated.

## 1.3 Being British

As the title of this thesis suggests, British identity is a primary identifier in this study. Montreal, as a part of Lower Canada, had been a British colony since 1763, following the Treaty of Paris. All colonists in Lower Canada, regardless of their origins, were subjects of

---

[6] Mary Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and the Public Life in the American City During the Nineteenth-Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1997) 8.

[7] Jeffrey L. McNairn, *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

the British crown, and the territory was administered by representatives of the British government. While those in Lower Canada were all British subjects, and part of the British empire, there were many who had an already developed sense of belonging to Britain, because their origins lay in the British Isles.

British identity was based upon a shared political reality, but was not only political. It incorporated other characteristics. The terms 'Britain' and 'British' have their origins in the Act of Union of 1707, which united the Scottish and English parliaments into one political entity. The throne of the two lands had united in 1603 by the ascension of James IV of Scotland to the throne of England (as James I). This union of institutions did not automatically transform the Scots, English and Welsh into one nationality. Nor can the Act of Union in 1801 which united the Irish and British parliaments be said to have had a similar effect.

Linda Colley sees the forging of a British identity in terms of a series of circumstances, separate from the legislation which defined British nationality. For her, British identity was, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, perceived in opposition to the 'other,' the Catholic other, the French other, and the conquered other within the empire.[8] British identity was far more complex, of course, than a negation of other identities. British identity for Colley came about not "because of an integration and homogenization of

---

[8] Linda Colley, "Britishness and Otherness: an Argument," *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (October 1992) 316.

disparate cultures. Instead Britishness was superimposed over an array of internal differences in response to contact with the Other, and above all in response to conflict with the Other."[9]

Conflict was an influence, allowing Britain's "diverse inhabitants to focus on what they had in common, rather than what divided them."[10] "Conflict with a dangerous and hostile Other has glossed over internal divisions."[11] Military exploits were only a small part of the development of British identity. Colley asserts that Protestantism was one of the foundations of this shared identity.[12] The major differences between the various Protestant denominations were not nearly as striking as those between Protestant and Catholic.[13] This was a Protestantism directed in opposition to Catholicism in Continental Europe, and especially in France, their longstanding enemy.[14] Keith Robbins likewise sees religion as an important factor in British identity, but rather than relying on the general sense of Protestantism of Colley, he credited the Church of England as unifying Britons, by protecting them. It "had been since 1717 governed against the insidious influences of the French Revolution."[15]

---

[9] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992/2005) 6.

[10] Colley, "Britishness and Otherness," 316.

[11] Colley, *Britons,* 366.

[12] Ibid, 367.

[13] Ibid, 18-19.

[14] Ibid, 368.

[15] Keith Robbins, *Great Britain: Identity, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness* (London and New York: Longman, 1998) 237.

It was in the person of George III (1760-1820) that the monarchy was transformed into a symbol of the British nation and British identity. By the end of his reign, and despite precarious mental health, George III came to embody all that was Britain. This was in part due to the increase of royal ceremonial, and in the character of the King presented to the public. George's morality fit into the Protestant evangelicalism popular in the period.[16] "At one and the same time, Britons were being invited to see their monarch as unique and as typical, as ritually splendid and remorselessly prosaic, as glorious and *gemütlich* both."[17] The King not only was a figurehead of the state, but he also embodied the qualities that were considered admirable and Christian. The king also represented tradition. He was the descendant of a royal line which had roots far back into British history. Colley also notes the increased ceremonial life surrounding the king. Ritual was increased during George IV's reign which emphasised his role in the British state, and the state itself. Tradition, and its recognition, were an important aspects of British identity.

The economic possibilities of an empire were important catalysts in the use of British identity by the various national identities in Great Britain. These opportunities included the distribution of jobs within the British state, positions in parliament, government, the court and military, as well as trading with outposts of the empire. The institutions of empire were more accessible, beneficial and so were supported. The creation of the British state was a great leveller, for now the Scots, Welsh and Irish could participate on the same footing. "The

---

[16] Linda Colley, "The Apotheosis of George III, Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation, 1760-1820," *Past and Present* 102 (1984) 125.

[17] Colley, *Britons*, 232. (Translated means comforting.)

English were put firmly and forever in their place, reduced to a component part of a much greater whole."[18]

Those who went abroad carried with them their sense of identity, formed in Britain by the influences discussed by Colley and Robbins. In studying the identities expressed by British tourists in the nineteenth-century, Margerie Morgan found that the use of 'British' and 'Britain' tended to be most present in relation to the empire.[19] "Geographic context was a key determinant of which one of the four [British, Scottish, English, or Welsh] an individual identified with at a given moment."[20] British identity was most often expressed in foreign lands, while national identities were expressed when visiting other parts of the empire. Montreal as a part of this empire, would be a part of this phenomenon, with national identities dominating the public expressions of identity.

Although not emphasised by Colley, empire was a key component of British identity. Empire brought Britons into closer contact and conflict with the 'other', and it was an 'other' which was far more varied than the French, from which Colley traces British identity. Robbins sees the idea of Britishness in the empire as a unifying response to the other, but as a far more involved process and a more complex other.

> The colonies of settlement were, in a sense more genuinely British than Great Britain because there the various peoples of Britain lived more closely alongside each other than they did at home. To some extent they participated in cultural and social activities from which, in Britain itself, they would have felt excluded or which they never came across.[21]

---

[18] Colley, *Britons,* 130.

[19] Margerie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palsgrove, 2001) 197-8.

[20] Ibid 217.

[21] Robbins, *Great Britain,* 213-4.

Empire was, for those living away from its administrative centre, far more real, and tangible. British identity held a different meaning. The empire connected the colonies to a larger community, a greater entity.[22] More importantly, British identity came with "shared political assumptions as well as economic interests."[23] These shared values associated with Britishness and empire permitted those within the empire, even those whose of non-British origins to "accept a definition of 'Britishness' as a form of civic nationalism that included the adoption of certain values and institutions defined as "British' but did not entail abandoning their own language, religion, or separate cultural identity."[24] Michael Fry, in chronicling the participation of Scots within the British empire, goes as far as to assert that the empire was for them, not British but Scottish.[25] The colonies were shaped by the Scots. The British empire was appropriated by the Scots, and used to their economic and social advantage.

Montrealers, as a part of the British empire, had a specific sense of being British, which related to their city, their colony and its part in the empire, and of their place within it. As Robbins stated, they had more contact with other British peoples, and understood more clearly what belonging entailed, and participated more within state institutions than Britons at home. British Montrealers were also in close contact with other groups, and so had ready examples in which they could contrast their own identities.

---

[22] Philip Buckner, "Whatever Happened to the British Empire?" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association,* ns vol. 4 (1993): 4-32.

[23] Philip Buckner and Carl Bridge, "Reinventing the British World," *The Round Table,* 368 (2003) 80.

[24] Ibid, 81.

[25] Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2002).

In Montreal the 'other' was plural. The largest group present were the French Canadians. They were both linguistically and religiously different from the British residents. The period under study was not only an important time for the creation and expression of identities among Montreal's British population, but among its French Canadian population as well. Between the 1790s and the 1830s French-Canadian society underwent drastic changes, with its social hierarchy moving away from its roots in the ancien régime to new ones defined by a new educated middle class. These changes included the development of French-Canadian nationalism, and as Susan Mann states: "now the ties of ethnicity began to exercise their pull."[26]

These changes in social structure and the movement towards an ethnic identity within the French-Canadian population did not occur in isolation. The 'other' for the British, had a strong influence on French Canadian societal development. "Les Canadiens français eux-mêmes adoptent et adaptent les institutions culturelles des anglophones, que ce soit la presse, l'association, la bibliothèque, le cabinet de lecture. . ."[27] This British influence on French Canadian identity, while considered strong, has in recent years been relegated in favour of *americanité*. This term has been coined to represent the sway of the geographic and social reality of North America. *Americanité* attempts to put "la culture québécoise dans cet espace culturel, comme substitut aux référentiels européens traditionnels."[28] In effect, proponents

---

[26] Susan Mann, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982/2002) 50.

[27] Yvan Lamonde, *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec, 1760-1896 Volume I* (Montréal: Fides, 2000) 492.

[28] Gérard Bouchard et Yvan Lamonde, eds., *Québécois et Américains: la culture québécoise aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (Montréal: Fides, 1995) 8.

of this view are trying to minimise the European heritage of French Canadians in order to create a new and dynamic understanding of North American identity. In a rather pithy equation, Yvan Lamonde underscores this turn towards the United States: "Q= -(F) + (GB) + (USA)$^2$ - ( R)."[29]

While Lamonde's weighting of the British influence may rank it second behind that of the United States, he nonetheless recognises the strong influence of the British population in Quebec. French Canadians borrowed forms of expression from them, adapting them to their purposes. The existence of each – British and French Canadian – within the British colonial framework was critical to the formation of their respective identities.

Britain was a state composed of four different nations in a legislative union. Each constituent nation continued to exist separately, and those within them maintained their national identities. When emigrating from Britain, these identities were maintained and indeed were consistently referred to in day to day life. Montreal newspapers regularly referred to individuals in varied contexts as Irish, Scottish (Scotch) or English. Census takers also used national identities when counting the colony's population. Only individuals born in the colony were placed outside these national identities, and categorised as British or French.

Historians have likewise viewed Montreal and other colonial populations in terms of their national identities, now referred to as ethnicities. This parceling out of portions of the population and isolating them as ethnicities recognises that particular national identities

---

[29] Quebec (Q)= -(France) + (Great Britain) + (United States) 2 - (Religion). Yvan Lamonde, *Allégeances et dépendances: l'histoire d'une ambivalence identitaire* (Montréal: Éditions Nota Bene, 2001) 8.

were important in the creation of community, and the establishment of social institutions. However, it fails to recognise the role that the interaction among the various groups played in the construction and expression of these identities in the colonial context. The different ethnic/ national groups did not live in self-contained communities. They mingled on the city's streets, which Mary Ryan noted, were areas of sociability for the entire population.[30] This constant exposure to other groups, performing their daily routine, walking to church, shopping, going to school, etc., influenced how Montrealers saw themselves and each other.

The historiography of the particular national identities associated with Great Britain, concentrates on their individuality, particularly in relation to the Scots and the Irish. Each of these identities had their own set of traditions, symbols and histories. Although they were British, these national identities separated these groups into more exclusive communities.

### 1.3.2 The Irish

Of all the identities which originated in the British Isles, Irish identities have been the object of the most attention. It was the most visible of the national groups. Rarely were the Irish viewed as British because of the troubled position of Ireland within the British state, a conquered nation with its own long distinct history. Starting the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century, Ireland was a hotbed of political intrigue and rebellion. This set it apart from the rest of Britain.

To add to this distinctiveness, the Irish suffered from a bad reputation. Irish stereotypes which were perpetuated in the British and American press, typically represented

---

[30] Ryan, *Civic Wars*, 40-1.

the Irish as "Paddy," a foolish looking man, or portrayed them as apes.[31] The Irish were singled out as the butt of humour in Montreal newspapers.[32] The unrest in Ireland reinforced for those in the rest of Britain the idea that "Irish Celts were a subrace or people with habits antithetically opposed to English norms of thought and behaviour."[33]

Religious differences were also an important element in the construction of Irish stereotypes. Anti-Catholic sentiment ebbed and flowed, but there was a general distrust by Protestants of Catholics. In Great Britain the Test Act severely restricted the civic rights of non-Anglicans, and there were penal laws directed specifically against Catholics.[34] Catholic emancipation in 1829 did not signal an end to anti-Catholic sentiment. Protestant Irish immigrants in the United States went as far as calling themselves "Scotch-Irish" in order to separate themselves from the Catholic Irish and the negative stereotype of them.[35] The Irish were therefore in a different position from the other British groups present in Montreal. They were set apart by a dangerous reputation. As a group the Irish were aware of the scrutiny that was directed at them because of this, and as a result they were both deliberate and cautious when expressing themselves as Irish.

---

[31] L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1971) 29.

[32] *Gazette*, 30 June 1808; *Gazette*, 26 January 1813; *Gazette*, 31 July 1822; *Transcript*, 7 March 1840. Discussed further in Chapter Three.

[33] Ibid, 21.

[34] D.W. Beddington, "Catholic Emancipation," *A Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century History*, John Belcham and Richard Price, eds., (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1994/2001) 105.

[35] Maldwyn A. Jones, "Scotch-Irish" *Harvard Encyclopaedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephan Thernstrom, ed. (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Belknap Press, 1980) 895.

A major distinction has been made by historians along faith lines. *The Encyclopaedia of Canada's Peoples* follows this pattern by providing separate entries for the Protestant and Catholic Irish, something that is not done in reference to other ethnic groups. This distinction was made because their immigration experiences differed, in part because of faith, but mostly because of the different periods of emigration, and the strong tensions which existed between the two Irish groups.[36]

The bulk of the literature dealing with the Irish concentrates on the Irish-Catholics. Irish identity is synonymous with Catholicism. D.H. Akenson has contested this overemphasis on one part of the Irish population. In his book *Irish in Ontario* he demonstrates that in that province, the Irish were mainly Protestant.[37] He also emphasised the point that Protestant and Catholic Irish in rural Ontario experienced similar economic and social challenges. The differences were not as pronounced as generally believed.[38] "Flail at each other though they did, Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants resembled each other more than anybody else."[39] Certainly in early nineteenth-century Montreal this was the case.

Despite these differences, and despite the social handicaps brought about by negative stereotyping, the Irish continued to identify themselves as such. Brian Clarke's analysis of Toronto's Irish Catholics in the mid-nineteenth century shows a population which was very

---

[36] Mark McGowan, "Irish-Catholics," *The Encyclopaedia of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) 734-63.

[37] Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History, Second Edition* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999) xvi.

[38] Ibid, 350.

[39] Ibid, 351.

Irish in its outlook.[40] During the course of the second half of the nineteenth-century the Irish in Toronto developed a network of societies which fostered their ethnic identity. "Even when it came to generic associations as devotional associations, the laity preferred to join those associations which catered to their particular ethnic group."[41] The Irish Catholic population in Toronto chose to associate mainly with Irish people, thus creating a number of societies which reflected an Irish identity.

Montreal's Irish population has proven to be fertile ground for study. Here too, the emphasis has been on its Catholic post-famine population.[42] A previous study covering the pre-Famine period demonstrated that Catholic-Irish identity developed through the establishment of English-language services within the Catholic Church. In this case, this denominational identity did not preclude the expression of an Irish identity, which encompassed both Protestant and Catholic.[43] The community did not identify solely as Catholic, and participated in nondenominational institutions as well.

Wayne Timbers' Master's thesis on the Protestant Irish of Montreal underlines the development of the Irish community through its interaction with the other national groups,

---

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

[41] Ibid, 4.

[42] Notable amongst these are: Dorothy Suzanne Cross, "The Irish in Montreal, 1867-1896" (MA, McGill, 1969); G.R.C. Keep, "The Irish Immigration to Montreal, 1847-1867" (MA, McGill, 1948); Sherry Olson and Patricia A. Thornton, *The Tidal Wave of Irish Immigration to Montreal and its Demographic Consequences* (Montreal: McGill Department of Geography, 1993).

[43] Gillian I. Leitch, "Community and Identity in Nineteenth Century Montreal: The Founding of St. Patrick's Church" (MA, University of Ottawa, 1999).

but especially with the Catholic-Irish.[44] He situates the assertion of an Irish-Protestant

identity in the 1840s when the Catholic population was beginning, under the influence of

Ultramontanism, to assert its own identity.[45] Rosalyn Trigger situates the development of an

Irish-Catholic identity specifically with the opening of St. Patrick's Church, an event that

changed the whole orientation of the community. The Church and its Irish priests were able

to channel their congregation into denominational institutions and activities. As a result,

Montreal's Irish identities began to divide along religious lines.[46] Kevin James' thesis

likewise points to St. Patrick's Church and the role of its priests to explain the assertion of

an Irish-Catholic identity in Montreal. An increased Catholic population, the influence and

threat of Protestant evangelicalism, the threat posed by the influence of Protestant

evangelicalism, and to the increased popularity of the Orange Order, all had a hand in the

political realignment of Montreal's Irish-Catholic community.[47] The pivotal time for these

changes in identity was the 1850s, when matters came to a head, and the nondenominational

St. Patrick's Society split along religious lines in 1856.

Religious affiliation was important for the Irish in Ireland and abroad, but that in the

first half of the nineteenth century these differences within Montreal's Irish community were

not a constant source of tension. There existed a general Irish identity. It was with the

---

[44] Wayne Timbers, "Britannique et irlandaise: l'identité ethnique et demographique des irlandais protestants et la formation d'une communauté à Montréal, 1834-1860" (MA, McGill, 2001) 84.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Rosalyn Trigger, "The Role of Parish in Fostering Irish-Catholic Identity in Nineteenth-Century Montreal" (MA, McGill, 1997) 129.

[47] Kevin James, "The St. Patrick's Society of Montreal: Ethno-religious Realignment in a Nineteenth-Century National Society" (MA, McGill, 1997) 57-8.

establishment of a strong Catholic institution (St. Patrick's Church) that identity was polarised, and this nondenominational society split according to religion. In the period under study, as Akenson states, the Irish as a group had more in common than not, and generally identified themselves as simply Irish, only using the religious identity in situations directly related to their religious life.

### 1.3.3 The Scots

Like the Irish the Scots have been set apart from the other British groups as a distinct identity. Unlike the Irish however, the historiography has not been nearly as developed. The Scottish in Canada and elsewhere, have been generally portrayed as being successful and forming an elite. This emphasis on the success of Scottish immigrants has coloured the representation of Scots in Canada. They are normally portrayed as captains of industry, master politicians and generally being rich. W. Stanford Reid described the Scots as "some of the best settlers history have known . . . able to move into new situations, face new hazards and difficulties and by a power of adaptation overcome, while at the same time maintaining their identity."[48] These marvellous adaptation skills came from what Stanford Reid called the "Scottish tradition," the history of Scotland and the traditions developed through it.[49] Tradition and identity here seem to be the same.

---

[48] W. Stanford Reid, "The Scottish Background," W. Stanford Reid, ed., *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976) 13.

[49] Ibid.

In contrast, Heather McNabb's analysis of Montreal's Scottish population and its occupation between the years 1835 and 1865, demonstrates "that rich, successful businessmen and merchants did not make up the majority of the Scottish-born community living in Montreal."[50] Her examination also dispels the image of the Scots as a unified block. The Scots founded a number of different Presbyterian churches, and "they were rarely in agreement with each other over religious and sometimes temporal matters."[51] The image of the rich Scot was more an ideal lived by a few among the elite, and did not always reflect the realities of those who made up the community.

Scottish identity was not merely an expression of economic success. It was an identity strongly tied to a colourful past. In the late eighteenth-century the Scots began to construct a particular identity, consciously turning to the northern regions known as the Highlands for inspiration.[52] A group of Scots living in London created the "Highland Society" in 1778. The society sponsored various events in Scotland and elsewhere throughout the nineteenth-century which promoted cultural traditions such as games, bagpiping and dancing.[53] These events were "directed to contend in a superficial and condescending way with the generally

---

[50] Heather McNabb, "Butcher, Baker, Cabinetmaker? A View of Montreal's Scottish Emigrant Community From 1835 to 1865," Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb, eds., *A Kingdom of the Mind: How Scots Helped Make Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006) 249.

[51] Heather McNabb, "Montreal's Scottish Community, 1835-65: A Preliminary Study" (MA, Concordia University, 1999) 32.

[52] The Highlands were the site of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, but with the development of the romantic Scottish identity, this moment of disloyalty was downplayed.

[53] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 26.

unappealing idea of Scotland as North Britain. . . .The distinctiveness . . . was Gaelic."[54] Scots were increasingly interested in their Celtic past, and in the creation of an independent Highland tradition in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Even those whose origins lay below the Forth and Clyde, the Lowlands, identified with a romantic Highland past, nourished by the works of Sir Walter Scott, and invested in tangible symbols such as the tartan and the kilt.[55] Both Hugh Trevor-Roper and John Gibson question the authenticity of these traditions and symbols. Regardless, they were considered so by the Scots, and were utilised to express their identity.

Scottish identity depended on institutions for its preservation. Most authors, T.M. Devine included, stress the transplantation of the Scottish identity.

> In all countries of settlement, ethnic identity among the immigrant élite [sic] was consolidated by the masons, Presbyterian churches, St. Andrew's societies and Burns clubs which all flourished in the nineteenth century and were as much networks for the promotion of mutual business success as key religious and social institutions.[56]

The Scottish identity in the colonial setting was not differentiated from Scotland. It was an identity which was borderless.

---

[54] John G. Gibson, *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 1745-1945* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998) 177.

[55] Trevor-Roper, "The Invention," 29.

[56] T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2000* (London: Penguin, 1999), 473.

### 1.3.4   The English

"Unlike the Scots and the Irish, both of whom have attracted much scholarly interest, the English continue to be virtually ignored."[57] According to Pauline Greenhill, the lack of attention paid to this group in the Canadian context is "because the English have not been considered an ethnic group - in the sense that they are seen as lacking carnivalesque traditions they are usually located solely in the domain of power."[58] Because the English culture was seen as dominant it was not considered to be ethnic. Both Elliot and Charlotte Erickson describe the English as not being particularly demonstrative of their identity.[59] Their reticence was a part of their identity. Despite their lack of overt displays of national identity, the English, as other groups, were just as likely in the nineteenth century to create national societies.[60]

When it is discussed (particularly in the context of England itself), English identity was closely connected to British identity. Many of the symbols of the British state were used by the English to express their own national identity, separate from Britain. England was the central power in Great Britain as the capital and many of the state institutions including parliament and the monarchy were located there. As Robbins stated: "England offered hospitality, as it were, to institutions identified as 'British' or 'National' - the British

---

[57] Bruce S. Elliot, "English," *Encyclopaedia of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) 462.

[58] Pauline Greenhill, *Ethnicity in the Mainstream: Three Studies of English Canadian Culture in Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) 4.

[59] Elliot, "English," 483; Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth Century America* (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1972) 256.

[60] Elliot, "English," 486.

Museum or the National Gallery - and took them to be its own. There were 'national' museums or libraries of Scotland or Wales but not of England."[61] The English, then, expressed their ethnic identity through symbols associated with Britain, and they did so in a proprietary manner.

Gerald Newman asserts that "English national identity was a 'product formed in an anti-French mold."[62] Or rather, it was a reaction against the upper classes' adoption of French manners, which led to a conscious effort to assert English mores and superiority, to "reject the alien culture" in the first part of the nineteenth century.[63] This assertion that one identity was constructed in reaction to the French other, mirrors one of the factors Colley enumerates in her discussion of British identity.

Another aspect of English identity, aside from its close affinity with British identity, and which was evident in Montreal, was its masculinity. Colls and Dodd's work on Englishness (in England) focuses on the gendered nature of this identity.[64] The descriptives of "vigorous, manly and English" seem to have been natural associations with the English

---

[61] Robbins, *Great Britain,* 284.

[62] Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 124.

[63] Ibid, 125.

[64] Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986).

in the late Victorian era.[65] Certainly if this identity was not entirely masculine, aspects of it were exclusionary. Englishwomen were described as "shadowy figures."[66]

British identity was formed in Britain from a legislative union and from threatening contact with a French Catholic other. It was a source of unity for the people of the British Isles when faced with outside influences. For those outside of the Isles, British identity was more tangible, as the people in the British empire were more aware of their diversity, and of their attachment to the institutions of the empire. National identity continued to play an important role in their lives, but was amplified, as demonstrated by Morgan, by their distance from their homelands. This was true for Montreal.

While the both British and national identities were expressed in Montreal, this expression was circumstantial. British identity was a more inclusive identity, which incorporated many different national groups, and was, as in Britain based on a sense of unity. It was grounded in the political institutions of empire, and the economic possibilities it offered, as Buckner suggests. The historiography treats these identities as separate, and rarely sees an intersection. Montrealers of many different national identities were able to incorporate both a British identity while expressing a particular national one.

---

[65] Philip Dodd, "Englishness and the Natural Culture" Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds. *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920*, (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 6.

[66] Jane MacKay and Pat Thane, "The Englishwoman," Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds. *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920*, (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 191.

## 1.4 Associations

Voluntary associations fulfilled several functions within Montreal society. These societies regulated social interaction in the public sphere. They provided a structure for social encounter and responsibility. "Networks for community engagement foster sturdy norms of reciprocity."[67] The form of associations, with the establishment of rules and the election of officers, provided the membership with a forum where they "learned and practised the norms of reasoned discussion and mutual respect vital to a sustained public deliberation."[68]

Voluntary associations have been linked to the formation of a middle-class identity in Great Britain. This was because such societies provided a framework for authority and respectability. "They enabled the middle-class, under the supervision of the elite, to assert their identity and authority against and over the working-classes."[69] By coming together in a formal institution, with developed rules and functioning by consensus through discussion and the election of officers, members could exercise control over the association. Those who held office or who participated actively were able to exert some control over the others, and earn respect by virtue of their office and service. Voluntary associations then, provided their members with a certain amount of social power, and by virtue of their democratic norms, a level of authority in society.

---

[67] Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: the Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000) 20.

[68] McNairn, *The Capacity to Judge*, 6.

[69] R.J. Morris, "Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis," *Historical Journal* 26, 1 (1983): 96.

Activities such as recreation and mutual assistance were formalised through these institutions, to control the activity and those participating in them. Charities were the most visibly authoritative. While they were created to assist those in need of financial, medical, educational or moral assistance, charities permitted members to exert control over a larger public through policies which determined who received assistance and under what conditions. It was "institutionalised paternalism."[70] Aid was dispensed with the ideology of improvement.[71] Social disorder was believed to come from the lower classes because of poverty, organised poor relief prevented this "and the destruction of a potential labour force."[72]

Associations in general, were an essential ingredient in the development of civil society.[73] Civil society was the organisation provided by members of society to "produce the conditions for individuals to make self-directed choices and for the toleration of a plurality of values and practices."[74] In other words, civil society was the result of society providing understood rules and conditions which allow for a certain openness, yet prevent major disruptions. Associations provided structure and created networks of relationships, blurring

---

[70] Martin Gorsky, "Mutual Aid and Civil Society: Friendly Societies in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Urban History*, 25, 3 (1998): 304.

[71] Robert D. Storch, "The Problem of Working-Class Leisure: Some Roots of Middle-Class Moral Reform in the Industrial North, 1825-50" *Social Control in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, A.P. Donajgrodzki, ed. (London: Croom Helm, 1977) 150-1.

[72] Morris, "Voluntary Societies," 115.

[73] R.J. Morris, "Civil Society and the Nature of Urbanism: Britain, 1750-1850," *Urban History*, 25,3, (1998): 292.

[74] Ibid, 290.

divisions among the different groups.[75] The association was a flexible, negotiated form which allowed members (especially the middle-class) to act collectively where "the privileges of property were stabilized, defended and extended."[76]

Montreal was not, at this juncture, industrialised,[77] and had not developed a middle-class as such. The society was however, segmented. Montreal's British population used the associational form in a similar manner as Britain's middle-class of the same period, to order and control their social environment. They were just as interested in creating a civil society, one which was more stable, guaranteed their privileges and prevented major disruptions.

The associational form, as it existed in Great Britain, influenced the manner in which it was incorporated into Montreal society. Associational life was not only a means of asserting control. Its use also maintained an aspect of social life to which British Montrealers were already accustomed. Associations, not unlike identity, gave their members a sense of belonging to a larger community. "Ces associations remplacent en quelque sorte la famille élargie sans son rôle d'intégration sociale."[78] Associations also were a means to preserve values or activities which were held to be important, through a form which also held social value.

---

[75] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies c. 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 460.

[76] R.J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: the Making of the British Middle-Class, Leeds 1820-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990) 167.

[77] Robert, *Atlas Historique*, 79.

[78] Robert, "Montréal, 1821-1871," 169.

In his massive survey of British clubs and societies, Peter Clark underlines the pivotal social role that societies played. More importantly he discusses how the form had migrated to new areas of British settlement. The United States was his primary focus given that associational life had reached a similar level of maturity as in Great Britain during his period of study (1580-1800).[79] Parts of the empire do come under consideration, as their associational formation were decidedly influenced by institutions at the centre. Canada, both English and French-speaking, was influenced by British associational life, but the "British influence was more successful at Montreal."[80]

T.W. Acheson's history of Saint John, New Brunswick, demonstrates the vital role these British inspired institutions played in the functioning of this port and garrison town (circumstances resembling Montreal) in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Residents of Saint John organised themselves according to their many identities: ethnic, political and religious, and these identities manifested themselves through institutions and associations which fostered particular relationships. "The growing complexity of the colonial order was reflected in the variety of political, religious and ethnic institutions that emerged in the period."[81]

While Acheson's argument that associational life was central to the development of a Canadian city, his work is relatively isolated. Canadian associational life has not been analysed in the same depth as in Britain. Heather Murray's analysis of nineteenth-century,

---

[79] Clarke, *British Clubs and Societies*, 388.

[80] Ibid, 422. A conclusion reached from an embarrassingly limited number of sources.

[81] T.W. Acheson, *Saint John: the Making of a Colonial Urban Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) 4.

literary societies in Ontario has been a recent addition. While literary societies were

dedicated to the pursuit of reading, Murray stressed that they encompassed a great deal more.

> Literary societies of the nineteenth century characteristically combined with their rhetorical
> pursuits- reading, composition, declamation, and performances- a range of other cultural
> activities, such as musical interludes, current-events discussions, and local historical research,
> not to mention social activities such as picnics and even (for the mixed-sex groups for
> younger people) courtship.[82]

In chronicling the literary societies in Ontario, Murray dwells on two specific groups: women

and African Canadians, and their use of literary societies as tools for betterment and

empowerment. These literary societies fostered intellectual improvement, which in turn

fostered political change.[83] In putting the Ontario experience in relation to the rest of Canada,

Murray saw a striking difference between Ontario and Quebec, noting a tendency in the latter

for anti-clerical intellectualism.[84]

Certainly Montreal's nineteenth century societies have been the subject of many

volumes. These works were often written by members, in commemoration of an anniversary

or other special events, and were geared to the interests of the members, their main audience.

Many of these works are dated, having been published before 1950, and are problematic.

Among these works are Rumilly's history of the Société-St-Jean-Baptiste, Collard's work

on the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society and the St. James' Club, Cooper's Montreal Hunt

Club, Becket's Montreal Snow Shoe Club, and Johnston-Cox's work on the St. Andrew's

---

[82] Heather Murray, *Come, Bright Improvement! The Literary Societies of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 7.

[83] Ibid, 89.

[84] Ibid, 158.

Society.[85] Concentrating on societies formed in the nineteenth century, each work offers the reader an outline of the accomplishments of the societies, their famous members, and pivotal events. Interesting yes, romantic and glorifying even, but not particularly useful to the present analysis. Even more scholarly articles, including a series on Quebec societies by Victor Morin and some examinations of the Beaver Club, much resemble those mentioned above in the nature of their analysis.[86]

Pierre Rajotte's examination of literary societies and the public lectures they sponsored among French Canadians, and to some extent Anglophones in Montreal and Quebec City, demonstrates how literary associations were exercises in power for their members. "Au demeurant, dans une société où l'information fonde de plus en plus le pouvoir, il importe d'accumuler l'une pour assurer l'autre."[87] These associations, and the power that knowledge represents were monopolised by the Anglophones, though gradually

---

[85] Robert Rumilly, *Histoire de la Société-St-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal: des Patriotes au fleurdelisé 1834/1948* (Montréal: les Éditions de l'Aurore/ Société-St-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, 1975); Edgar Andrew Collard, *The Irish Way: The History of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society* (Montreal: Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, 1992); Edgar Andrew Collard, *The St. James Club: The Story of the Beginnings of the St. James's Club* (Montreal: St James's Club, 1957); Hugh W. Becket, *The Montreal Snow Shoe Club, its history and record with a synopsis of the racing events of other clubs throughout the Dominion, from 1840 to the Present Time,* (Montreal: Becket Brothers, 1882); Mary Johnston-Cox, *St Andrew's Society of Montreal-Handbook* (Montreal: St Andrew's Society, 2001).

[86] Victor Morin, "Clubs et sociétés notoires d'autrefois" *Cahiers des Dix* 13(1948): 109-37; 14(1949): 187-222; 15(1950): 185-218; 16(1951): 233-70; Lawrence J Burpee, "The Beaver Club" *Canadian Historical Association Report,* (1924): 73-92. Robert Watson, "The Story of the First Beaver Club" *Queen's Quarterly,* 45 (1938): 497-502.

[87] Pierre Rajotte, "Les pratiques associatives et la constitution du champ de production littéraire au Québec (1760-1867)" *RHAF,* 45, 4 (printemps 1992), 552.

the Francophone elite began to assume a role within this form as the nineteenth-century progressed.[88]

Recently, two important works have focused specifically on Montreal's associational life. While they deal with specific associations, they also offer glimpses of nineteenth century society. James' thesis on the Saint Patrick's Society illustrates the changing nature of this association, the population it served, and the negotiations and renegotiations of ethnic boundaries.[89] The Saint Patrick's Society, formed in 1834, was created in a period of intense social and political change in the city. This change included the composition of its Irish population. During the 1840s this multi-denominational society began to experience internal strife centred on religious identities. These differences hardened, and in 1856 the society was dissolved and reformed as an exclusively Catholic entity. The Protestants then formed the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society.

> The Saint Patrick's Society's progress through the Rebellions and the politics of the 1840s, to the sectarian debates of the 1850s, is closely allied to the narrative of the realignment both within and outside the Irish cohorts, the narrative of Ultramontane consolidation, Protestant evangelicalism, and the processes of boundary-redrawing within the immigrant cohort.[90]

The Saint Patrick's Society was, in effect, a reflection of the wider circumstances in Montreal. The Irish population was altering its perception of itself. The society no longer represented one identity, and changed after much dispute among its members.

---

[88] Pierre Rajotte, "Pratique de la conférence publique à Montréal (1840-1870)" (PhD, Laval, 1991), 11.

[89] James, "The Saint Patrick Society ."

[90] Ibid, 84.

The Saint Patrick's Society was an exclusively masculine society, and its experience was completely different from that of female societies in Montreal, as shown by Janice Harvey.[91] Her dissertation examines the two female benevolent societies present in Montreal in the nineteenth-century. These societies served a particular set of needs, and as such were exceptional in their creation. They allowed women to control their charitable operations without the sanction of a male board of directors.[92] Charity work directed at women and children was considered acceptable work for women.[93] Harvey puts these two female societies into context within the general movement of Protestant benevolence, which in Montreal, sought not only to alleviate the distress of the poor, but also to prevent Protestants from using the Catholic network.

Montreal's national societies were part of a larger network of charitable societies, including the female societies discussed by Harvey. These societies served as supports for those less fortunate in their circumstances. Identity played an important role in this, defining the constituents of the charitable aid, from religious to ethnic identity.[94] When in need individuals turned first to those whom they knew or understood, their fellow countrymen, and/or, their co-religionists.

National societies were not a phenomenon limited to Montreal. In looking at histories of different ethnic or national groups as immigrants, the establishment of national

---

[91] Janice Harvey, "The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society: A Case Study in Protestant Child Charity in Montreal, 1822-1900" (PhD, McGill, 2001).

[92] Ibid, 5.

[93] Ibid, 59.

[94] Ibid, 68.

societies is used as signposts of the group's establishment in a community. The national societies do not exist in the homeland, but were creations of those who want to connect back to the homeland and to those of similar origins. Montreal's national societies were prevalent because it was a city of immigrants. What made it different was the development of a French Canadian national society, a group who was not considered immigrant and was not identifying with a homeland far away, but one they lived in. The environment for the creation of national societies in Montreal was unique.

It should also be noted that Montreal's associational culture influenced the development of associational culture in other parts of Canada, particularly Upper Canada. Montreal was considered the birthplace of organised sport in Canada.[95] The city's early sport clubs were models for those in other regions, and played a leadership role in the creation of teams, and competition networks.[96] Montreal's Shakespeare Club was the model for its Toronto counterpart.[97] Other associations such as the Montreal Temperance Society were key players in the Canadian temperance movement, acting as missionaries, with campaigns designed to draw in the United Province of Canada.[98]

The associational form, both in Great Britain and places of British settlement including the United States and Canada, was a common feature of urban social life. It was

---

[95] Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: the Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987/9) 22.

[96] Allan Elton Cox, "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900," (PhD, University of Alberta, 1969) 215.

[97] Murray, *Come Bright Improvement*, 46.

[98] Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 103.

used by segments of the population to organise their activities and their social networks. It was a form which gave its participants a level of control over their immediate environment, opportunity for authority and respectability, and influence.

As hinted by the historiography, Montreal had a varied and influential associational life. Because the associational form was adaptable, it was able to serve the specific needs of Montreal's population. The city's population understood this, taking specific associations established elsewhere and tailoring them to local circumstances, or creating new ones as required. Associations were structured for negotiation and social influence, and so served those in Montreal who wanted access to power. British Montrealers were able to use their societies to impose their own order on and dominate socially as well as politically.

## 1.5 Celebrations and Commemorations

> Les célébrations constituent un aspect fondamental de la vie de toute société. Elles ponctuent l'existence de rituels, de cérémonies, qui enrichissent la vie quotidienne. Elles permettent de mesurer la cohésion des groupes humains ou l'ampleur des conflits qui les divisent. Solennelles ou frivoles, imposées ou spontanées, elles sont inévitables et nécessaires et remplissent des fonctions à la fois normatives et subversives.[99]

Celebrations serve the communities who create them. They reinforce, through social interaction and ritualised proceedings, a sense of belonging to a shared past, historical or cultural. They also foster a sense of belonging to a particular social group and, as Fabre argues, provide a sense of cohesion. While celebrations serve a similar function as associations, they are more ephemeral, usually lasting only a day. The key element in

---

[99] Geneviève Fabre, "Lieu de fête et de commémoration" *Revue française d'études américaines*, 51 (fév. 1992): 7.

celebrations is their reliance on symbol and tradition. They rely upon representation to demonstrate their values.

The traditions and symbols used during commemorations and as justification for celebrations could be real or imagined. Traditions are flexible creations, which "establish continuity with a suitable historic past."[100] Eric Hobsbawm underlines the fact that many cultural events thought of as traditional, were actually more modern than claimed, or invented.[101] These traditions "are responses to novel situations which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition."[102]

Celebrations were social creations which demonstrated the values and identities of the group through performance. They used symbols which were understood by those who shared the group identity and by members of the wider public. The specifics were adapted to the circumstances of the locale and time. Symbols conveyed ideas and values in a form of shorthand, which was variously understood by the community. "People may hold the form of a symbol in common, while investing it with different meanings."[103]

Celebrations in many forms were a very common occurrence in Montreal. These events ranged in both size and form, from dinners to ceremonies and parades. These were often very public events, made visible through the medium of the press or their use of public

---

[100] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983/2000), 1.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid, 2.

[103] Anthony B. Cohen ed., *Symbolising Boundaries: Identity and Diversity in British Cultures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986) 2.

space. Because of their public nature, they served as important loci of expression for the population and for the groups that organised them. This exposure meant that the events, while short in duration, left evidence of their occurrence.

In Montreal, the most frequent forms of celebration in the nineteenth-century were parades and banquets. As such, this thesis focuses on these two types of manifestations of identity. Parades were, by virtue of their use of city thoroughfares, the most public of celebrations. According to T.G. Frazer, "parading, as a cultural and political expression of identity and commitment, is a widespread if not universal ritual used by groups in all sorts of contexts to ensure that their existence is both remembered and taken into account."[104] Banquets, in comparison, were more private affairs, held in private spaces with a limited number of participants. Attendance was easily controlled by invitation and by the price of admission, giving such events an intimate and intense atmosphere. Food itself was an important actor in a dinner.

> by means of structure and ritual, deliberately use the powerful connotations of food to recall origins and earlier times. They also attempt to be events in themselves unforgettable, in order to furnish recollections for the future. The food served at festivals is, therefore, not only richer and more splendid than what we usually eat, but also traditional, inherited from the past and intended to be experienced as ancient custom; the recipes and the lore associated with it are to be handed on by us for use again in ritual celebrations.[105]

The relationship between the occasion, the food, the host, the guests, centred on power. "Feasts are subject to simultaneous manipulation for both ideological and more immediately

---

[104] T.G. Frazer, *The Irish Parading Tradition: Following the Drum* (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), vii.

[105] Margaret Visser, *The Rituals of Dinner* (Toronto: Harper Perennial, 2000), 37.

personal goals."[106] Feasts used these elements to make a point, to emphasise the wealth and richness of the host, highlight the importance of the event and tie it to the sense of belonging.

Articles by Peter Borsay and Jacqueline Hill demonstrate that the British tradition of public ritual which included public feasts, dates from the late medieval period.[107] These public celebrations evolved from the early rituals through the eighteenth-century.[108] As discussed in these articles, public celebrations were often determined by the state, and were played out at municipal and national levels. They involved state celebrations such as annual municipal rituals involving the town's council and the local notables, but also religious and seasonal festivals, many of which have carried through, though altered, to the present day.

One of the more politicised state occasions was the celebration of the monarch's birthday. The celebration, particularly in regions of rebellion, was used by some as a means of asserting power and authority. In Ireland, William of Orange's birthday on the fourth of November took on larger political and social overtones. Its celebration was in competition with that of Saint Patrick's Day, and so those who chose to celebrate one or the other were publicly affirming their political colours. Hill uses King William's birthday as an indicator of the larger rifts present in the country through the early nineteenth-century.

---

[106] Michael Dietler, "Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Powers in African Contexts," *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographical Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*, Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden, eds. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001) 72.

[107] Peter Borsay, "All the Town's a Stage: Urban Ritual and Ceremony, 1660-1800," *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800*, Peter Clark, ed. (London: Hutchinson, 1984) 228-58; Jacqueline Hill, "National Festivals, the State and 'Protestant Ascendancy' in Ireland, 1790-1829" *Irish Historical Studies*, 24, 93 (May 1984) 30-51.

[108] Borsay, "All the Town's," 228.

Jacobite Scotland, like Ireland, was an area of conflict. In the years preceding the 1745 Rebellion, support for the British state in Scotland was thought to have been low. Harris and Whatley use the celebrations of George II's birthday as an indicator of loyalty or loyalism. Contrary to popular thought, the Scots (particularly in the Lowlands) were in fact loyal, and "the King's birthday appears to have been a more important occasion" than in England or Wales.[109] The state occasion served as a barometer of public opinion.

These celebrations and their forms crossed the Atlantic with British immigrants. The American historiography of celebrations and commemorations rarely discusses the origins of these forms. David Waldstreicher demonstrates the deliberate redirecting of British celebrations for their own ends.[110] The common forms were deliberately altered or inverted to protest British authority.[111] The American Revolution did not cease the use of these forms and occasions, rather they continued without the royal or imperial associations.

John Bodnar, in his study of the twentieth-century United States, highlights the practice of ceremonies to commemorate a particular past, real or imagined, in order to unify particular groups. Bodnar looks beyond the ceremonies themselves, to see how they were received by the public. These events were not empty performances, but were designed to elicit responses from their audiences. "Leaders continue to use the past to foster patriotism

---

[109] Bob Harris and Christopher A. Whatley, "To Solemnize His Majesty's Birthday': New Perspectives on Loyalism in George II's Britain," *History*, 83, 271 (1998), 419.

[110] David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: the Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820*(Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 23.

[111] Ibid, 24 and 26.

and civic duty and ordinary people to accept, reformulate, and ignore such messages."[112] John Glassberg stressed the presence of a schism between the people who organised the events, the messages that they were trying to convey, and the audience who received them.

> While civic officials attempted to teach the mass of local residents civic virtue and piety by structuring public ceremonies in ways that called for a collective affirmation of their overarching definition of the public and its history, local residents used the same ceremonies to express their own particular ethnic, neighborhood, and occupational identities and traditions.[113]

The use of public ceremonies by the working-class, and its relationship in general to the social order has been analysed in the American literature. Bodnar stresses the participation of 'ordinary people' in the audience. Ryan sees the American parade as a snapshot that "reveals in a particularly powerful, publicly sanctioned way, how contemporaries construed, displayed, and saw the urban social order."[114] Public ceremonies were also vehicles for claiming changes in the social order. "Organized workers and former slaves had commandeered the open public spaces of America's cities as a place not just to display their separate cultures but also to made [sic] demands upon the State."[115] Sean Wilentz focuses on the use of the ceremonial by the working-classes in order to discern the

---

[112] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth-Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) 20.

[113] David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: the Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth-Century* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990) 23.

[114] Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1989) 138.

[115] Ryan, *Civic Wars*, 257.

relationship between social disruption and ideological combat.[116] Celebrations then were

powerful tools for social pressure.

In the Canadian context, ceremonies and celebrations have been of increasing

interest. The work which most represents this is H.V. Nelles' *The Art of Nation Building*

which contextualised the commemoration of Quebec's tercentennial in 1908. The

tercentenary was used by its organisers as a means to promote competing national visions,

one of racial harmony and imperial attachment, the other a clerical nationalism. Through the

use of ceremonies, pageants, a royal visit and other symbols, the organisers sought to present

their national ideals.[117] Nelles noted the ephemeral nature of the event. Much time, effort and

money were expended in the making of the events surrounding the tercentenary. The

organisers designed their events with many messages and symbols. But what remains? Nelles

spoke of the souvenirs and scrapbooks discovered in archives which the participants saved

with great care.[118] The public memory was different from personal memory and recollections

of the moment. "Despite the elaborate public effort at remembering, the country gradually

forgot the tercentenary and whatever meanings it might have had. Public memory, so

theatrical, intense, vivid and spectacular, vanished."[119]

---

[116] Sean Wilentz, "Artisan Republican Festivals and the Rise of Class Conflict in New York City, 1788-1837," *Working-Class America: Essays on Labor, Community and American Society,* Michael H. Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz, eds. (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois Press, 1983) 9.

[117] H.V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentennary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

[118] Ibid, 14.

[119] Ibid, 316.

Alan Gordon's *Making Public Pasts* underlined the quest for authority that commemorations and celebrations represented. The Francophone and Anglophone elite in Montreal used the power of commemoration and parading to assert their respective identities, identities which did not always complement each other.[120] For both Gordon and Peter Goheen, who studied the phenomenon of parades in nineteenth-century Canada, the use of public space was fundamental.[121] "Parades claimed privileges in certain streets where prestige accrued by monopolising their use for the passing minute or hour."[122] Celebrations allowed for its participants and their audience alike, to assume a power of place and belonging. As Cottrell states, in the case of Saint Patrick's Day in nineteenth-century Toronto: "It was perhaps the one day in the year on which Irish Catholics could claim the city as their own and proudly publicize their distinctiveness on the main streets."[123]

## 1.6 Summary

It is not a coincidence that many of the works cited use the verb "making" in their titles. Identities and the vehicles of their expression were constructed, negotiated and adapted

---

[120] Alan Gordon, *Making Public Pasts: the Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories, 1891-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

[121] Peter Goheen, "Symbols in the Streets: Parades in Victorian Urban Canada" *Urban History Review*, 18, 3 (1990): 237-43; Peter Goheen, "Negotiating Access to Public Space in Mid-Nineteenth Century Toronto" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 20, 4 (1994): 430-43; Peter Goheen, "Parading: A Lively Tradition in Early Victorian Toronto" *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the Meanings of Some Places in the Past*, Alan R.H. Baker and George Biger, eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 330-51.

[122] Goheen, "Parading a Lively," 342.

[123] Michael Cottrell, "St. Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto: A Study of Immigrant Adjustment and Elite Control" *Social History/Histoire sociale*, 25, 49 (May 1992): 59.

to suit the needs of those who adhered to them. Time, place and circumstance played significantly on both the form and the message.

Identity is the sense of belonging which individuals have to a larger group. It is closely connected to the idea of belonging to a geographical area and to a culture. This does not necessitate residing in that locality. National identity was important to those living in British North America. It influenced and shaped the social and economic relationships between the different national groups. Colonial society not only perpetuated these particular identities, but also influenced them, exposing the groups to the important 'other' which gave the groups a model by which they could compare themselves in a favourable light.

National groups, in order to foster their sense of belonging in the colonial setting, and valorise their identities, undertook to present themselves as united to the larger public. They organised themselves into more formal associations. This empowered those who participated, giving them the tools to control their membership and image, create stronger ties in their group, and perpetuate the values and traditions they as a group held to be important. Likewise the uses of special days or events were important expressions of national identity. They encapsulated the values and traditions of the national groups while also claiming their right to public space.

## SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

### 1.7 Thesis Statement and Focus

Montreal was a city of immigrants. These settlers came from a number of different places, representing different cultures, religions and languages, and arrived at different times.

Montreal society was organised by its inhabitants in such a way that it permitted a continued identification with their origins, while allowing a sense of belonging to Montreal and its colonial institutions.

The historiography and contemporary accounts of Montreal's British population are slightly contradictory. On one level, the British are seen as a single group, acting together as one, against the French Canadian other. Lord Durham's report in 1839 characterised Lower Canada as a colony in conflict, "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state," with each disagreement being "one of French and English in the outset, or becomes so ere it has run its course."[124] Such statements reinforce the perception of the British or English-speaking population as a single identity.

On an another level, Montreal's population could be seen to have been divided by their particular national identities. Accounts in the English-language newspapers regularly used these identities as descriptors, tying individuals clearly to their origins. A fight in 1824, for example, was reported solely in those terms. A Scot got into a fight with a Canadian. He was then attacked by more Canadians before being rescued by some Irishmen with clubs.[125] The city's various national groups also chose to organise specific associations which honoured these different identities. The historiography likewise tends to isolate the population in ethnic or national groups, defining them by their differences and distancing them from those who shared their place of abode.

---

[124] Lambton, John G., Lord Durham, *Lord Durham's Report*, Gerald Craig, ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963) 21.

[125] *Herald*, 2 June 1824. While this fight might be seen as English vs. French, it is framed specifically by national identification.

These two perceptions of the city's British population, while seemingly incompatible, are both valid. They reflect the circumstantial nature of identity, and the social reality of living in a multinational environment, and a colonial city in the British empire. This thesis will argue that over the first fifty-years of the nineteenth century, the different national groups of British origin in Montreal, through the creation of associations and celebrations, undertook to conserve their particular national identities, to organise their social interactions, and to establish newer networks grounded in Montreal.

It will demonstrate that identity in Montreal was used as a way to maintain stability. This was accompanied by the organisation of events and institutions around identities which were familiar in an unfamiliar environment. The forms of expression were public, and understood because of their familiarity by both the audience and participant. Even those events and associations which incorporated newer elements and ideas, harkened back in some way to older forms and traditions.

The national identities of nineteenth-century British Montrealers were particular to the city because of the interplay of these groups and with the other national groups present. This interplay also facilitated the use of a more general identity, which worked in conjunction with their national identities. The British identity in Montreal allowed those who called upon it to bridge the differences and foster stability with an allegiance to the things which these groups valued.

The study begins in 1800. It is from this date that the city of Montreal underwent significant changes. This marked the beginning of rapid population growth and its demographic consequences, the expansion of the city's territory outside of its fortifications,

and changes to its economic structure. The city also experienced a series of epidemics, political and social unrest, several changes in the way the city was administered, and rebellion.

Over the course of the five decades covered by this thesis, the British population of Montreal, through its associations and celebrations expressed different identities, which were directly related to the needs of those expressing them, and circumstances around them. The study ends in 1850, which in itself represents a moment of great change in Montreal, change which had a great deal to do with the work of the most active among Montreal's British population. Those who participated in the city's voluntary associations and celebrations were equally involved in its governance and economy. As a result of reforms undertaken in the 1840s, the state was becoming more present in the colony, and settlers were more influential in its administration. Industry was establishing itself on a larger scale in the colony, and Montreal was fast becoming its centre. Montreal was no longer a pre-industrial town, but it had become the vital motor in the colony's industrialising economy.

The public sphere was considered a male domain, while women were left to the private sphere and the domesticity of home and family. By studying public actions during the nineteenth-century, the feminine presence is obscured. Associational life in general was the preserve of men. All-male associations embodied "men's privileged access to the public sphere, while simultaneously reinforcing women's confinement to household and neighbourhood."[126] This is not to say that women were not involved in associational life,

---

[126] John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Ltd., 2005) 38.

rather their role was limited. Clark, in his survey of British clubs and societies stated that "women can be found in a tiny minority of associations, including mixed bodies like social, music, and debating societies, and separate like female benefit societies."[127]

Women played limited roles in associations. They were "used by some societies as visitors, or tract distributors, or collectors of money, but they are never, formally at least, the decision makers."[128] In her examination of two female benevolent societies in Montreal, Harvey amply demonstrates that the female presence within these organisations was exceptional for nineteenth-century associational life. Charities were the only acceptable forums for women in the public sphere. The presence of these women in Montreal was regulated by strict social conventions which among other things, prevented women from speaking at their own annual meetings.[129]

These social conventions which restricted the active participation in associations, even within female associations, likewise prevented women from taking part in public demonstrations such as parades, debates and dinners. The public sphere was where democracy was practised. This was democracy in the largest of senses and had little to do with government or elections. Women were 'shadowy figures' because the concept of nationality was male.[130] Women were "marked for political exclusion" according to Ryan,

---

[127] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies c. 1580-1800: Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 198.

[128] Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992) 102.

[129] Janice Harvey, "The Protestant Orphan Asylum", 6.

[130] Mackay and Thane, "The Englishwoman," 191.

able to be a part of the audience, but not in the parade, save the use of the female form as allegorical figures representing justice and liberty, bound to kinsmen and classic iconography. Women were not citizens.[131] "The public visibility of women . . . occurs outside of the space where questions of political representations and the legitimacy of political representations are discussed."[132] In the case of Montreal, outside of the balls and the Ladies Benevolent Society, the city's women, their activities and interests, were rarely mentioned in the sources. Women were not the focus of Montreal's public life.

Another factor that limited associational life, and indeed public life in general, was time. Actively participating in events and associations required leisure time. This time was spent away from the responsibility of working and family life. It was a luxury of the financially secure and well-off. Money was key in this equation, as it was required in the participation of these activities. Membership fees, dinners, and regalia, and other trappings of associational life all cost money, and so limited these activities to those with means. Associational life was not exclusive however, and according to Morris, while 'wage earners' did join societies, their experience in them was different. "When they did they took part in fewer societies. They were more likely to join benefit societies. When they did join a society, it was likely to be more important to them than any single voluntary society would be for those of higher status."[133]

---

[131] Mary P. Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City During the Nineteenth-Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1997) 66-7.

[132] Silke Wenk, "Gendered Representations of Nation's Past and Future" *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Tom Lampert (trans.), Ida Bloom, Karen Hagermann, Catherine Hall, eds. (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 65.

[133] Morris, "Voluntary Societies," 96.

Montreal's public life, by virtue of the demands of survival and availability of leisure time, was dominated by an elite. This group of economically and politically advantaged men were the driving force behind the associations and public celebrations, and indeed of many other aspects of Montreal society. The participation of others in the city's public life was more modest, and accompanied with less influence.

## 1.8 Sources

For the purposes of this thesis, a wide variety of sources and a number of archives were consulted. The most obvious place to start was with the national societies themselves. Unfortunately this line of research proved to be the most difficult. The St. George's Society has ceased to exist, and the fate of its records is unknown. The St. Patrick's Society is still in operation, though sadly its early archives were destroyed in a fire in 1872.[134] The St. Andrew's Society also continues to operate, and unlike the St. Patrick's Society, its archives are reputedly intact from its founding. Despite many appeals to the society's archivist, the records remain unavailable to researchers. Because this avenue was closed, other sources were consulted. The St. Andrew's Society published summaries of its transactions in the nineteenth-century. The first, published in 1855, and authored by its former president Sir Hugh Allan, covers the society's early years to 1844.[135] It highlights, in a simple form, the

---

[134] Cross, "The Irish in Montreal," 158.

[135] Hugh Allan, *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal from its Formation on the 9th March 1835, until 1st January 1844, to which is appended lists of the officers and the constitution of the society* (Montreal: J.C. Becket, 1855).

yearly activities of the St. Andrew's Society. It was updated in 1886.[136] Very little material

published by these societies exists for the period prior to 1850.

### 1.8.1 Newspapers

Newspapers are a central part of this thesis, as they represent the most obvious record

of Montreal's English-speaking population, their interests and their daily life during the

period under examination. As Ryan states, "newspapers and published records supply an

admirably complete empirical record of local events and public actions."[137] Newspapers

provide a record of events and issues of interest to their readers, including the activities of

the voluntary societies which were often given the opportunity to publish their annual reports

and post advertisements and notices for meetings and events. Montreal newspapers also

featured coverage of public and private celebrations such as the King's birthday, festivals and

dinners.

The pages of Montreal's newspapers were reflections of the world view of their

editors and proprietors. These individuals were able, through their publications, to pursue

their own social and political agendas. Editorial biases dictated the decisions of inclusion and

exclusion of content, and the manner in which the events were covered. The newspapers

were also businesses, and had to cater to their readers, and their needs. The context of the

displays of identities varied according to the newspapers, the editorial direction and the

---

[136] *A Summary of the First Fifty Years, Transactions of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal* (Montreal: McQueen and Corneil, 1886).

[137] Ryan, *Civic Wars*, 13.

intended public. The coverage of specific events was often used as an opportunity to express more general opinions relating to loyalty, nationality and identity. Conservative papers in the 1830s, for example, were extremely supportive of the national societies, and the celebration of saints' days. The coverage of specific events and societies varied between the different papers.

During the fifty-year period discussed in this thesis, Montreal was a centre for newspaper publishing. Both English and French-language papers flourished. Conditions in English-speaking Montreal were ripe for this development with a larger percentage of literate people, though in general between one-quarter and one-third of British North America's population were unable to read.[138] The papers were read not only in the homes but in newsrooms and taverns which were abundant in Montreal. This readership was active with the newspaper, reading, critiquing and writing letters for publication. Newspapers were, as McNairn states in reference to Ontario, "the colony's most important voluntary association."[139]

The wealth of newspapers which were published in the period necessitated some sort of selection in order to narrow the scope of the research for to be both manageable and representative. The newspapers were first limited to those published in English, and then narrowed down further to the following seven: *The Canadian Courant, The Montreal Courier, The Montreal Gazette, The Herald, The Transcript, The Irish Vindicator,* and *The*

---

[138] Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: the Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 26 and 31.

[139] McNairn, *The Capacity to Judge,* 116.

*Pilot.* They were chosen for their availability for study in archives or libraries, and because their publication covered a significant period within the time frame. They represent several readership bases and political biases.

The *Montreal Gazette* was the only newspaper which published regularly during the entire period, between 1800 and 1850. It was a weekly bilingual paper until 1822, when it became a daily English-language publication.[140] It has been described as "le journal britannique de Montréal."[141] During the first half of the nineteenth century the *Gazette* underwent several changes in ownership, however its editorial content, and its intended audience remained the mercantile interests of the city.[142] Politically, it was conservative.

The *Canadian Courant* was published weekly between 1807 and 1834.[143] It was founded by Nahum Mower, an American. It was geared to the interests of the businessmen of Montreal. It was considered politically moderate and conservative. Mower promoted a reporting that was impartial.[144] In 1829 it was taken over by Benjamin Workman and Ariel Bowman, both Irishmen, who used the paper to defend British constitutional principles, and who were as conservative as Mower. They kept the paper along the same ideological lines.[145]

---

[140] André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, *La presse québécoise des origines à nos jours* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973), 6. The *Montreal Gazette* will hereafter be cited as *Gazette.*

[141] André Lefebvre, *La Montreal Gazette et le nationalisme canadien (1835-1842)* (Montreal: Guérin, 1970) x.

[142] Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La presse québécoise,* 6; Lefebvre, *La Montreal Gazette,* x.

[143] Hereafter cited as *Courant.*

[144] Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La presse québécoise,* 20-21.

[145] Ibid, 21.

The *Montreal Herald* was founded in 1811 by William Gray and Mungo Kay, both natives of Scotland.[146] It was produced in the image of the *Glasgow Herald*. Politically it was conservative, and published twice a week during most of the year, and daily in the summer. Despite numerous changes in ownership (in 1818, 1822, 1825, 1834, and 1843) the paper's conservative orientation remained the same. During the 1830s, the paper adopted an anti-Patriote tone. In 1840 it changed direction completely, catering to mercantile interests. In 1849 under the direction of the new owner David Kinnear, the paper changed its political allegiance to liberal.[147]

*The Irish Vindicator and Canadian Advertiser* began publishing in 1828 under the direction of Irish physician and politician Daniel Tracey.[148] Tracey was a political ally of Papineau and the Parti Patriote. He used this biweekly paper to further alliances with the French Canadian community by using and promoting the example of Ireland.[149] It also served as a voice for the Irish community. Bought in 1829 by E. Fabre, the paper dropped the 'Irish' from its banner, but kept both its editor and political mission.[150] When the newly elected Tracey died in 1832, another Irish physician and politician, E.B. O'Callaghan, took over the editorship. The newspaper closed in 1837 following the sacking of its offices by the Doric

---

[146] Hereafter cited as *Herald*.

[147] Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La presse québécoise*, 26-8.

[148] Hereafter cited as *Vindicator*.

[149] Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La presse québécoise*, 65; France Galarneau, "Tracey, Daniel" *DCB*.

[150] Jack Verney, *O'Callaghan: the Making and Unmaking of a Rebel* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994), 49.

Club which opposed its Patriote support and other political views. O'Callaghan fled to the United States.

The *Montreal Courier* was founded by Rollo Campbell in 1835 and was published daily.[151] It featured a good mix of local and foreign news, with a few articles devoted to literature and religion. It ceased publication in 1851.[152]

John Lovell published the *Montreal Transcript* from beginnings in 1835 to its demise in 1865.[153] It first came out three times a week, but quickly became a daily. It was modelled on the cheap or penny papers coming to the fore in Great Britain and the United States, which provided more family fare.[154] Its aim was to appeal to "all ranks and classes of the community."[155] It was considered a strident Tory newspaper.[156]

*The Pilot and Commercial Advertiser* was founded in 1844 as a liberal newspaper supporting the responsible government of Baldwin and Lafontaine.[157] It was edited by the politician Francis Hincks, who tried through his editorship, to combine commercial and political interests. It published twice during the week and had a Saturday edition. Hincks handed over editorial control in 1848. The paper remained liberal in outlook.[158]

---

[151] Hereafter cited as *Courier*.

[152] Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La presse québécoise*, 84.

[153] Hereafter cited as *Transcript*.

[154] Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, 37; Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La presse québécoise, 91.*

[155] Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La presse québécoise*, 91.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Hereafter cited as *Pilot*.

[158] Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La presse québécoise*, 136.

Chart One: Newspaper Coverage for the Period Between 1800-1850

| 1800 | 1811 | 1821 | 1831 | 1841 |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| The Montreal Gazette | | | | |
| | Canadian Courant | | | |
| | | | Courier | |
| | | | | Pilot |
| | Montreal Herald | | | |
| | | Vindicator | | |
| | | Transcript | | |
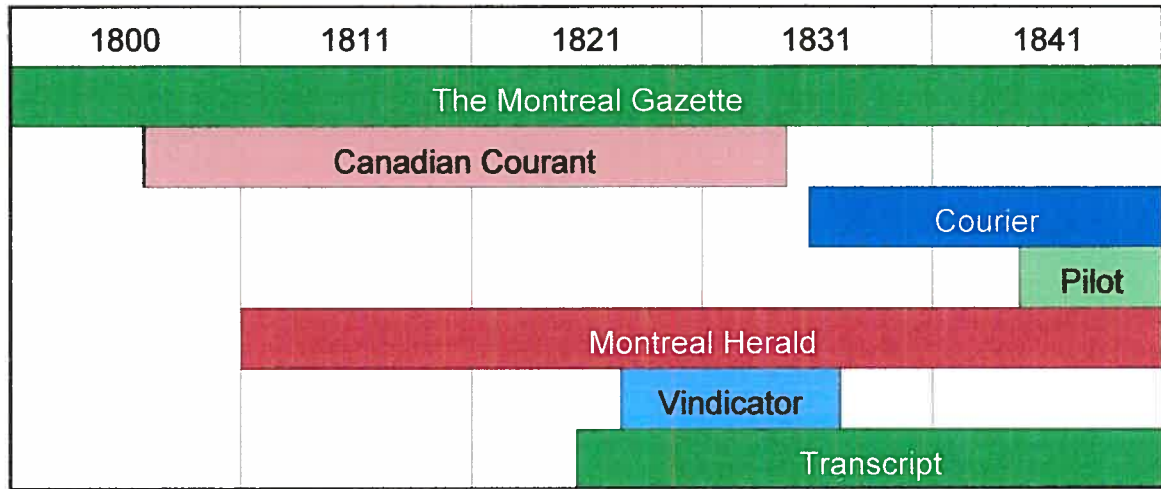
These newspapers were read for their entire runs which fall within the period of this study. They were searched systematically for information concerning the activities of any club, society or association. The details of associational life, celebrations of all varieties, parades, commentary about these manifestations of identity, and all mentions of national identity were retained. Particular attention was paid to editions that were published on and around specific dates such as Saint Patrick's Day or Saint Andrew's Day. The newspapers were also searched for evidence of celebrations, and conversely, the lack of commemoration.

The appearance of these activities and associations in the pages of Montreal's English-language newspapers marked a moment where the participants/ promoters sought to publicise their events. In doing so, they were calling upon others to participate and support their events, and also seeking recognition of the value of the participants. The newspapers carried these notices for similar reasons, as well as the newsworthiness of such events, and associations. Montreal's papers covered associational and celebrational life extensively.

From the examination of these newspapers, and the events that they covered, I have been able to construct a time line of the creation of societies in Montreal over the entire fifty year period. I have been able to ascertain the popularity of specific holidays, the times at which they began to be celebrated, and the ways in which they were commemorated. The review of different papers also provided the view point of those who did not approve of certain activities. The newspapers underline a general view of identity, through the use of certain identifiers, such as Irish, when describing events seemingly unrelated to identity.[159]

### 1.8.2 Personal Papers

The National Archives and Library of Canada, the Archives Nationales du Québec à Montréal, the McCord Museum of Canadian History, the McGill Archives and the Rare Book Room at McGill University, have numerous collections of personal papers including diaries and letters of some of the more prominent members of the British population in Montreal. Diaries and letters reveal interesting glimpses into the private lives of their authors. These sources however are of limited use for this thesis. As Françoise Noël discovered in her examination of these sources for the same general period and locale, they are not as descriptive, nor as full of emotion as one would expect. "More general in nature, they served primarily as a record of daily events, especially births, deaths and marriages, daily work, the weather, and occasionally, but not in all diaries, the fears, hopes or feelings of writer to these

---

[159] Sherry Olson describes the tendency to use these identifiers as a constant in nineteenth century journalism. Sherry Olson, *Occupations as Cues to Social Structure in Nineteenth Century Montreal* (Montreal: Department of Geography, McGill University, 1986), 1.

events."[160] These papers provide a small glimpse into the personal and social lives of a variety of members on Montreal society. Collections such as the Greenshields papers, the Molson papers, Abraham Joseph papers, Edward Murphy papers, and Hugh Allan papers, among others provide snippets of information which will round out the thesis in terms of personal reactions to identity in the Montreal context. These collections included letters and diaries, which noted the celebration of some the national days, balls, and the like. Motivations or emotions were rarely used in connection with these events. While not frequent, they do individuate the commitment of some of the prominent members to their societies, and their reactions to events celebrating their identities.

### 1.8.3 Institutional Records

Among the personal collections consulted for this thesis, a number of institutional records were discovered. For example the McCord Museum of Canadian History has a rich collection of letters and minutes concerning the Freemasons. The Molson collection at the National Archives and Library, includes correspondence dealing with the local lodges. The Badgley collection contains material concerning the Constitutional Association. In addition to the discovery of associational material in private papers, there were some collections dealing specifically with associations. These collections contained fragments of lists, letters, and paraphernalia. The fragments found included a list of the members of Montreal's Orange Lodge (LAC), a petition from the Constitutional Association (LAC and MMA), minutes for

---

[160] Françoise Noël, *Family Life and Sociability in Upper and Lower Canada, 1780-1870* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 4.

the Fire Club (MUA), the Brothers-in-Law Club (MMA), and the Beaver Club (MMA). These provide important glimpses into the running of these groups. These records and the personal papers consulted complement the material that was published in the city's newspapers.

Religion was an important aspect of identity in the nineteenth century, as well as fulfilling a guiding role in the life of an individual. Many associations were organised along religious and denominational lines, and many churches were catalysts of associational formation. Indeed, the value placed upon religion is clearly demonstrated by the presence of chaplains in all four of the national societies formed in the 1830s in Montreal.

The records of the Roman Catholic Church are spread among four different locations. Most of the Church's records deal with the administration of their congregations, and so rest outside the scope of this thesis. The information gathered in connection with my Master's thesis will be re-evaluated. The focus of new research was on the Protestant churches in Montreal. The best records are those of the Anglican church located in two archives: the Archdiocese of Montreal and the Diocese of Québec deposited at Bishop's University in Lennoxville. The relationship between the church and its connected associations such as the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge or the Dorcas society, is very relevant to this thesis. The Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches deposited many of their records at the Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec in Montreal. These records include correspondence between ministers and other church leaders, and the minutes of the church councils and associations.

## 1.9 Methodology

The variety of sources which represent both the private and the public, will enable the thesis to cover as large a portion of Montreal's British population as possible. Celebrations and voluntary societies individually can be seen to have involved only a small portion of Montreal society, certainly not everyone was a club member, nor was every member active within the societies' executives or committees. The records speak mostly of the more prominent members of the population. The variety of groupings and the sources examined will compensate for the concentration on the elite, in that the elite of one group is not necessarily the same as the elite of another.

The sources, particularly the newspapers, provide much detail on Montreal's public life. Because of the frequency of publication, and the desire to cover local events, the newspapers were excellent sources in providing the participants' names in all manner of events, from a curling match, to a dinner in honour of Saint Andrew's Day. The majority of Montreal associations publicised their events in the newspapers, announcing the formation of societies, weekly monthly or annual meetings, and other events. Many of the societies also published their annual reports, the results of their society elections, and descriptions of their annual dinners. The breadth of the societies present in Montreal meant that not all societies attracted the same membership, and their events and constitutions reflect the various interests and needs of most levels of Montreal society.

Letters to newspapers were an important part of the research, as they provided opinions on societies and their events. Most letters were anonymous, but their comments are still of interest. Their support or lack of support for societies were integral in understanding

the societies themselves. Often these letters provided references to nationality, the social position of the members, and values which were associated with belonging.

### 1.9.1 Creation of data sets

The variety of sources yields not only rich qualitative material, but also quantitative data. As stated previously, newspapers published the results of the elections of many Montreal associations, and much of the associational literature present in private archives also lists the names of their members, and the positions they held. From this information, all the names and positions which appear in the sources, were retained to create a database of associational membership. A database of 3811 individuals was created. Where known (i.e., from the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, obituaries, etc.) national affiliation was included. Membership in a national society was one way used to determine origins of individuals in the database. An example of database entries appears in Appendix One. It demonstrates the extent and breadth of information available on individual participation in Montreal's public life.

This database was used to determine the membership of the many voluntary societies present in Montreal, and whether ethnicity was implicit in the makeup of non-ethnic societies. It allows for an analysis of the relationship between ethnicity and associations, and the interrelationship of these societies and their members.

There are problems associated with the creation of this database. Names cause particular difficulties: sometimes the names are spelled differently from issue to issue of the newspapers, or with only a first initial, making it difficult to identify the individual to whom

the entry refers. Common names such as John Smith or Patrick Ryan are also a problem. When it was unclear as to whom they actually referred, the names were removed from consideration. They numbered only a few, so their inclusion or exclusion from the database did not adversely affect it.

The other database in Appendix Two classifies the associations formed by Montreal's English-speaking population during the first half of the nineteenth-century. It allows for the evaluation of associational formation, as well as trends during certain periods, and puts national societies into perspective. These societies were found in the sources, and their activities and lifespan, where known, were noted. The emphasis is on the formation of the society as this was more frequently noted in the sources.

To facilitate the understanding of the societies they were categorised. The historiography of associational life does not include much quantitative analysis. While some authors such as Morris and Clark differentiate between groups based on their activities, no clear definitions or types are offered. Clark claimed that it was too difficult to differentiate and isolate types of associations.[161] Without more precise direction from the historiography, it became necessary to develop a specific system in order to put Montreal's associations into perspective, and allow analysis. Direction came from the sources.

Categories were assigned to each society based upon their primary purpose as stated in the newspapers or in other primary sources. Of importance were the public statements made by the society in question. Each society posed problems as they could express more than one interest or goal in their activities. There were mixed messages. It was their primary

---

[161] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 118.

goal or function which determined the assigning of categories, the statements which dominated the descriptions. Other goals and functions performed by the societies were taken into consideration to further differentiate groups within the categories. Montreal's societies were divided by these criteria into eight different categories: improvement, leisure, religious, philanthropic, professional, national, political, and unknown.

The improvement category is one which provides its own particular problems. Especially challenging is that most societies, regardless of their activity or goals, in some way expressed the belief that through them some kind of betterment was achieved. "The pursuit of improvement figures, to a greater or lesser extent, in the activity of virtually every associational type."[162] For example, the Early Club was a group of men who promised to rise early, occasionally going on walks. The purpose of the club was social, coming together to enjoy those early mornings, but it also provided "an excellent example to the young men of other communities . . . whose pursuits would be benefited in no slight degree from the commendable habit of early rising."[163] Improvement was a word and concept much used in relation to associations in general.

For the purposes of this thesis, improvement societies will be defined as associations which specifically promoted the improvement of their members as a primary function. Be it through activities such as horticulture or literature, the primary goal of these societies was to inspire social, intellectual or moral change. The category is further subdivided into five sub categories: temperance, literary, educational, moral and debate. Temperance societies

---

[162] Ibid., 85.

[163] *Gazette*, 18 January 1826.

include those which advocated moderation, as well as those which advocated total abstinence of alcohol. This excludes temperance societies aligned specifically to a denomination, church or faith. Literary societies encompass societies dedicated to furthering literary knowledge through reading, the acquisition of books and the discussion of works. Educational societies promoted improvement through the practice of a specific activity, such as gardening, or the formation of a school or the presentation of lectures. Moral societies were formed to promote moral improvement through activities geared to general Christian principles of good moral character. Debating societies promoted intellectual improvement through the sponsoring of debates.

Leisure societies were geared primarily to the promotion of a leisure activity, including sports, hobbies, or other types of recreation. They are subdivided into five sub categories: theatrical, sports, musical, balls, and social. Theatrical includes all societies which organised the performance of plays and other theatrical events. Sports include all activities thought of as sports and games, including chess. Musical societies organised the performance of music, instrumental or choral. Ball societies organised the assemblies and balls of the social season in Montreal. Social societies include dinner clubs and secret societies such as the Freemasons. These societies entertained their members, creating primarily an atmosphere of conviviality and brotherhood.

Religious societies were those which were geared primarily toward the development and furthering of religious belief. The category is subdivided into five categories: charity, school, improvement, missionary, and church administration. Charitable societies in the religious category are societies which met the needs of a specific religious denomination. For

example the Ladies Dorcas society provided for the Church of England poor. Missionary societies promoted their faith in other areas of Lower Canada, and elsewhere, through the financing of ministers and other missionary activities. School societies in the religious category were schools established for the sole use of one denomination, such as Sunday Schools associated with particular churches. Improvement societies were religious societies geared to the moral betterment of individuals within their denomination, including temperance societies which were connected directly to a specific faith or congregation, or Bible societies. These categories exist within other types of associations, but are in the category of religion because of the specific attachment they have to religious practices. They were organised specifically by a denomination or congregation and provided services or comfort for their own exclusively. The church administration category includes those societies created in order to found, or administer a new church or congregation.

Philanthropic societies were charities geared specifically toward caring for the less fortunate. They are further subdivided into the categories of: service, nondenominational charity, denominational charity, and improvement. These societies were differentiated not only by their activities, but also by the groups who organised them. It is also important to note that while religious affiliation of the organisers is taken into consideration for membership, that those on the receiving end of the charity were not. Service societies were formed in order to offer a needed service for the population in general, such as orphanages, asylums, and hospitals. Nondenominational charities, as opposed to denominational charities, provided charitable aid, or raised funds for charities, based solely on need, and not based on any kind of religious category. Charities that referred to themselves as Protestant were

included in this category because they attempted to surmount the religious differences between the various protestant groups. This Protestant cooperation was achieved from the fear of Catholic proselytism through their charitable network.[164] Denominational charities were formed by a specific denomination to provide charity not necessarily based on the specific denomination of the recipients. Improvement charities were those societies created to improve the moral life of the less fortunate. Included in this sub category are those societies such as the Magdalen Asylum which was created to help rehabilitate prostitutes.

National societies were formed around specific national identities. While national societies usually operated as benevolent societies, their ethnic exclusivity set them apart. In separating national societies from other philanthropic societies, I am not creating an artificial divide in order to facilitate analysis, but acknowledging a difference understood by Montrealers of the period. The coverage of the national societies was distinct from other societies in the city. The city's directories demonstrate this, listing them apart from other organisations which had similar activities and benefits.[165]

Professional societies were rare in early nineteenth century Montreal, but were essentially societies formed around medicine, for doctors and surgeons. Political societies were straightforward societies, formed on a political issue, used as a vehicle to present a certain position on this issue, then folded when the issue was resolved. There are a few

---

[164] Janice Harvey, "The Protestant Orphan Asylum", 58.

[165] Robert W.S. Mackay, *The Montreal Directory for 1845-6: containing, first, an alphabetical directory of the citizens generally; second, a classified business directory, in which the names of subscribers only are arranged under their proper business heads; and third, a directory to the assurance companies, banks, national, religious benevolent societies and institutions, and to all public offices, churches, &c, &c, in the City* (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, RWS Mackay, 1845) 310-2.

societies, whose names appeared in the newspapers and other sources, of which little is known. They are thus categorised, simply to account for their presence in Montreal.

## 1.10 Conclusion

For Montreal's English-speaking population, identity was a central feature of their lives. They organised their social and public activities around their specific nationalities, and used these as a means to control and defend their position in society. They utilised both their specific identities and their shared sense of belonging to the British Empire. These identities, and the ways in which they were expressed, altered over this fifty-year period according to the different events and conditions present.

The first fifty years of the nineteenth century were marked by the development of a network of associations and institutions which provided the city's dwellers with an environment in which they could express their identity, and control the group and events around them. Montreal's British population used associations and celebrations, forms familiar to them, to create a sense of community, shape the colonial society in an understood manner. They were developing a civil society on British lines. They likewise used the medium of the press to disseminate opinions, and to advertise the specific events in which they expressed their identities. The very public nature of this is reflected in the sources. Published sources such as newspapers and association minutes and constitutions expressed many identities, while private correspondence rarely described the sense of belonging to an ethnic group or other identities not based on family ties.

CHAPTER TWO

MONTREAL, RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Montreal presented, for its inhabitants, its own set of circumstances. The city was the stage where the various identities were displayed, negotiated, and contrasted. This chapter provides a background for the period under study. It will discuss the city of Montreal in terms of its geography, its economic development and its political role in the colony. The chapter will then situate the inhabitants in regards to their origins and the timing of their arrival in the city.

While nationality was a major division within Montreal's population, it was not the only one. Religion was an important identifier in nineteenth-century Montreal, and like national identity, allowed its constituents a place for community and identity formation. Religion played an important social role in Montreal society. This section will explain its relationship to national identity. A summary of the major denominations present in Montreal during the entire period will be presented, highlighting the major dates and the impetus for their formation. Where possible, the ethnic composition of the different congregations will be discussed.

## 2.1 Montreal's People

Following the Conquest, Montreal was opened up to immigration from Britain, while French immigration had stopped. This opportunity was not immediately obvious. Significant immigration did not start until the years following the American Revolution and the loyalist

migration to the British colonies, and then quite dramatically following the Napoleonic wars.[1] Montreal as an economic and administrative centre proved to be a big draw for settlement after 1800. Its population was a factor in its economic growth and diversification. In 1800, the beginning point of this thesis, Montreal's population sat at 9000.[2] Fifty years later, through natural increase, rural migration and immigration coming predominantly from Great Britain, the city's population had blossomed to 48 207.[3] Those who first emigrated to British North America did so for economic reasons, and usually had the means to establish themselves in their new region. As shown in Chart Two, the city's population growth was strong from 1809, with marked growth after 1821.

The city's economy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was pre-industrial, with the majority of business related to supplies, shipping and trade. Montreal merchants were able to adapt when the economy shifted from the fur trade utilising their privileged access to the continental interior and the trade routes.[4] Trade was reoriented in the 1820s, with Montreal handling agricultural products from the west, including lumber. Increased population in the city provided a ready market for products brought into Montreal.[5] The city's manufacturing sector included leather working, metal working, ship building, woodworking

---

[1] John A. Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, Second Edition (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 110.

[2] Jean-Claude Robert, *Atlas historique de Montréal* (Montréal: Éditions Libre Expression, 1994), 78.

[3] Jean-Claude Robert, "Montréal, 1821-1871. Aspects de l'urbanisation" (PhD, École hautes des études en sciences sociales, Université de Paris I, 1977), 167.

[4] Robert, *Atlas historique*, 51.

[5] Jean-Paul Bernard, Paul-André Linteau and Jean-Claude, "La structure professionnelle de Montréal en 1825" *RHAF*, 30, 3 (déc. 1976) 391.

and clothing. In the first period (1800-1832), these industries were artisanal, shops run by skilled masters with apprentices.[6]

It was only in the 1840s that Montreal experienced capitalist industrialisation, which not only increased the volume of production, but also its variety, and the development of an industrial district adjacent to old Montreal.[7] In addition to the growth in manufacturing, "there was significant growth of new insurance, banking and telegraph companies, as well as capital expansion amongst the older banks."[8]

This economic growth was in tandem with a large growth in the city's population from immigration. The most notable of this movement was as a result of the Irish famine of 1847. The emigrants were less likely to have the means to transport themselves. Many had their voyage subsidised, and they arrived without the means to establish themselves. This meant that they were often an imposition on the charitable networks in the cities of Montreal and Quebec City.[9]

---

[6] Ibid, 393-6.

[7] Robert D. Lewis, "A City Transformed: Manufacturing Districts and Suburban Growth in Montreal, 1850-1929" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27, 1(2001) 21.

[8] Gerald Tulchinsky, "The Montreal Business Community, 1837-1853" *Canadian Business History, Selected Stories, 1497-1971* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971) 125.

[9] G.R.C. Keep, "The Irish Adjustment in Montreal," *CHR*, 31, 1 (1950): 39.

Chart Two: Montreal's Population, 1800-1850[10]
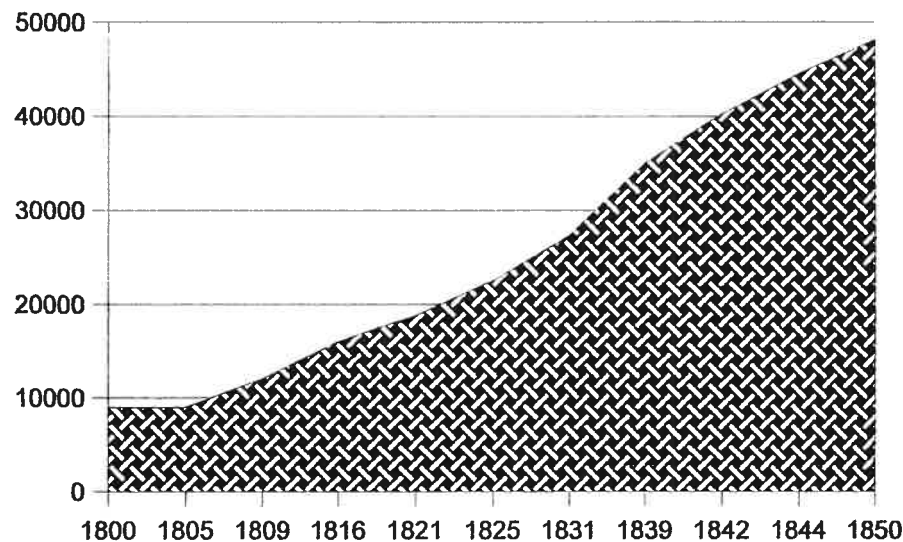


While the population and its growth were significant, it is equally important to recognise its composite parts. The first division was between linguistic groups, which was one of the cleavages identified by Robert. When the British regime began, Montreal was largely inhabited by people of French Canadian origin. The population growth illustrated in Chart Two, during the first half of the nineteenth-century, did not result from an influx or natural growth of French-Canadians but mostly from British immigration. For example, between the years 1825 and 1842, Montreal's British population doubled while its French Canadian portion only increased by a half.[11] The city was becoming increasingly British.

Chart Three shows the city's population in four different years in the first half of the nineteenth-century, as well as the proportion of the two main groups: British and French

---

[10] Robert, "Montreal, 1821-1871," 167.

[11] Robert, "Montréal, 1821-1871," 106. The British population in 1825 was 6270, and in 1842 it was 145000, while the French-Canadian one in 1825 was 12273, and 17208 in 1842.

Canadian. The category of British is further subdivided by place of birth, Britain and Canada.

French Canadians maintained a majority status in Montreal only in the first half of the period

under study. They held this position until 1832. The British majority lasted until 1867.[12]

Chart Three: National and Birthplace Origins in Montreal, 1825-1850. (%)[13]
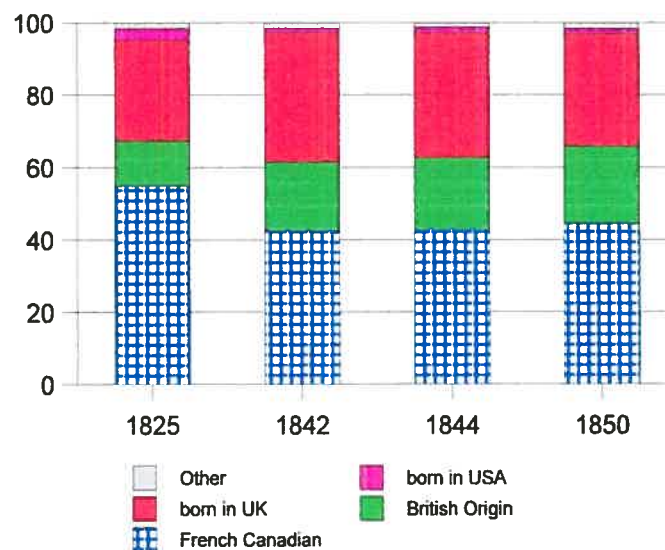


Nationality divided the population further. It was the form of identity which defined

social life. Chart Four shows the percentage of the British national groups in four different

periods. The statistics of the period, coming from various censuses, did not seek the specific

ethnic origins of those born in Lower Canada, but rather differentiated between British and

French Canadian. The statistics represent the birthplace of the British population. Chart Four

demonstrates that the population was varied. The Irish-born represented the largest

---

[12] Robert, *Atlas historique*, 79 and 93.

[13] Robert, "Montreal, 1821-1871," 106.

percentage of the British population. Over the twenty-five years presented in Chart Four, the percentage of English and the Scottish-born decreased in relation to the rest, while the colonial-born increased. The Irish were the largest British national group in Montreal in this period. It was because of their statistical dominance that geographer Raoul Blanchard stated that "la prééminence britannique qui affecte Montréal entre 1820 et 1871 est avant tout une affaire irlandaise."[14]

Chart Four: Components of the British Population, 1825-1850. (%)[15]



_____
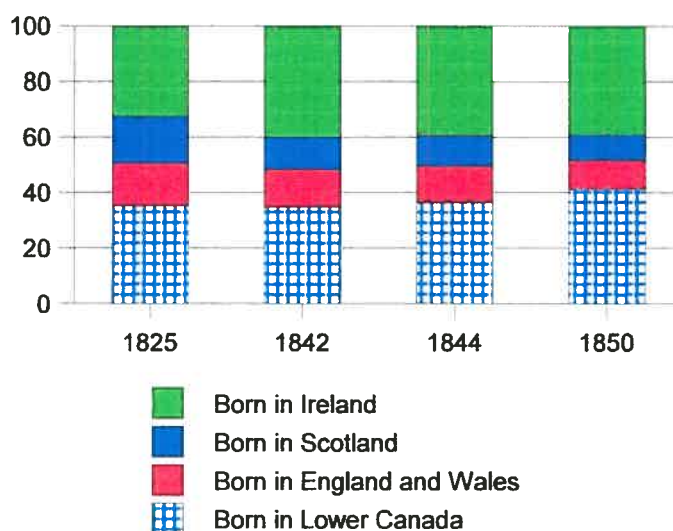
[14] Raoul Blanchard, *L'Ouest du Canada français Vol. 1 "Montréal et sa région"* (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1953), 259.

[15] Robert, "Montreal, 1821-1871," page 106.

## 2.2. Coming and Going

An important characteristic of Montreal's population was its mobility. As a port, Montreal was always welcoming new people, most of whom did not settle permanently in the area. Some left immediately, moving onto their ultimate destination, while others lingered in town for a time to earn the money to finance further travels. A significant number of these transient residents in Montreal were soldiers. Montreal's garrison was a key element in the defence of British North America. In fact, the city became the military headquarters for the colony in 1814.[16] The number of soldiers stationed in Montreal ranged from between 400 and 3000 men in any given year. Elinor Kyte Senior notes: "the British garrison in Montreal was so involved in a multitude of social activities, sports, religious functions, and fraternal and cultural relationships with townsmen that the townspeople seldom went a day without encountering the military at some level."[17]

---

[16] Elinor Kyte Senior, *British Regulars in Montreal: An Imperial Garrison, 1832-1854* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), 4.

[17] Ibid, 145.

Chart Five: Number of British Troops in Montreal, 1832-1850[18]
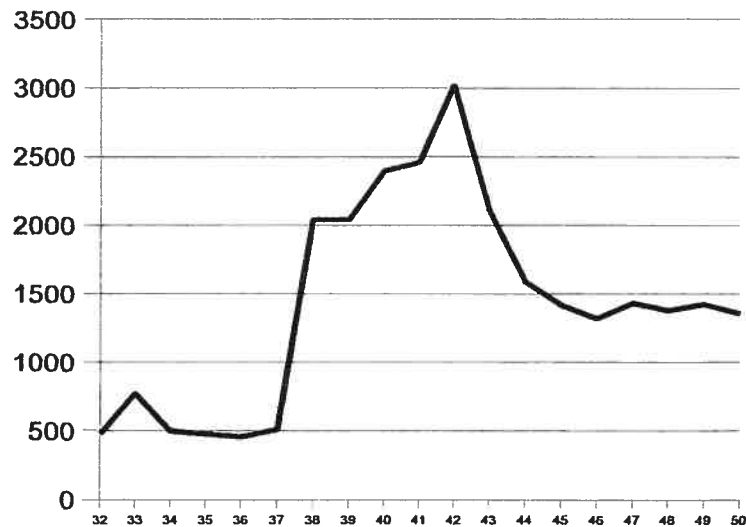


While this transient population was not reflected in statistics of Montreal's general population, their presence in the city still had a significant impact. Kyte Senior saw the military was an important presence in the town, participating in the social activities of the day. They were also an important economic presence in town, requiring supplies and accommodation. Likewise, the presence of those immigrants passing through town had an impact on Montreal's social and economic life. Their stay in the city often required the purchase of supplies and accommodation. They also participated in religious services, and social functions (depending on the length of stay and their economic status). Those without means relied on the social services offered by the churches and the various charitable and

[18] Ibid, 218-9.

national societies in town.[19] This included an Emigrant Society, founded in 1820, which, under the supervision of the city's Protestant and Catholic clergy provided assistance and information for new arrivals.[20]

Montreal was a diverse city with many types of people participating in its social life at different levels. Those who were born in Lower Canada, whether they were British or French Canadian, had different attitudes towards their life in the city from those who had arrived after having known life in a different country, a different society. Many permanent residents invested themselves in the development of the city, while other more temporary residents only saw it as a stop on a longer voyage or a posting of a temporary nature. The timing of arrival, the length of stay, and the interplay of the population were important influences on the expression and construction of identity in Montreal.

## 2.3 Religion

Religion was an important part of the lives of Montrealers. The city was home to a number of different religious groups and traditions. By the 1850s, its streets were dotted with many churches, chapels and temples, representing different religious groups. By 1881 Mark Twain was able to observe "this was the first time I was ever in a city where you couldn't throw a brick without breaking a church window."[21] Judging by the number of churches

---

[19] Fernand Harvey, "Montréal et l'immigration au XIXe siècle," *Montréal au XIXe siècle, des gens, des idées, des arts, une ville*, J-R Brault, ed. (Montréal: Lemeac, 1990), 41-2.

[20] *Gazette*, 19 July 1820; See Appendix Two.

[21] "Mark Twain in Montreal, His Speech at the Banquet in His Honor, an Explanation How He Came to Be in an Ostensibly Foreign Land, Looking Forward to the Good Times Coming When Literary Property Will Be as Sacred as Whisky," *New York Times*, 10 December 1881, 2.

which were established in the first half of the nineteenth century, Twain's comment was just as valid for that period as it was later on.

Not all residents of Montreal practised their faith. That is not to say that religion was not important in their identification. In their study of Catholics in the Montreal region, Louis Rousseau and Frank Remiggi noted that many did not fulfil their religious obligations for Easter.[22] For those who practised, religious observance provided the members of a congregation with an outlet for socialisation. It necessitated the regular attendance in ritual observances such as Sunday services, mass or chapel. The rituals of the service, like all types of rituals and traditions, were meant to bind the participants together.[23] Church attendance allowed for a regular contact with a select number of individuals, who practised a common faith, and thus created a sense of community among them. They were more likely to find their spouses among their own faith, which allowed for closer familial ties. Connecting weekly with each other, and sharing the same beliefs and values, a congregation created a community. For those who were not willing to attend weekly services, the church was still important, and was used to mark life's milestones: baptism, marriage and funeral.

Most important of all, religion provided its adherents with a sense of identity. Isajiw defines identity as "the manner in which individuals locate themselves . . . in relation to one

---

[22] 38.4% of the congregation of Notre-Dame de Montréal in 1839 did. Louis Rousseau and Frank W. Remiggi, eds., *Atlas historique des pratiques religieuses: le sud-ouest du Québec au XIXe siècle* (Ottawa: Les presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1998) 162.

[23] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Tradition," Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983/2000), 9.

or more social systems,"[24] and religion is above all a social system. Religious identity was as important in the lives of Montrealers as their national identity, and often the two identities were strongly connected to one another.

Religious and national identities are strongly similar, as are the practices through which both types of identities are perpetuated and consolidated. The sense of belonging, a reliance upon tradition and ritual attached to religion were the same characteristics which marked associational life, such as the secular ceremonies, celebrations, and indeed with the process of formation. Each required a core membership of believers with a stated purpose, be it the salvation of souls, or the promotion of a sport. One of the most important similarities was the public nature of religion, associational life, celebration and commemoration. The gathering of the participants was open to the view of the general population, interested or not. This made religion public.

Faith may be a highly personal experience, relying upon the inner compulsion of its adherents to believe and to follow, but the celebration of organised religion is very public. Services were held in buildings open to the general public, and all interested in participating in the service were welcome. Special services were often announced in the newspaper, and regular services were announced with the pealing of a bell. "Worship was treated as a *public* act- something conducted in a public space, by a public official, according to formularies sanctioned by statute."[25]

---

[24] Wsevolod Isajiw, "Social Incorporation," Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 1189.

[25] William Westfall, "Constructing Public Religions at Private Sites: the Anglican Church in the Shadow of Disestablishment" *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, Marguerite Van Die, ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001) 26. Italics are from original text.

According to Morris, "religious identity played an important part in the creation of the middle-class urban culture of voluntary societies and charities."[26] In this statement, he is not referring specifically to denominational societies, but denominations were responsible for the creation of many associations of a religious nature. The administration of a church and its activities went beyond the creation of church committees, but often led to the formation of ancillary societies. These societies were associated with particular denominations, and designed to support and control their faith community. This included charitable societies, missionary societies (which in the case of Montreal supported the efforts of smaller churches being established in the region of eastern Quebec and eastern Ontario), Sunday schools, bible societies, and temperance societies. These societies provided both protection of and support to the religious-minded, in living their lives according to the tenets of their faith. They gave members the social outlets to explore their faith with others who shared their views and values.

---

[26] R.J. Morris and Richard Rodger, *The Victorian City- a Reader in British Urban History, 1820-1914,*(London and New York: Longman, 1993), 33.

Chart Six: Population of Montreal by Religion, 1831, 1844 and 1851 (%)[27]
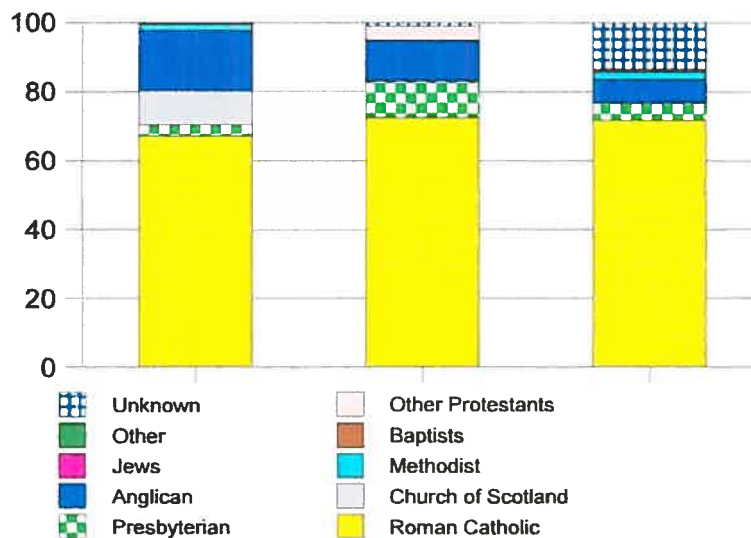


Montreal was home to a number of different religious groups. The following section will provide the chief characteristics of those groups present in Montreal during this period, highlighting the events which marked their development in the city, from the erection of churches to the divisions among the congregations. Where possible, the national characteristics of the congregations will be analysed. The discussion will begin with the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches, followed by the Protestant denominations, and then the Jews. The development of the various denominations, particularly the Protestant ones which established themselves in the early nineteenth century, were reflections of the diversifying religious landscape in British North America, and of the changing social dynamics in Montreal

---

[27] LAC, Recensement de la cité de Montréal, 1831, RG 17, serie A 723, vol. 13, 101; Janice Harvey, "Upper Class Reaction to Poverty in Mid-Nineteenth Century Montreal: A Protestant Example" (MA, McGill, 1978), 19 and 320.

## 2.3.1 Roman Catholics in Montreal

The Roman Catholic Church was the original church organization in Montreal, and in sheer numbers commanded the most adherents in the city.[28] The Gentlemen of the Seminary of St-Sulpice were in charge of the parish of Notre Dame, which encompassed the entire city of Montreal. Until 1819, they were the authority in the city, responsible for the maintenance of the church of Notre-Dame, and its chapels of ease, the Chapel of Notre-Dame-de-Bonsecours, and after 1825, the Recollet church of Ste- Hélène.[29] The Sulpicians provided the priests for all of the needs of the parish. Moreover, the Seminary directed and financed most of the Catholic charitable institutions of the city.

In 1820, the Bishop of Quebec appointed one of their number, Jean-Jacques Lartigue, as auxiliary Bishop in charge of Montreal. In 1826, he officially became the Bishop of Montreal. The British government had finally approved the division of the large diocese of Quebec. The Sulpicians were not pleased with the appointment of a Bishop, and fought a bitter struggle for many years to uphold as much of their power as possible against him and his successor. Louis Rousseau describes this struggle as a sort of guerilla warfare, with the effects of the hostilities spilling into the lives of the parishes.[30]

The majority of the Catholics in Montreal, during the entire period under discussion, were French Canadian. There was a significant group of English-speaking Catholics in the

---

[28] See Chart Six.

[29] A chapel of ease was a church which did not have full rights as a church, but served as a secondary church in a larger parish. The chapel remained under the control of the main church.

[30] Louis Rousseau, *La prédication à Montréal de 1800 à 1830, approche religiologique* (Montréal: Fides,1976), 66-67.

parish of Montreal. The bulk of the Anglophone Catholic population was Irish, although there were a handful of English and Scottish Catholics present. It is with the Irish identity that the church authorities identified these parishioners. The congregation itself, although not entirely Irish, referred to themselves as Irish, when acting as a group. They also referred to themselves as English-speaking, separating themselves from the French-speaking majority.

The English-speaking Catholics received their first services in English in 1817, at the Bonsecours Chapel.[31] There is no evidence that the community asked for their own services. According to lore, they numbered around fifty at this time.[32] This population, from this point on, was treated as a separate congregation by the Sulpicians. By 1825, the population had grown considerably. The number of parishioners had outgrown their church. They had for eight years shared the 'Bosco' as it was known, with French-Canadians. Later accounts, tinged with the then unhappy relations with the French hierarchy, describe this sharing as conflictual.[33] Contemporary accounts are silent on any conflict between the two groups. In 1825, the Sulpicians granted the Irish congregation the use of the Recollet church of Ste.-Hélène.[34] The 'Regilee', as it was known to its members, became the spiritual home of the community. By this time the community had acquired a sense of itself, and with it organised a petition in 1826. "The Irish Roman Catholics of Montreal" asked the Seminary to enlarge

---

[31] Gillian I. Leitch, "Community and Identity in Nineteenth Century Montreal: the Founding of Saint Patrick's Church," (MA, University of Ottawa, 1999), 23. J.J. Curran, ed. *Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, the Works of Fathers Dowd, O'Brien and Quinlivan with Biographies and Illustrations*,( Montreal: Catholics Institution for Deaf Mutes, 1902) 103.

[32] Leitch "Community and Identity", 24.

[33] *Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's Orphan*, 105.

[34] Leitch "Community and Identity", 35.

the Recollet Church in order to accommodate their increasing numbers.[35] By 1830, the community had trebled[36] and was fast outgrowing the building's capacity. Following another petition that year, the Sulpicians granted their request and enlarged the church, using the stones from the facade of the recently torn down Notre-Dame Church.[37]

In 1833 once again the "Irish and other Roman Catholics of this city speaking the English language" petitioned for another enlargement, or better yet, a new church, which they wanted to name Saint Patrick's.[38] This request, like that of 1826 was not granted, despite the 590 signatures on the petition, representing the heads of households in the English-speaking Catholic community.[39] In 1841 the English-Catholics in Montreal once again pushed forward a petition to acquire larger facilities for their increasing population.[40] By this date the growing city of Montreal was served only by four Catholic churches: a newer, larger Notre-Dame, the Cathedral of Saint-Jacques, and the Bonsecours, and Recollet Chapels. The Recollet's faithful were still growing in number. Its congregation was "crammed to suffocation at High Mass, but across Notre Dame Street and in Dollard Lane, opposite to the line of Saint James'

---

[35] AFND, "Lettre du [sic]Irlandais, 5 juillet 1826 RE- Récollet grandi," Boite 3, Chemise 17.

[36] Robert J. Grace, *The Irish in Quebec: An Introduction to the Historiography* (Sainte-Foy: Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1997), 64.

[37] ASSS, 4 janvier 1830 "Registre de l'église des Récollets, à l'usage de la congrégation irlandaise de Montréal, 8 pages, P. Phelan, desservant," Section 27, voûte 2, T-97, #165, page 2. Monique Montbriand, "L'église de Récollets à Montréal (c. 1703-1867)," *Cahier de la Société historique de Montréal* Vol 2, #2-3 (mars/juin 1983), 132. AFND, *Déliberations des assemblées de marguilliers, livre "B" du 9 août 1778 au 15 décembre 1833.* Vulgarisation du registre original par Roxanne Léonard, 1984-11-08,. 6 juin 1830, 324-5.

[38] ASSS, January 1833, "Petition to Quiblier and Seminary from Irish community for a church," Section 7, Voûte 2, T-97, #187, 188, 189.

[39] Leitch "Community and Identity", 66.

[40] SPA, 31 January 1841, "Saint Patrick's Church committee Minute Book [dated] 1841".

Street, the devout worshippers actually knelt in the roadway."[41] The Recollet was also serving the area's French-Canadian population.[42]

The most prominent English-speaking Catholics of the city met to decide upon a course of action, and sent a delegation to the Seminary in order to convince the Sulpicians of the necessity of a new church.[43] The seminary agreed in principle, and on the condition that the congregation themselves raise the sum of £3000.[44] After a few months the committee of Irish and other English-speaking Catholics pressed the Seminary to commence building. The Seminary refused, citing the condition of £3000, which had still not been raised.[45] In June 1843 the committee of the congregation, which had started the process, and had been fund raising in the name of the new church, met with the Fabrique, and together they petitioned the Bishop of Montreal in order to proceed with its construction.[46] The building of Saint Patrick's Church took four years to complete.

As the Irish were working towards the improvement of their religious environment, they were also creating ancillary organizations to support their congregation. The Recollet ran an English-language school for the local boys for a number of years during the 1830s.

---

[41] JJ Curran, ed., *The Golden Jubilee of the Reverend Fathers Dowd and Toupin with Historical Sketch of Irish Community of Montreal,* Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1887. 10.

[42] This can be seen in the records of the Recollet church for this period: ANQ-M,"Cahiers des Récollets," P1000, D 668, 1837-1842; SPA; "Diary, 1840-1844" attributed to John Joseph Connolly,.

[43] SPA, 12 February 1841, "Saint Patrick's Church committee Minute Book [dated] 1841."

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid, 6 July 1841.

[46] SPA, 24 May 1843, "Saint Patrick's Church committee Minute Book [dated] 1841". They never raised the £3000.

The ladies of the congregation, as a group, contributed to the raising of money by holding bazaars. Under the supervision of the clergy there was also a Christian doctrine society, and most importantly, the St. Patrick's Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society, known under various other names such as the Irish Catholic Temperance Association, and the Recollet Temperance Society.[47] This society was an important vehicle of Irish-Catholic identity from the 1840s.[48]

The opening of Saint Patrick's church in 1847 meant that the Irish-Catholic community was now situated in a physically prominent place in the city. Its dedication to Ireland's patron saint was a confirmation of the importance of the Irish within the Catholic Church and in the city. It also coincided with the famine migration, which was one of the single most important events in the history of the Irish population in Montreal. It marked a large increase in the community's population, while it strained the resources of the Catholic church in Montreal, as well as that of the secular Irish and other charitable groups in the city. A large number of these migrants arrived in Montreal ill with typhus, or weakened by famine and the hard trip over. Most were very poor. They required assistance to migrate further inland, or to settle in the city. It was a difficult time, and this episode has overshadowed the historiography of the community.

In examining the Irish-Catholic community in their religious life, one cannot forget the impact of their priests, who provided a strong leadership in the spiritual and lay life. All of them were Sulpicians. The first to minister to this congregation was Father Richards, an

---

[47] The society will be examined further in Chapter Five. See Appendix Two.

[48] See Chapter Five.

American and former Methodist, who had been converted by the Superior of the Seminary.[49] The Sulpicians then actively recruited priests from Ireland to serve their English-speaking faithful. Father Patrick Phelan was one of these priests, and it was he who provided a strong leadership to the community during a good portion of this period (1825-1842). Even after his transfer to Bytown in 1842, and elevation as coadjutor of Kingston in 1843, he was deeply involved in the affairs of the Montreal community.[50] He founded many of the societies associated with the Catholic Irish, particularly its temperance society, and also involved himself in their secular life serving as chaplain for the Saint Patrick's Society.[51]

The establishment of the 'National' parish in Montreal with the opening of St. Patrick's in 1847 was key to the development of an Irish-Catholic identity, distinct from the Irish identity which predominated the first half of the nineteenth century. "Without the creation of national parishes as a basis for organisation, interaction among Irish Catholics would not have been as tightly bound up in parish-based societies."[52] As it was, St. Patrick's Church became the centre of Irish Catholic life, secular and religious. This accommodation of the Irish as a national group by the Catholic Church was a recognition of the importance national identity in Montreal society.

---

[49] Bruno Harel, "Richards, Jackson John", *DCB*; James R. Danaher, "The Reverend Richard Jackson, Missionary to the Sulpicians," *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report* 1943-1944, 49-56.

[50] JE Robert Choquette, "Phelan, Patrick" *DCB*.

[51] See Appendix Two.

[52] Rosalyn Trigger, "The Role of Parish in Fostering Irish-Catholic Identity in Nineteenth Century Montreal," (MA, McGill University, 1997), 132.

### 2.3.2 Anglicans in Montreal

In British North America the Anglican Church enjoyed a favoured status. It was the Church of England (and Ireland), and the monarch was its head, leading to a very close connection of their church to the state and its machinery. "The state supported and to a considerable degree, controlled the church in the colony, while the church accepted, indeed glorified, the close relationship that these ties created."[53] This relationship was not official, and so the church hierarchy sought to give this relationship a more formal footing throughout the period under study. Bishop Jacob Mountain, Bishop of Quebec (1793-1825) tried, unsuccessfully, to give substance to the establishment of the Church of England in Canada.[54]

Upon the Conquest of New France, it was the intention that this church would implant itself in the territory, and replace the Roman Catholic Church. The first ministers sent to Quebec were considered missionaries whose purpose was to convert the French Canadians, not to serve the incoming British population. Montreal's first Anglican minister David Charbrand DeLisle, was a French-speaking Protestant.[55] The logic in his appointment was that being a Francophone he could easily minister to the expected French Canadian converts. Instead he served the new arrivals. Few French Canadians converted.

DeLisle not only ministered to Montreal's Anglican population, but to all of its Protestants, a group composed of mostly British and Americans, and a few French

---

[53] William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 83.

[54] Thomas R. Millman, "Mountain, Jacob" *DCB*.

[55] Curtis Fahey, *In His Name: the Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), 4.

Protestants. The Protestant population was relatively small in the eighteenth century, so it was easiest to remain as one group under one pastor. Since only the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches had the right to keep registers, all Protestants had to go to the Anglican church for baptism, marriage and burial.[56] The congregation who was then worshipping at the Recollet Chapel began to split apart in 1786, with the establishment of the first Presbyterian congregation. The Presbyterians lost their minister the next year, and rejoined the Anglicans. In 1791, the Presbyterians split again, this time permanently.

By that time, the Anglican congregation had moved into the Jesuit Chapel on Saint James Street which they renamed Christ Church.[57] It burned down in 1803, forcing the congregation to worship in the newly constructed Presbyterian church on St. Gabriel Street, which they shared for nine years while an imposing church in the classical style was being built.[58] The new Christ Church, when opened, was the centre of Montreal Anglican worship. It served both the resident population of the city as well as the garrison. The Anglican Church suffered no real congregational splits apart from the other Protestant groups leaving to form their own congregations. It remained unified throughout the period.

In the 1840s, with the increase of Montreal's population three new Anglican churches were built: Saint Thomas (1840), Trinity (1840) and Saint George's (1842). Saint Thomas was built by Thomas Molson on land adjoining his family's brewery in the city's east end.

---

[56] Frank Dawson Adams, *A History of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal* (Montreal: Burton's Ltd, 1941), 43.

[57] Ibid, 24.

[58] John Irwin Cooper, *The Blessed Communion: the Origins and the History of the Diocese of Montreal 1760-1960* (Montreal: Archives Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960), 22. It was modelled on St-Martin-in-the-Fields in London.

It was a privately owned church, financed entirely by Molson, including the minister's salary. It served as an Anglican church for the area. Molson refused to have it consecrated by the Bishop, and so it remained out of the direct influence of the Diocese of Quebec.[59] Saint George's was built in 1842 as a proprietary church. A group of men living in the western part of the city created a joint-stock agreement which financed the construction of the Church.[60] Unlike Saint Thomas, it was consecrated. Trinity was a chapel of ease, part of the parish of Montreal.

The Anglican church was highly involved in providing education for its members and for the poor. "This was in the English tradition of the Established Church."[61] 1819, was a key year for its educational initiatives. That year saw the beginning of a Sunday school, which taught the articles of faith in addition to secular topics to the children of the congregation.[62] "It sought to 'impress on their juvenile minds those ideas best calculated to make them good and great men.'"[63]

That same year, the National School (primary school), based upon the 'National Society for Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England,' was opened. Its teachers were paid by the state and also drew army rations.[64] In addition, the Bishop of

---

[59] Ibid 38; Shirley E Woods, *The Molson Saga 1763-1983* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1983), 122; Karen Molson, *The Molsons: Their Life and Times, 1780-2000* (Willowdale: Firelfy, 2001), 193.

[60] Cooper , *Blessed Communion,* 38.

[61] Ibid, 31.

[62] Ibid, 24.

[63] *Ibid,* 24-5.

[64] Ibid, 31; Adams, *A History of Christ Church,* 31.

Quebec became principal of the Royal Institution that year.[65] The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning (the precursor to McGill University) was formed in 1801, but it did not really take off until Bishop Mountain's leadership,[66] and certainly benefited from the bequest of James McGill for the creation of a university.[67] The Royal Institution took on an Anglican character despite its declared openness to all faiths.[68]

The relations between the Anglican Church and the other faiths present in the city were not cordial. In its bid to protect its 'official' status, it often opposed the establishment of other churches. An example of its protectionist attitude can be seen in 1845, when it was asked by another Protestant group for the use of an empty chapel. The Church, despite being the beneficiary of the same courtesy in 1803 from the Presbyterians, refused. It even went so far as to publish a pamphlet stating its reasons. The refusal was based upon religious principles, but also saw helping another denomination as a threat. "It is the principle of the *Church of England* that, with reference to the exercise of any other than an *episcopal* ministry in any shape or manner, within her own pale, she is *exclusive*."[69]

The Anglican Church could claim among its congregation in Montreal some of the more prominent and powerful of Montreal's elite. The Church was aware of its role in society

---

[65] Millman, "Mountain, Jacob," 527.

[66] Ronald Rudin, *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980* (Quebec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985), 101.

[67] Millman, "Mountain, Jacob," 527.

[68] Rudin, *Forgotten Quebecers*, 101.

[69] AAM, RG 1.5 "G.J. Mountain", George J. Mountain, *A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Quebec on the Question of Affording the Use of Churches and Chapels of the Church of England for the Purpose of Dissenting Worship in Quebec* (Quebec: T. Cary & Sons, 1845), 7. Italics appear in original text.

and of the class of its members. A significant portion of this elite were with the military, and worshipped at Christ Church. The rector of Christ Church was responsible for the spiritual needs of the military, and following 1811, was 'Chaplain of the Garrison.'[70] The military as one of the more tangible elements of the state in Montreal, jealously guarded its privileges and status within the church. In 1837, for example, the officers of the garrison vigorously protested their placement in the gallery of the church. "The respectability of the officers is also affected by their being placed in this part of the gallery, as it is frequented by the lowest order of the congregation."[71] The officers later asked for a separate service, and although this was not given, it was seriously considered.[72] Status was important, and the placement of the individuals in Montreal's Anglican Church was thought to reflect their status in Montreal society, hence the officers desire to have their status recognised in their seating.

The composition of the church is difficult to ascertain. Despite its description by the newspapers as the 'English Church'[73], it is not clear that the English dominated the congregation. Naturally many English immigrants were a part of the country's national church, but it is clear that others also worshipped in Montreal's Anglican Church. John Irwin Cooper suggested in his history of the Diocese, that the vast majority of the congregation were Irish.[74]

---

[70] Adams, *A History of Christ Church*, 41.

[71] AAM, RG 1.5 "GJ Mountain," Letter to Mountain from Lt Col CA Wetherall, 17 July 1837,

[72] AAM, RG 1.5 "GJ Mountain," Letter to Mountain from John Bethune, 10 August 1837.

[73] For example: *Gazette* 5 October 1801; *Gazette* 14 June 1820.

[74] Cooper, *Blessed Communion* 45.

In addition to the English and Irish, there was a German presence within the congregation. They were described as "the remains of the German troops that had fought for the British during the American Revolution."[75] They had apparently worshipped originally in their native language, but had eventually joined in the English language services. Like the Irish Roman-Catholics, who petitioned their church for improved English language services, the Germans likewise did so to the Bishop of Quebec around 1815. Describing themselves as Germans of the Lutheran Church, and numbering around 230, they asked for "a minister capable of preaching in the German language."[76] Although they professed the Lutheran faith, they declared "an attachment which their experience has taught them to feel for the doctrines, disciplines, and forms of the Established Church of England, [and] are desirous of remaining in her bosom."[77] Their request was not granted, but they remained a part of the church, with many of those who signed serving as church wardens and buying pews.[78] The Lutheran Church did not appear in Montreal during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Anglican Church was able to maintain itself as a dominant institution. While it did lose many of its congregation to the development of other religious institutions in the city following the increases in population, it was able to expand, building churches and chapels as required.

---

[75] Ibid, 16.

[76] AAM, RG 1..3, Petition to the Bishop of Quebec (c.1815).

[77] Ibid.

[78] Database.

### 2.3.3 Presbyterians

The Presbyterian Church has its roots in the Church of Scotland. It was not a very unified entity.[79] The Church was in constant conflict over the nature of its faith and practices, and underwent several schisms as a consequence. Despite its turbulent nature, the Church of Scotland was the established and recognised church in Scotland, where it enjoyed the same privileges the Church of England. In the colonies, this was not entirely the case. Some of its ministers in Montreal received a yearly stipend from the government, but only £50 compared to the £200 paid to Anglican ministers.[80]

Presbyterianism is fundamentally democratic. It relies on the belief and leadership of its congregation, and upon active participation of its members in the workings of the church. "Protestantism is a religion of the 'inner compulsion' and 'private judgement', wherein the individual plays the central role, aided by a high, often austere, standard of judgement."[81] The church was ruled by elders, who were elected by the pew holders[82] to deal with matters religious. Their duties included determining church membership admissions and congregation discipline. The church society, also elected, administered the secular matters of the church, such as building maintenance and pew rentals. Laymen, as a result, played an

---

[79] Richard W, Vaudry, *The Free Church in Victorian Canada 1844-1861* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1989) 8. Heather McNabb, "Montreal's Scottish Community, 1835-65: A Preliminary Study," (MA, Concordia University, 1999), 33.

[80] John S Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (NP: Eagle Press Printers, 1987), 75.

[81] Jane Greenlaw, "Fractious Individuals: Protestant Non-Conformity in Montreal, 1828-1842," (MA, UQAM, 1989), 2.

[82] David C Knowles, "The American Presbyterian," Chapter Six.

important role in the church.[83] Because churches were the creations of their members, they were more prone to splinter and change according to the needs and desires of their membership. The election of elders also provided for the creation of a leadership, a social hierarchy, based solely to the church, but which spilled over into other social activities.

Because Presbyterianism was the Church of Scotland, one would expect that the majority of Montreal's Presbyterians were Scots. But, just as not all Scots were Presbyterian, not all Presbyterian were Scots. There were also a number of American Presbyterians. Census data for the period does not allow for the connection between the ethnicity and religious affiliation of Montrealers, so numbers are not available.[84] Americans were clearly present.[85] The combination of the two traditions, Scottish and American proved to be an important factor as the congregation grew in number over the period. National origins then played a significant role in the religious life of Presbyterians. Americans, otherwise not publicly expressive of their national identity, were within the religious setting.

The Presbyterians worshipped along with the other English-speaking Protestants, under the care of the Anglican minister. It was in 1786, that John Bethune gathered together a "small but interesting congregation'-- made up of Scots Presbyterians, Dutch and German loyalists, as well as Anglicans disenchanted with the preaching of Mr Delisle."[86] The

---

[83] McDougall, "The American Element," 73.

[84] Lynda Price, *Introduction to the Social History of the Scots in Quebec (1780-1840)* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981), 22.

[85] See Chart Three.

[86] J.S.S. Armour, *Saints, Sinners and Scots: A History of the Church of St Andrew and St Paul, Montreal 1803-2003* (Montreal: Church of St Andrew and St Paul, 2003), 9.

congregation continued to meet together until Bethune left Montreal for financial reasons, taking a land grant in Glengarry, Ontario.[87] They rejoined the Anglicans in worship upon his departure.

The arrival of a Presbyterian minister, formerly of the Presbytery of Albany, precipitated the second, and this time permanent, split from the Anglican congregation in 1791. John Young, a native Scot, unhappy with his charge in New York, was able to convince the Presbyterians of Montreal to establish a church. On the 11th May 1791 interested men formed a committee, elected officers, and went about the business of establishing a church.[88] The church was built on St. Gabriel Street, and given that name, in 1792. The relationship with the Presbytery of New York, which first gave religious sanction to their services, and assigned Young to them, ended in 1793, with the creation of the Presbytery of Montreal.[89]

Upon the resignation of Reverend Young in 1802, the church sought to replace him with one from the Church of Scotland. This decision by the elders upset many members of the congregation who had sympathies with, or who were brought up in "American Presbyterian or Scottish Seceder churches where worship was freer and the sermons more evangelical."[90] Saint Peter's Street Church (later renamed Saint Andrew's) was built by these unhappy Presbyterians. According to Lynda Price, the church came to be known as the

---

[87] Ibid.

[88] Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St Gabriel Street Montreal* (Montreal: W Drysdale & Co, 1887), 70.

[89] Armour, *Saints and Sinners,* 10.

[90] Ibid, 19.

church of the working class and Saint Gabriel Street as the church of the upper classes.[91] These class distinctions between churches however, were not as fixed as she purports. Division had more to do with the different expectations of the congregants, although these differences followed class lines.[92]

The second split occurred in 1822, when the minister at Saint Peter's Street resigned and a decision was made to choose a minister from the established Church of Scotland. This led to the church becoming more conservative and Scottish.[93] This decision angered the Americans in the congregation who had left the Saint Gabriel Street Church for that very same reason only twenty years before.[94] The discontented met together in 1822 and formed a church society, and set about the creation of the American Presbyterian Church, allying themselves with the Presbytery of New York.[95]

A fourth split occurred at the Saint Gabriel Street church in 1831. At the time the church was struggling to meet the salaries of two ministers and the pension of another. The tension increased when accusations were made against one of the ministers, Reverend Esson, and the congregation divided into two camps. Matters disintegrated when the supporters of Reverend Black barricaded themselves in the church building in order to prevent Esson from

---

[91] Ibid. Price, *Introduction to the Social,* 28.

[92] McNabb, "Montreal's Scottish," 41.

[93] Moir, *Enduring Witness,* 65.

[94] Armour, *Saints and Sinners,* 30; Elizabeth Ann McDougall, "The American Element in the Early Presbyterian Church in Montreal (1786-1824)," (MA McGill, 1965), Conclusion; Price, *Introduction to the Social,* 29.

[95] ANQ-M. "Church Society Minute Books 1822-1854", P603 S2 SS1,4 United Church Archives: American Presbyterian Church, box 163, page 1, 24 December 1822, 29; 20 May 1824.

holding service. Reverend Esson's supporters tried to break down the door.[96] The church remained closed for a long time while parties tried to settle the dispute. In the end, the matter went to the newly formed Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, which settled the issue by dividing the congregation. The senior minister, Rev. Esson kept the Saint Gabriel Street church, while Rev. Black formed a new congregation called Saint Paul's, in 1833.[97]

In 1831, a new congregation was formed in the neighbourhood of Griffintown which was allied with the Secession Church of Scotland. A group of men from this working class neighbourhood, who claimed no particular congregational affiliation, met together to form a congregation, then wrote to Scotland seeking a minister.[98] They called themselves the Erskine Church, and the building was opened in 1835.[99] The congregation could not afford to build so it went into debt with the builder for £250, and with members of the congregation a further £260.[100] The opening of this new church meant that there were four Presbyterian churches in Montreal by 1831. They served a community which remained stable in population through the mid 1840s.[101]

The Saint Gabriel Street congregation experienced its third division in 1844, in the

---

[96] McNabb, "Montreal's Scottish Community", 41-2. ANQ-M "Church Minutes and Annual Reports" P603 S2 SS40, United Church Archives: St Gabriel Street Church, box 193; Price, *Introduction to the Social*, 30.

[97] McNabb, "Montreal's Scottish Community", 43.

[98] Ibid, 46.

[99] Ibid; Price, *Introduction to the Social*, 29.

[100] David R Brown, "Historical Address", *One Hundred Years of Erskine Church Montreal, 1833-1933* (NP: United Church of Canada, 1933), 17.

[101] McNabb, "Montreal's Scottish Community", 50.

wake of the Disruption of 1843, which had torn the Church of Scotland in Scotland apart. A number of members of the congregation who were sympathetic to the Free Church of Scotland met together early that year.[102] After a great deal of conflict among the congregation, some of the Free Church supporters left, and built their own church on Coté Street.[103] Ironically, the St. Gabriel Street congregation also allied itself with the Free Church of Scotland, while the other churches in Montreal, particularly those of St. Paul and St. Andrew's remained connected to the Church of Scotland.

Chart Seven: Presbyterian Congregations in Montreal, 1786-1845[104]



---
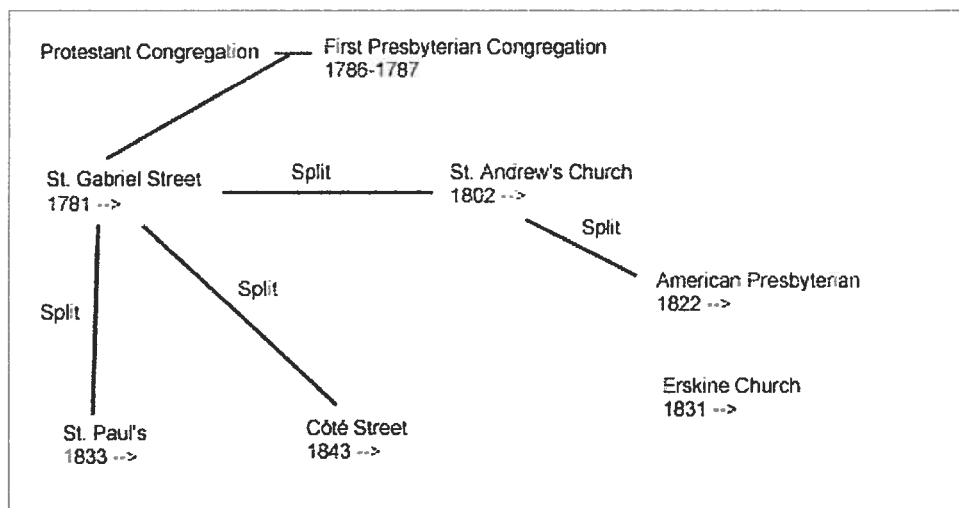
[102] D. Fraser, *A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Free Church, Coté Street, Montreal read to the congregation at their annual meeting on the 25th April 1855* (Montreal: JC Becket, 1855), 1; Vaudry, *The Free Church*, 29; McNabb, "Montreal's Scottish Community", 52.

[103] McNabb, "Montreal's Scottish Community", 53. *Statement of the Committee of the St. Gabriel Street Church detailing the history of the recent proceedings, by which the congregation was deprived of the services of the Free Church deputies, and brought to the verge of dissolution with an appendix* (Montreal: JC Becket, 1845).

[104] McDougall, "The American Element"; Knowles, "The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal, 1822-1866" (MA, McGill University, 1957); Armour, *Saints and Sinners*.

As can be seen from the above narrative and Chart Seven, the Presbyterian Church in Montreal was a volatile community. It is important to note that this level of splits and disagreements among Presbyterians was not unique to Montreal, and reflected the fragmented nature of the Church of Scotland elsewhere.

There was rarely a sense of unity among Montreal's Presbyterians. The frequent divisions within the Presbyterian churches were caused in large part by the process of recruiting a new minister. Faced with choosing a minister who best reflected the ideology of the congregation, the members often disagreed over spiritual direction. "The common pattern in Montreal seemed to be that those who preferred a more evangelical minister seceded from the main body of the congregation."[105] Congregation members chose sides of the argument and grouped together to form new churches. These differences stemmed from the different backgrounds of the Scots and Americans who had settled in Montreal. Class and national identity were important factors which influenced faith preferences, ultimately though, it was personal faith choices which drove congregations apart.

### 2.3.4 Other Protestant Groups in Montreal

Montreal was home to a number of different Protestant denominations during the first half of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately this aspect of Montreal's religious life has been understudied, especially in comparison to Ontario. These congregations, though not particularly large, as seen in Chart Six, were a part of Montreal's social life. The city was generally welcoming to the creation of new religious groups and incorporated them easily into

---

[105] McNabb, "Montreal's Scottish Community", 33.

the fabric of society. These groups organised themselves around their faiths, with little or no participation of the clergy, to create their congregations and churches.

### 2.3.4 a Methodists

An offshoot of Anglicanism, Methodism came to Montreal via the United States, following the American Revolution. By the early nineteenth-century Montreal Methodists had met for some time in worship, but it was the arrival of the first minister from the Upper Canada circuit (an American missionary) in 1802 which allowed the formal organization of the congregation.[106] Their first permanent minister was Samuel Merwin, who arrived in 1804.[107] Little is known about the ethnic composition of this group. This was a very small congregation, numbering only thirteen in 1808.[108] With financing from England, the congregation was able to build its first church in 1809.[109] According to Neil Semple, the fact of having a meeting house had strengthened this congregation, and by 1812 it had grown to thirty-six members.[110]

The War of 1812 proved to be problematic for them. The congregation was being led by an American missionary (though a British subject) when the "Society split over the issue

---

[106] Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 40.

[107] TG Williams, ed. *St James Methodist Church, St Catherine Street, Montreal* (Montreal: St James Church, 1901), 1.

[108] Semple, *The Lord's Dominion*, 40.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

of belonging to a foreign and enemy controlled ecclesiastical body."[111] David Knowles places this conflict of church allegiance in 1822, when the Methodists came to an equitable split, with the American missionaries serving in Upper Canada, and the Wesleyans (British) serving Lower Canada. He states that the American Methodists rather than uniting with the others, chose instead to worship at Saint Paul's Presbyterian Church.[112] Semple states that these differences were resolved by 1820.[113]

The Methodist population increased along with Montreal's population. In 1821, because of its need for more space, the first church was replaced with a larger one on Saint James' Street.[114] A new church society was formed in 1826 in the Quebec suburb, which swiftly initiated the construction of the East End Chapel.[115] The chapel was served by the pastors of the central church, local preachers, and class leaders.[116] This congregation, encouraged by some growth, moved to a new chapel in 1837.[117] The central congregation also outgrew its new facilities and built a new Saint James' church in 1844.[118] In 1845 the East End congregation opened its new and independent church. "The total of communicants connected with the Methodist Body at that time in Montreal was 770, and those belonging

---

[111] Ibid, 41.

[112] Knowles, "The American Presbyterian," Chapter Two.

[113] Semple, *The Lord's Dominion*, 41.

[114] Williams, *St. James Methodist*, 1.

[115] *East End Methodist Church, Montreal, Historical Sketch, 1826-1904* (Montreal: East End Methodist Church, c. 1904), 3.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Williams, *St. James Methodist*, 2.

to the East End Church numbered around 100."[119]

In addition to these two mainstream Methodist churches, the New Connection church, a splinter group with British origins also established in Montreal. It was in 1837 that a missionary came to Montreal and began services.[120] The congregation was never particularly large. Jane Greenlaw, in her study of their registers, noted a total of only fifty-eight members up to the year 1842.[121]

### 2.3.4 b  Baptists

The Baptists, distinguished by their belief in adult baptism, were never a large or powerful group in Montreal in the early nineteenth century. In the Canadian context, those of the Baptist faith came from three different traditions: English, Scottish and American.[122] This led to some conflict, and of course, as evidenced by other Protestant faiths, the establishment of many different Baptist churches in one area. This was not the case in Montreal, most probably because of its small Baptist population.

Baptists began to meet in Montreal in 1820 at the home of Ebenezer Muir[123] It was only in 1830 that this group, now organised in a committee, invited the Scots preacher John

---

[119] *East End,* 4.

[120] Semple, *The Lord's Dominion,* 111.

[121] Jane Greenlaw, "Choix pratiques et choix des pratiques de non-conformisme à Montréal (1825-1842)," *RHAF,* 46, 1 (été 1992): 92.

[122] Daniel C. Goodwin, "The Foot Prints of Zion's King:" Baptists in Canada to 1880" GA Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 197.

[123] *First Baptist Church in Montreal, 1831-1981* (Montreal: First Baptist Church, 1981), 1.

Gilmour to lead them.[124] Their church building on Saint Helen Street was then opened in 1831 with twenty-five members.[125] Despite the small size of the congregation in Montreal, they were able to convince the 'regular' Baptists to set up the Canadian Baptist College in the city in 1838.[126] "The combination of available property, the presence of Newton Bosworth (an able preacher and teacher), and strong support from well to do Baptists in Montreal had decided the immediate location of the college."[127] This college prepared men for the ministry. Its distance from the major Baptist centres in Ontario and the Maritimes, coupled with financial difficulties, forced its closure in 1849.[128]

*2.3.4 c Congregationalists*

The first congregational church was founded in Montreal in 1831 when Rev. Richard Miles held his first services in a local school room. The creation of a formal society soon followed, in July of the next year.[129] The church building was opened in 1835 on St. Maurice Street.[130] The congregation grew sufficiently to warrant a move to larger premises on Beaver Hall Hill in 1846, where they renamed their congregation Zion.[131]

---

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Goodwin, "The Foot Prints of Zion", 198.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid, 199.

[129] Committee of the Congregation, *Zion Congregational Church Montreal, 1832-1910*, (Montreal: Zion Church, 1910), 3.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid, 4.

Associations played an important role in the church. The Zion congregation, with the leadership of the Rev. Henry Wilkes, took an active role in the creation of the Congregational Union of Eastern Canada. The Canada Education and Home Missionary Society, formed in association with the Presbyterians and the Baptists, soon came to be exclusively Congregational.[132] This society assisted in the establishment of new churches.

### 2.3.4 d  Unitarians

The Unitarian Church began in Montreal in 1832 with the unexpected arrival of a minister from England. After contacting a prominent Unitarian in town, P.H. Teulon, the Reverend Hughes was able to begin his preaching, causing "a religious revival."[133] His death soon after, from cholera, spurred the congregation to unite, and to invite a new English minister to serve them. Their chapel was consecrated in September of 1832.[134] Like in many of the other Protestant denominations in Montreal, there was a blend of traditions and origins, for the Unitarians: British and American. The new English minister did not please the portion of the congregation which was more used to an American preaching style.[135] The congregation replaced him with an American, the Rev. Angiers, who was fresh from Harvard Divinity School.[136] "The Rebellion of 1837 injured Unitarianism in Montreal not only by

---

[132] ANQ-M P600 box 5, file C18, "Congregational Church Records", HW Barker, "Congregationalism in Canada a Century ago," 7.

[133] E.A. Collard, *Montreal's Unitarians, 1832-2000* (Montreal: Unitarian Church of Canada, 2000), 6-7.

[134] Ibid, 12.

[135] Ibid, 13.

[136] Ibid, 14.

dividing and losing members; it also made Unitarianism vulnerable to its enemies among the orthodox churches. From their first appearance in Montreal, the Unitarians had been denounced as subversive to society and the public order."[137] Angiers attempted to defend Unitarianism in Montreal from its critics, particularly against the Anglican Reverend Bethune with whom he engaged in a war of words, one which he was apparently ill-equipped to wage.[138]

When the hiring of a new minister became necessary again in the late 1830s, the issue of where to recruit from, the United States or Britain, proved to be a thorny issue. Choosing an American was considered disloyal by some in the congregation. As a compromise they chose a candidate from the Irish Unitarian Church.[139] By 1843, after having settled the issue of preaching traditions, and recovering from the divisions created by the Rebellions, the Unitarian Church was able to stop renting rooms and consider building its own church.[140]

Montreal's Protestant churches were all organised on democratic principles, with the members of the church organising themselves into committees to establish the church, run it, choose ministers and so forth. The flexibility of the associational form allowed those involved to adapt their organisations to the needs of their faith, while also permitting the faith itself to act as a unifying force among those of diverse national backgrounds. It was not always successful, as evidenced by the splits which occurred within some congregations, but

---

[137] Ibid, 22.

[138] Ibid, 16.

[139] Ibid, 47.

[140] Ibid, 66.

again, the associational form was reproduced to allow the dissenters to leave and create their new church according to their needs.

## 2.3.5 Jews

Montreal's Jewish population was the first non-Catholic population to erect their own house of worship in 1778.[141] This small close knit group had first organised the Congregation of Shearith Israel ten years earlier. The origins of this early Jewish population lay in Spain, the Netherlands, Britain (particularly London) and the United States.[142] The synagogue was the centre of their religious life, but during the entire period under study there was no rabbi. They were able to function with the assistance of a specially recruited person to act as cantor, teacher, circumcisor and ritual slaughterer, as well as with the participation of members of the congregation.[143]

The congregation continued to worship at their Synagogue until 1825, when the building reverted to the heirs of one of its members, David David.[144] For several years afterwards the congregation met in the homes of its members.[145] The movement to erect a new building began in 1832, but it was not until 1835 that enough money was raised to begin

---

[141] Gerald Tulchinsky, *Taking Root: the Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community* (Toronto: Lester, 1992), 15.

[142] Ibid, 14.

[143] Ibid, 17.

[144] Esther J Blaustein, Rachel A Esar, Evelyn Miller, "Spanish & Portuguese Synagogue (Shearith Israel) Montreal, 1768-1968", *Jewish Historical Society of England Transactions,* 23 (1969-70): 114.

[145] Ibid; Tulchinsky, *Taking Root,* 33.

construction.[146] It was opened in 1838. They were able, with a bit of effort, to attract a lay leader from England.[147]

The Montreal Jewish population had begun its life worshipping in the Sephardic tradition. The community was growing however and with this growth came diversity. New arrivals came from Poland and Germany, with different traditions including using the Ashkenazic order of service. "By the early 1840s these dissenters had decided to separate and form their own congregation, and in early June of 1845 they began by meeting together to conduct prayers. In 1846 they sought and received legal status."[148]

The arrival in 1847 of the new Hazan, Abraham de Sola from London marked a major change in the organization of Shearith Israel. He was the "community's religious leader- its rabbi in all but name" for the next thirty-five years.[149] Within a year of his arrival from London, he had founded a Sunday school and a Hebrew Philanthropic Society.[150] He revitalised the Sephardic community.

## 2.4 Religious and Associational Conventions

What tied these religious groups together, outside of their use of the English language, was their employment of societal conventions to organise themselves into religious bodies. The organization of religious life was a part of associational life. All the churches in

---

[146] Tulchinsky, *Taking Root*, 33-4.

[147] Ibid, 34.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid, 40.

[150] Ibid, 41-2.

Montreal, to a greater or lesser extent, used associational principles in organising the details of their religious life. This was not exceptional to Montreal. In order to build a church, organise its physical operation, hire a minister or priest or to proselytise, congregations met together regularly, formed committees, and elected wardens or trustees. These committees were associations created to administer a specific interest, and depended upon the will of membership of the church in order to function. While their goals were religious, they were still associations, run in a similar manner to secular societies. In the histories of each faith presented above, there are examples of people (particularly men) dissatisfied with their existing religious services or moved by evangelical callings, who met together, formed committees, raised money, hired ministers, and so on. Within their established church they used committees to run their church and its activities. Ministers and priests established associations in order to direct their congregations towards specific works and religious ideals, such as missionary and temperance societies.

All of the congregations were active beyond the traditional Sabbath service. Most Christian congregations operated a Sunday school, some of which were intended solely for the children of congregation members. Other schools such as the Anglican 'National School' were run as charity schools for the city's poor and was used as a means of proselytising. Missionary societies were also attached to the churches. Montreal's missionary societies tended to gear their efforts in proselytising in Lower Canada, and provided ministers and religious material, especially Bibles, to the outlying regions. These activities taken along with regular worship, meant that church and synagogue were integral in the daily life of many Montrealers.

While these similarities are very important to the understanding of Montreal society in general, and its religious life in particular, it is also vital to note the differences among them. The population's diversity was reflected in each of the congregations formed during the period. When a faith's numbers were relatively small, the differences in traditions were not sufficient to divide the congregation. Once the congregations became somewhat larger, however, they were more prone to split along national or ideological lines. The division usually centred upon the minister, on whether he was representative of their beliefs, or if his style meshed with that of his congregation. Evangelicalism was an important element in this, exposing the desire for a "back-to-the-Bible" philosophy, a more conservative and stricter approach to living. The taking of sides in disputes over religious leadership had a great deal to do with the different origins present in each of the faiths. Religious life was marked by the variety of origins and traditions that permeated Montreal society in general.

There were many opportunities for these disagreements to occur. Ministers changed pulpits often in Montreal. As immigrants themselves they were just as prone to move on as the rest of the population. The first Presbyterian congregation, for instance, had lost their minister, Reverend Bethune, when he took a land grant in Upper Canada. Likewise the Zion congregation lost Reverend Miles when he bought a farm in Abbotsford, Quebec.[151] Between 1835 and 1859 the First Baptist Church had nine pastors.[152] The Catholic Church was not so vulnerable to losing its priests because of the institutional control held over them. The Anglican church was also less prone to losing its ministers for similar reasons, although its

---

[151] *Zion Congregational,* 10.

[152] *First Baptist,* 2.

hierarchy had to first convince them to move, with their families, to Lower Canada.

Montreal was not isolated from the religious movements in other parts of the world. This is most clearly demonstrated in the establishment of the Free Church in the city in 1843. Missionaries from the various developing Protestant denominations made regular trips to Montreal in order to spread their message. Often, the message was well received. The establishment of the Unitarian church is certainly an example of a new denomination establishing itself in town. Religious movements were also brought to Montreal by new arrivals.

CHAPTER THREE

COMING TOGETHER: CLUBS, SAINTS AND DINNERS

3.1 Introduction

Montreal in the first thirty-three years of the nineteenth-century was a city in development. During this first period its population, particularly the English-speaking portion, was beginning to create, in a consistent manner, institutions which would serve its community's needs. As already demonstrated in Chapter Two, the city's Protestants had begun to break away from the Anglican services to build for themselves churches which served their particular denominations. Likewise, the population was fashioning other sorts of institutions which served their secular and social needs. The growth of the British population meant that their influence was felt at multiple levels in Montreal society. Associational life became more and more important as the period progressed.

After 1815, immigration became a significant factor. As the population grew and diversified, identity moved into prominence. Differences were more obvious among the various people present, and the need to organise more pressing. A variety of new social networks were created which represented more exclusive identities and allowed for their increased presence in the public sphere.

The first part of this chapter will discuss the existence of some key associations which were established in Montreal prior to 1800. Societies such as Freemasons and the Orange Order were transplanted directly from existing British societies, while others such as the Robin Hood Society, were copied from known British clubs. British associational

forms, such as the supper club, provided inspiration for Montrealers. Many of these societies continued on through the nineteenth century. The development of these early societies provides context for understanding the later and more sustained associational life in the city. This will be followed by an analysis of the development of associational life from 1800 to 1832. The formation of associations accelerated through this period. Because this period marks an early stage of development in the city and for its English-speaking population, it is a period marked by firsts, when new kinds of associations and different identities were being brought to the fore. The type of association formed at this time were the articulations of the needs of Montreal's population, the transformation of their newly settled space into something familiar, comfortable and controlled. They participated in the transformation of a poorly organised colonial city to a commercial city with a framework of associations which proclaimed it as a civil society.

The inhabitants of Montreal used their different national identities to express their sense of community and values. Montreal's British population demonstrated their various identities through the many organised public events. These events underlined the sense of difference within the British groups, and the other groups present in Montreal. Their celebration proclaimed their right to the public space and their place in the city. The choices made by those expressing these identities in form, frequency and symbolic were distinctive, yet shared some similarities.

3.2 Before 1800

British immigrants, upon their arrival in Montreal, built a community with the required support systems and social networks. Montreal was an unfamiliar and alien environment, and community organisation facilitated integration. In creating communities of their own, they turned to the forms already familiar to them. The most familiar form was the association or club, which was already popular in Britain. It was characterised first and foremost by masculine exclusivity. It involved a group of like-minded men gathered under the banner of a common interest or purpose. It was a means to order the environment.

Masonic lodges were among the first associations to be formed in Montreal. Formation is perhaps too strong a word; rather, it was the transplantation of men, already members in Britain, to newly formed lodges in Montreal. Under the auspices of the military, established regimental lodges were brought to Montreal in 1760. That same year the celebration of the annual Masonic feast of Saint John was undertaken "with the usual joy."[1] The first civilian Lodge in Montreal was St. Peter's Lodge, which was founded in September of 1770.[2]

Described as "one of the most successful forms of association of the eighteenth century," Masonry brought men together in brotherhood, ritual and hierarchical structure.[3] Montreal's Freemasons were heavily reliant upon the Grand Lodge in London, England for

---

[1] John H. Graham, *Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec,* (Montreal: JohnLovell and Sons, 1892), 37.

[2] Ibid, 38.

[3] R.J. Morris, "Clubs, Societies and Associations", F.M.L. Thompson, ed., *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950 v.3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 401.

their authority and legitimacy. Masons in Montreal, as elsewhere in British North America, had to obtain approval from London for decisions they made in their local lodges. This continued even after 1767 when a more local and immediate hierarchy in the form of the Provincial Grand Lodge was created.[4] The Lodges in Montreal still had to obtain their charters from London. Many of the Grand Masters had to make trips to England to settle disputes and arrange Lodge status.[5] The deference to the central body of masonry, headquartered in London, was perhaps problematic because of the time it took to consult with London, but the link to the main body was important to the members, who referred to themselves as 'brothers.' It provided an identity based on a larger sense of belonging.

An important draw for members was masonry's claim as a secret society. The affairs of the order were supposed to stay within the order, and membership was secret.[6] The activities of the various Montreal lodges, however, were frequently advertised in the newspapers, particularly the annual celebration of Saint John's Day on the 27th of December. The papers published close to this date featured advertisements by the various lodges for their dinners. The names of the members rarely appeared.

One exceptional occasion was the laying of the cornerstone for the General Hospital in 1821. The stone was laid with masonic honours, which included a parade in full masonic regalia in the city's streets.

---

[4] Graham, *Outlines of the* ,38.

[5] The papers of J.S. McCord, held at the McCord Museum of Canadian History include many letters which deal with the "Supreme Grand Chapter of England." For example, MMA, M12427, Simon McGillivray to J.S. McCord, 27 February 1828; MMA, M12455, William H. White to J.S. McCord, 5 March 1846.

[6] A web site for the Grand Lodge of Quebec prefers to use the term "discreet" when referring to the secret nature it still embodies. Http://glquebec.org/glq/glqfaq.htm page 2/5 (09/02/2004)

> Upwards of two hundred of the craft assembled at the City Tavern at eleven o'clock; after going through the usual preparations on such occasions, and being joined by the gentlemen composing the building committee, and the committee of direction of the institution, the officers of the 80th Regiment, the band, and a guard from the Regiment.[7]

The members and others marched with all of the symbols of their craft. An account of this event, complete with the names of the participants appeared in the newspaper. This event was a public spectacle. On this occasion, Masons were not constrained by the secret nature of their group. The mystique of the costumes and the ritual added an element of prestige to those who were associated with masonry.

### 3.2.2 Loyal Orange Order

Like the Freemasons, the Loyal Orange Order was transplanted from Britain, with members organising new lodges in Montreal. It, too, was first associated with a military lodge being formed around 1800.[8] In Montreal, the military remained a bastion of Orangeism even though "general orders had been issued several times since 1813 for military Orange Lodges to dissolve."[9] The Loyal Orange Order was a secret society formed in Ireland to honour the memory of William of Orange (William III of Great Britain) and his victory at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. The society limited its membership to Protestants, and was anti-Catholic in its outlook. It existed in many parts of Britain, but its stronghold was in Ireland.

---

[7] *Courant*, 9 June 1821.

[8] Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smith, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 51.

[9] Elinor Kyte Senior, *British Regulars in Montreal: An Imperial Garrison, 1832-1854* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), 67.

Unlike the Masons, its activities were not often reported in the city's newspapers. The Orange Order in Quebec never enjoyed the kind of popularity or acceptance that it did in Ontario.[10] The Order did not advertise its meetings, or its annual celebration on July 12, Orangeman's Day. Indeed, during this first period, the Order's celebration of Orangeman's Day was reported only once, in 1821.[11] The only name mentioned in the account of their dinner was that of William Craig, landlord of the tavern where it was held.[12] Usually, such coverage of celebrational dinners featured the names of at least a few of the participants.[13]

There appears to have been a general sentiment of disapproval of Orangeism in the city's newspapers. This disapproval lay with the strong association the Order and its celebrations had with sectarian violence. Such strong views of Protestant supremacy and anti-Catholicism often inspired negative behaviour from both its supporters and detractors. Two accounts from this period of 'Orange violence' highlight the view of the order and their attitudes, as both violent and unpleasant. In recounting the occurrence of such violence on July 12th in New York City, the editor of the *Canadian Courant* denounced the actions of both Protestant and Catholic Irish. "Such transactions are disgraceful to those concerned, and prove the necessity of leaving off any custom which is calculated to give offense. Irishmen in a foreign country, should make themselves remarkable for their attachment to each other,

---

[10] Houston and Smith, *The Sash Canada Wore*, 50.

[11] *Courant*, 21 July 1821.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Take for example the ceremony for the turning of the sod for the Lachine Canal, which appeared in the same issue as Orangeman's Day, and which mentions the chief participants in the dinner, including Thomas Porteous. *Courant*, 21 July 1821. Another example is a dinner held in honour of the Right Honourable Francis James Jackson, who enjoyed the company of James McGill and Justice Panet, *Courant*, 13 August 1810.

and avoid everything which would render them deserving the epithet of disturbers of the public peace."[14] Reports of Orange-related violence in Montreal newspapers were infrequent. The violence itself was not, although it was more common after 1840.[15] In reporting the foreign locale of New York, the editors were able to distance themselves from the circumstances, yet bring to their readers a moral lesson.

When Orange-related violence occurred in Montreal the following year, the distance could no longer be maintained. The condemnation was the same, resting on the same idea. "We shall not enter into the question of who commenced the affray, whether it was the orange party or those opposed to them, of this we are certain that all those who were engaged in it acted wrong . . . They should consider that their national character is also at stake, and in order to render that respectable, they ought to act in such a way as to make themselves reputable members of the community."[16] The newspaper's association between Irish identity and disorder and violence was clear. The Irish had to be careful in their demonstrations of their identity. There was a fear that the problems present in Ireland would transfer to Lower Canada through Irish immigrants. Montreal was predominantly Catholic, and had a significant number of Irish inhabitants, so the fear of sectarian violence was plausible. The Orange Order was too tied to violence to gain wide approval in Montreal society.

---

[14] *Courant*, 24 July 1824.

[15] St. John, N.B. had a number of riots in the 1840s. TW Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Community*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) 108; Toronto likewise encountered a number of riots related to the Orange Order and its conflict with Roman Catholics. Peter Goheen, "Parading: a Lively Tradition in Early Victorian Toronto," Alan RH Baker and Gideon Biger, eds., *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 346.

[16] *Ibid*, 16 July 1825.

*3.2.3 The Beaver Club*

The supper club was one of the most common forms, and earlier incarnations of associations in Britain.[17] The sharing of food is one of the most basic human activities, and the associational form itself developed from meetings held in taverns, linking food and clubs together.[18] The supper club in Montreal, too, was established early on. Its best known incarnation was the Beaver Club was established in 1785 by a group of men who were closely associated with the fur trade, specifically the Northwest Company. The society was an exclusive social club which honoured the memory of wintering in Indian country.[19] Its members represented men of all national groups in Montreal, Scottish, English, Irish and French Canadian. Membership was limited to nineteen, and admission was voted upon by the members. This was a social club, which hosted elaborate dinners for its members and selected guests. The rules and regulations which governed these events, were written to the minutest detail, including the bringing of personal servants, and to the manner of serving of the wine.

The club's members were not only fur traders, but represented Montreal's merchant elite. Historian Lawrence Burpee described the group as a "family compact," because of the financial and familial interconnections of its members.[20] It was because of its close

---

[17] Morris, "Clubs, Societies, and Associations," 396; Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies c. 1580-1800:the Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 70.

[18] Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 30.

[19] MMA, Beaver Club Fonds, P305, Folder 6, M15467, Rules and Regulations of the Beaver Club, 1819.

[20] Lawrence J. Burpee, "The Beaver Club," *Canadian Historical Association Report* (1924):78.

association with the elite, along with its romantic call to simpler times, that the nature of this club changed in 1807, expanding its membership to forty. The membership limits continued to grow, and the club allowed fifty-five members in 1819.[21] The club faded out at the end of the 1810s, resurfaced briefly in 1827, only to disappear again. Its membership in the nineteenth century had lost many of its fur traders, and instead it had become a place of social contact among the elite in general.

### 3.2.4 Robin Hood Society

Founded in London in the 1750s, the Robin Hood Society was a debating club.[22] In 1791 The *Gazette* announced the formation in Montreal of a group with the same name.[23] With a very vague advertisement, it is clear that the reading public of Montreal was already familiar enough with the English original to understand the call for a like-named society in Montreal. Robin Hood is not a name readily associated with debating. In subsequent advertisements the society used the name 'the Society of Free Debate.' In a period spanning two years, it met regularly to debate such questions as "whether agriculture or commerce is most to the advantage of this province?"[24] and "lequel du célibat ou du mariage est l'état le plus heureux?"[25] It was open to all men willing to pay the *6d* admission. Each debate

---

[21] MMA, Beaver Club Fonds, P305, Folder 6, M15467.

[22] Clarke, *British Clubs and Societies*, 88-9.

[23] *Gazette*, 25 August 1791.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid, 8 September 1791.

required the election of officers to preside over the evening. It attracted both English and French speakers, and debates appear to have been conducted in both languages.

The period before 1800 was a time of modest associational development. Among the first societies established in the city were those which came through military channels, and were new branches of already existing associations. They were direct imports from Britain. These societies were all male in composition, and in the case of Freemasonry, the Orange Order and the Beaver Club, they were exclusionary, open to a very limited number of participants. The Robin Hood Society was more inclusive, especially with its appeals to discussion and debate which appeared regularly in the *Montreal Gazette*, although the admission charge acted as an economic barrier.

These societies were not tied to a particular national group, although it can be argued that the Orange Order was Irish, and like the Masons, attracted mostly Protestants. Montreal's British population was not large enough to be divided along national lines. These associations were the preserve of men whose fortunes, economic and social, were closely tied to the smooth running of Lower Canada. The membership consisted of military personnel, justices, and entrepreneurs. Unity and a sense of belonging were fostered on essentially the social and economic interests of the elite as a whole. It was the after 1800 that Montreal's associational network was able to represent more varied identities and interests.

## 3.3 Associational Formation 1800-1833

The period starting in 1800 was one of great growth. The population was increasing, and with it the number of associations created to deal with social and institutional needs.

Chart Eight: Number of Associations Formed in Montreal, 1800-1833[26]
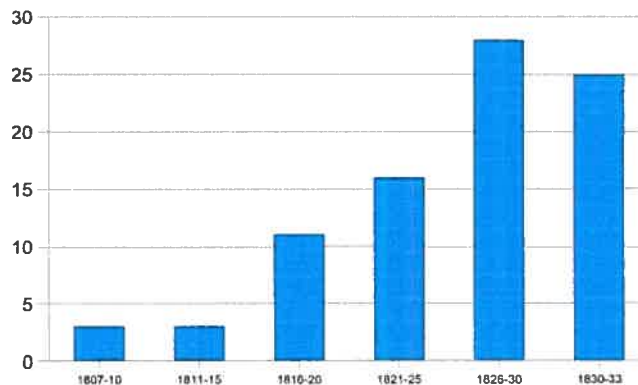


Societies created around this time fall mostly under three categories— religious, philanthropic, and leisure. The popularity of these types of societies indicates the mixed priorities of the city's population, particularly among its elite who had the most free time to devote to these activities.

Chart Nine: Types of Societies Formed Between 1800-1833[27]



---
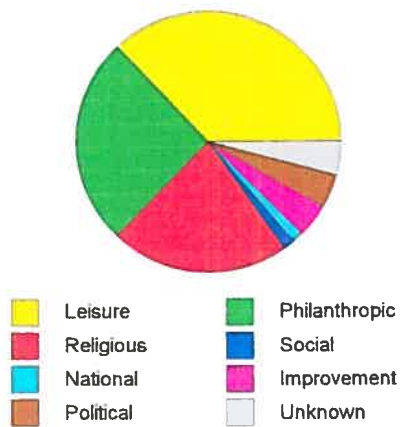
[26] Calculations from the number of societies appearing in Montreal Newspapers. See Appendix Two.

[27] Calculations based upon the descriptions of societies appearing in Montreal newspapers. See Appendix Two.

Religious societies were an important element within the movement to form voluntary associations. Starting in 1813, the city saw the creation of a series of different societies which promoted faith and the study of the Bible. The British and Foreign Bible Society began this movement.[28] It marks a time, as noted in the second chapter, when new churches and new denominations were being established, and when congregations in already established faiths in Montreal were constructing new churches. These societies represented the construction of a religious infrastructure, providing those involved with a support system, to live their lives comfortably within their faith.

Philanthropic societies began to be established in Montreal in this period. Without any structured social support, the population had to rely upon its own means to provide assistance to those in need, or to the needs of the group. 1800 saw the creation of a Fire Society which provided for the fighting of fires, a common threat in nineteenth century Montreal.[29] The city's population was quick to establish such safeguards.

The most important, and clearly the most popular of the philanthropic societies were those which provided for the welfare of the less fortunate. The Female Benevolent Society was formed in 1816, and reformed in 1821 as The Ladies Benevolent Society, to provide assistance for women and children.[30] It was dissolved in 1822, and reborn in 1832.[31] It was

---

[28] *Gazette*, 24 August 1813.

[29] Ibid, 9 June 1800.

[30] Ibid, 22 January 1816; Ibid, 10 January 1821.

[31] Janice Harvey, "The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society: A Case Study in Protestant Child Charity in Montreal, 1822-1900," (PhD, McGill University, 2001), 80; *Gazette*, 1 September 1832.

an exceptional society in that it was exclusively female, and was also long-lived, continuing to exist into the twentieth century. Membership of the society comprised women of the bourgeoisie, and general meetings were run by the men of the same class, often the husbands of members.[32]

The Ladies Benevolent Society was not alone in performing charitable works. Many associations, mostly masculine in makeup, ran such diverse institutions as a Dispensary (1819), a House of Industry (attempted for the first time in 1819), an Emigrant society (1820),[33] and the Montreal General Hospital. Other societies were created to raise funds for the purposes of these institutions, such as the Garrett Benevolent Society (1822) and the Ladies Sewing Society(1830).[34] These societies provided assistance to people whose needs they perceived as important. Charitable institutions were also methods of exercising social control, making the poor conform to the rules set out by those in charge for the delivery of assistance. They assisted certain groups in certain ways and under certain conditions.

If these societies provided institutional structure for the religious and charitable needs of the city, leisure societies were by far the most frequently formed associations. They were also, and especially in the case of sports, outlets for the expression of national identities. As in most societies, the beginnings of leisure activities can be traced in the informal meeting of a few interested people. In the case of sports it meant that a few men met together and competed. Such gatherings did not immediately translate into more formal organisations.

---

[32] Ibid, 118 and 133.

[33] *Gazette*, 19 July 1820. See Appendix Two.

[34] *Herald*, 13 February 1822; *Gazette*, 4 March 1830. See Appendix Two.

Sport clubs were very popular forms of associational life in Montreal. Sports were the preserve of the elite. The activities were geared to those with the appropriate equipment and time to devote. Clubs which were formed in this period represented the interests of the elite such as the Montreal Hunt (1829) and the Turf Club (1832).[35] Sports which enjoyed particular popularity in certain British regions will also be geared for the furthering of national identity.

### 3.4  Expressing National Identity

National identity was an important aspect of Montreal society. Associational and celebrational forms being adopted for other societal concerns such as religion and charity also served the expression of identity. Each group, English, Scot, Welsh and Irish, attempted during this first period to recognise its respective identities. This recognition took various forms, from the dinner parties to the sports clubs.

### 3.4.1 English Identity

Saint George is the patron saint of England, and his feast is on the 23rd of April. Patron saints are strongly associated with the Catholic Church, and the celebration of Saint George in England began before the Protestant Reformation. Saint George survived the shift away from Catholicism, and remained a symbol of England itself.[36] The day was imbued with

---

[35] JI Cooper, *The History of the Montreal Hunt*, (Montreal: Montreal Hunt, 1953). See Appendix Two.

[36] The Church of England continued to venerate a handful of saints, although the evangelical portions of the Church were opposed to this. St. George remains on the church calendar, but not as a feast. David Hugh Farmer, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford University Press, 1978/2003) *xviii; The Book of Common Prayer* (Oxford University Press, nd) 22 and 31.

patriotic feeling, and because of this, was used by several British monarchs as a date for their coronations. For example, Charles II took advantage of the feelings associated with Saint George's day for his coronation in order to buttress public confidence in himself and the monarchy in 1660.[37] When discussing the American use of saints' days, Conzen, et al, stated that the celebration of Saint George's day (and St. Andrew) "had been marked, but they were more acknowledged than celebrated, and nothing as near as central in the existential patterning of life as they would be in the British diaspora."[38]

It was in 1808 that a group of Englishmen in Montreal decided to celebrate Saint George's day publicly for the first time. The event was exceptional in nature for various reasons. Many elements in its celebration were never repeated, such as its duration (lasting all day), its use of medieval costuming and food, and lastly, its references to the English counties. Its description in The *Gazette* was very detailed. The scale of the event was impressive. Montreal's first Saint George's day was held at the Montreal Hotel, and unlike many contemporary dinners, began at sunrise. The ceremony started with the gathering of the participants around the standard of Saint George. The company then went inside and drank cherry bounce. The drinking continued until 4:30 p.m. when the participants were called to dinner. After a sumptuous meal, wine and dessert, the men gave toasts. The party ended at 10 p.m.[39]

---

[37] Carolyn A. Edie, "The Public Face of Royal Ritual: Sermons, Medals and Civic Ceremony in Later Stuart Coronations," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 53, 4 (1990): 313.

[38] K.N. Conzen, D.A. Gerber, et al, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA," *Altreitalia* (April 1990): 46.

[39] *Gazette*, 28 April 1808.

The staging of the event was rife with symbolism and nostalgia. The organisers were keen to create an idealised representation of "Yeongland," or a medieval England. The participants were described as "ancient yeoman," and were dressed in "the Windsor Uniform, shoes tied with leather thongs and white worsted hose rolled over the knee." The Herald announced the dinner, was "dressed in the Tabard of England, three lions, or passant in a Field Gules, and wearing an appropriate cap ornamented with a plume of white feathers." The rooms were elaborate in their trimmings. The floor was "strewed with green branches, and surrounded with common board benches, such as have been in use long before the luxury of either carpets or chairs were known." The food was served on wooden trenchers with wooden spoons, and wine was served in silver cups. The table had "a representation of Saint George on horseback killing the dragon," on a pedestal, with patriotic verses printed on its base flanked by two figures of Britannia. The wine magnums had white and red roses around them. Both the roast beef and the plum pudding were decorated with the flag of Saint George.[40]

This was a carefully constructed, ritualised event. The participants were expected to be involved in the process not only as spectators, but also as representatives: they were not only Englishmen, but county men. They were introduced to the assembly by their Christian names and their county of origin. The number present, thirty, mirrored the number of counties in England. "Six ancient yeomen," as representatives of their counties, also gave special pledges during the toasting. This was the only time in the fifty years under study that county identity was expressed so explicitly by Montreal's English population.

---

[40] Ibid.

This county identity was expressed here within a larger framework of English and British identities. The whole day was designed to foster and support strong feelings of patriotism. The use of medieval costumes, decoration and rituals were certainly nostalgic, but also gave the festivity an air of long-standing tradition. Music was also integral to the evocation of identity. The band of the 49th Regiment played "appropriate tunes" after each toast, and "Rule Britannia" (which was also sung) at the end of the toasting period.[41] The party made twenty-one official toasts: the King of Yeongland, the Duke of Cornwall, the Queen, the Duke of York, the day, Alfred the Great, the Commander in Chief of the Province, Brigadier General Brock, Colonel Murray, Magna Carta, the Black Prince, and other assorted English heroes, historic English victories, and the ladies. The toasts were very martial, stressing victory, glory and honour, tied no doubt to the ongoing conflict of the Napoleonic wars. Mixed with copious amounts of alcohol (cherry bounce, wine and porter), "the glasses being replenished [with] each pledge,"[42] the affair was both fun for the participants, and an outlet, in convivial company, to express pride in their heritage, and confidence in their homeland and empire.

---

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid. 1. His Grace the King of Yeongland, 2. The Duke of Cornwall, 3. Her Grace the Queen and the Young Rosebuds, 4. The Duke of York and English chivalry, Duke of York's troop, 5. The day we celebrate and the land we left, 6. The memory of Alfred the Great, and the wooden walls of Old England, 7. His Excellency the Commander in Chief and the forces in the province, 8. Brigadier-General Brock, the 49th Regiment and the Fall of Copenhagen, 9. Col. Murray and the 100th Regiment, 10. Magna Charta and the days of old, 11. The memory of the Black Prince and the heroes of Poitier and Cressy, 12. The memory of Harry the Vth and the heroes of Agincourt, 13. The memory of Russel, Hamden and Sidney, 14. The golden days of good Queen Bess, 15. The bill of rights and glorious revolution, 16. The memory of Wolfe and the heroes of the Plains of Abraham, 17. Perish our commerce but let our constitution stand, 18. Gustavus, King of Sweden, 19. The Queen and the Royal House of Braganza, 20. Perdition to the head, and palsy to the hand that would contrive or sign any treaty that would infringe on our maritime rights, 21. The English fair.

This first celebration of Saint George, while spectacular and impressive, was not immediately embraced by the English in Montreal. It was only in 1820 that the day was celebrated again. However, its reappearance had more to do with the ascension of George IV to the throne than with a simple desire to express English identity. As noted before, several monarchs had chosen to use Saint George's day for their coronation. In the case of George IV, the day was chosen as his official birthday in order to emphasise his Englishness. It is here that English identity becomes enmeshed with British identity, and the fine line between what was English and what was British was blurred. The monarchy was English, but it was also British.

The status of St. George Day as a state holiday ensured its annual celebration. The day acquired an even greater public profile. For example in 1820, the celebration included a gun salute in the harbour.[43] There was a military parade practically every year of George IV's reign.[44] There was always a banquet, and occasionally a ball was held.[45]

The day served a dual purpose. It was used by the state, which in Montreal meant the army and government officials, to honour the king. It was a day of great patriotism and a time devoted to the demonstration of state power. It was a day to honour Britain. But, in focussing on Saint George, the day was also imbued with the more ancient symbolism associated with the saint and England.

> The scene was enlivened by a general collection of fashionable portion of community, and all seemed to partake of the enthusiastic feeling, which a remembrance that worthy out to

---

[43] *Gazette*, 26 April 1820.

[44] *Herald*, 24 April 1822; *Gazette*, 24 April 1824; *Courant*, 23 April 1825.

[45] *Gazette*, 24 April 1824; *Gazette*, 13 April 1829.

inspire. In addition to the general scene of festive joy which rises with the return of this day, in honour of our King, and commemorative of the Patron Saint of England; there are other reflections and feelings associated with it no less impressive on the mind of the soldier and patriot, than upon that of the accomplished scholar.[46]

The state holiday of Saint George was celebrated between the years 1820 and 1830, during the reign of George IV. On the ascension of William IV the date reverted back to the saint, and promptly ceased to be celebrated. Only a ball in 1832 saw it mentioned again, but it was in connection with an assembly which coincided with the day. The ball was a part of the regular social season, and did not include the use of symbols of the saint, or the usual language which previously accompanied the day and its celebration.[47] The descriptions of the event make the use of the day coincidental.

The celebration of Saint George's Day in this first period was a haphazard affair. It may have been considered 'traditional' by its celebrants,[48] but it was not a regular event. In fact one paper during this period even commented on the lack of enthusiasm for the celebration of Saint George: "We are sorry that the saint would preside over the "Roast Beef of Old England" should, with the birth of England's King, be so little regarded."[49] Its use as a state holiday ensured its celebration regularly for ten years, but it also mixed its meaning for the celebrants. The above citation shows the blending of the two events, but references to it during George IV's reign focussed on the regal purpose of the day.

---

[46] *Courant*, 25 April 1821.

[47] *Courant*, 11 February 1832.

[48] *Herald*, 24 April 1824.

[49] *Courant*, 23 April 1825.

The celebrations organised within these ten years were dominated by the military, who marched in the streets and fired royal salutes.[50] Saints' days did not typically attract such state participation. The official nature of the day meant that the state itself was integral to the festivities. This was a civic identity which was inclusive of all British subjects, not just the English. Saint George was English, and in using this day, George IV likewise wished to be seen as English, and less foreign. The day maintained its association with England, but it was used to promote the British state and its head.

These Saint George's day celebrations attracted a mix of participants. The military parades and the firing of salutes, performed in the city's squares and streets, allowed for the larger non-English public to enjoy the events, if not necessarily to understand or to even agree with the underlying reasons for the show. The military itself was ever present at Saint George's celebrations, from the first one in 1808 where it acted as the regimental band, to the parades, and finally as participants at the dinners and balls.

In choosing to celebrate Saint George's Day, Montreal's English population was passing over other dates which could have likewise celebrated their identity. Bonfire Night and May Day were celebrated regularly in England and were possible days on which English Montrealers could have expressed their Englishness. The first holiday was rooted in the commemoration of a specific event: in 1605 Guy Fawkes was caught in a plot to blow up the English houses of Parliament and King James I. This event was part of what was called the 'Catholic Conspiracy' or the 'Gunpowder Plot,' and its discovery was a triumph for the Protestant cause in England. In celebration of this, and in thanksgiving for the sparing of the

---

[50] For example, *Courant*, 26 April 1826.

King's life, bonfires were lit that year.[51] This developed into a tradition, whereby every November 5th bonfires were lit, and effigies of Fawkes and other Catholic figures, notably the Pope, were burned.[52] This came to be known as Bonfire Night or Guy Fawkes. This holiday does not appear to have been celebrated publicly in Montreal during the period of study.[53]

A letter defending the practice of bonfires was found in the archives of the Bishop of G.J. Mountain in 1823.[54] It appears that the Reverend Parkin of Chambly, near Montreal, lit a bonfire and burned effigies on November 5th. Reports of his acts appear to have reached the Bishop so he wrote in defence of his actions.[55] After relaying a short history of Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot, he proceeded to explain, "not in vindication of my conduct, which requires none, but in contradiction of an unfounded and vile report."

> having a large quantity of shavings on any premises which had become exposed in consequence of the building which covered them burnt to prevent any accident, and happening to mention my wish in the hearing of some of my pupils, was immediately requested to allow them to have them for a bonfire, it being the 5th November. With this request, as the evening was still and favourable for it, I had no hesitation in complying, as it would afford them an innocent amusement and free me from apprehension of danger from them. But there was no effigy whatever, either of Guy Fawkes, or so any other such person was the name of the Pope, to my knowledge, once mentioned.[56]

---

[51] Http://bonfire.org/guy/bonfire.php (24/6/2004).

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] In the 1840s Toronto did celebrate Guy Fawkes Day. The Orange Order organised the event. Peter Goheen, "Parading: A Lively Tradition in Early Victorian Toronto," Alan R.H. Baker and Gideon Biger, eds., *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the Meanings of Some Places in the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 337.

[54] AAM, RG1.5, GJ Mountain. Letter to Timothy Franchere from Edward Parkin, Rector of St. Stephen's, Chambly, 3 December 1823.

[55] Bishop's letter not extant.

[56] AAM, RG1.5, GJ Mountain. Letter to Timothy Franchere from Edward Parkin, Rector of St. Stephen's, Chambly, 3 December 1823. Underlining in original text.

All rather innocent, if Parkin is to be believed. He used the term tradition often in his defence but refused to admit to having followed it fully. He ended his letter with a criticism of Roman Catholics for taking offence at the fire. For even though he did not burn effigies as reported, even if it had been done, it was within the rights of members of the Church of England to "commemorate the preservation of the Protestant government."[57] He even likened the bonfire to a religious ceremony.

In many respects, the celebration of Guy Fawkes can be grouped with Orangeman's Day, in that its strong association with anti-Catholic sentiment made it a problematic occasion to commemorate in Montreal in this period. Public celebrations in Montreal emphasised unity, and tended to shy away from social conflict. Reverend Parkin had to go to great lengths to demonstrate that this observance of tradition was in no way meant as an insult to French Canadians or presumably to other Catholics.

May Day, the first of May, was yet another English holiday not used in Montreal. Traditionally it was a day to mark the coming of spring and included a fair, Morris dancing, and dancing around the maypole.[58] May Day was also celebrated by French Canadians in the more rural parishes. It had been used in the eighteenth-century to honour the Seigneurs, but had through the early nineteenth-century come to be used by the local militia to honour their captains. These celebrations centred on the planting of the maypole, but also included

[57] Ibid.

[58] www.historic-uk.com/cultureuk/mayday.htm (24/6/2004).

dinners.[59] This use by the French Canadian population might have influenced English population's lack of desire to use this date to commemorate their identity.

The English of Montreal, products of their cultural heritage, aware of several days in which traditionally they could gather, chose the day of their patron saint in which to embrace their Englishness. In choosing Saint George, they were choosing a day which had been used by the crown to show patriotism, and to bolster national sentiment. It soon became even more closely connected to the state with its adoption as the King's birthday.

The celebration of Saint George's Day was not the only outlet for the expression of English identity. The community not only organised dinners, balls and military parades around the saint, but also sporting events. Cricket is a very English sport. In Montreal it was first played by the troops in the garrison.[60] Allan Elton Cox describes the sport in Montreal as "mainly an officer's privilege," which did not organise in the civilian population until the 1830s.[61] However, newspaper research found the first appearance of cricket in Montreal newspapers in 1822 with the organisation of a club. From the descriptions of the club and its participants in the papers, it was a civilian one.

The language used to describe cricket and cricketers differ greatly from that employed in the descriptions of Scottish sports which will be discussed later in this chapter. The accounts used terms such as of Englishness, manliness, health and respectability. As noted

---

[59] Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: the Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) 108 and 111.

[60] Allan Elton Cox, "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900" (PhD, University of Alberta, 1969), 10.

[61] Ibid, 11.

by Dodds, English identity was often described in these masculine gendered terms.[62] The report of the first meeting was laced with references to the sterling qualities of the players and the sport. "About eighteen subscribed their names for this purpose, and we hope to hear that this manly and healthy amusement will receive the support of at least as many more, so as to form a club respectable in name, and in strength."[63] A later letter to The *Herald* was more explicit in discussing of the benefits of playing cricket: "The game of cricket is conductive to health and peculiarly adapted to youth, especially those leading a sedentary life, as it expands the chest . . . and puts the whole muscular frame in motion, unattended with the least violence. It has also adds [sic] much to that manly vigour and firm step so remarkable in an Englishman."[64]

The writer associated health and vigour with Englishness, and cricket as a means to perpetuate the vitality of English identity in Montreal. A letter from *A Middlesex Man* connected the projected popularity of cricket with the success of the English way of life in Canada. "I make no doubt with the projected union of the provinces, english [sic] customs and habits will get more generally introduced so that in a few years the noble game of cricket will stand as eminent in Canada, as [in] the Mother Country."[65] Cricket was imbued with the power to civilise, it became the perfect example of how sport and association were used to overtly transform the Montreal environment into something familiar.

---

[62] Philip Dodd, "Englishness and the National Culture," Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986):6.

[63] *Herald,* 22 May 1822.

[64] *Ibid,* 29 May 1822.

[65] Ibid, 31 July 1822.

Englishness, as seen through cricket, was a demonstration to others of the perceived moral, political and physical superiority of their group. Saint George's Day represented an Englishness of tradition and strength, which was tied strongly to the state, and its institutions, particularly the crown. The lines that separated English from British were never entirely clear in the representations Montreal's English population chose when celebrating their identity. The close connection between England and British identity was a deliberate linking of the English with the power and the glory of Britain and its empire.

### 3.4.2 Scottish Identity

Like the English, Montreal's Scottish population also undertook to celebrate the day of their patron saint, Andrew. Its first public commemoration was November 30, 1816,[66] the same year that the Welsh celebrated St. David's day for the first time.

> On Monday evening the principal tradesmen of the city and vicinity, held a ball and a supper at Dyde & Co.'s Mansion House Hotel, in celebration of the anniversary of the Tutelar Saint of Scotland. The dancing commenced about 7 o'clock, and continued with great spirit till after midnight, when the company to the number of 150 sat down to a sumptuous and elegant supper, which reflected great credit on Mrs. Dyde's taste. The supper room was handsomely decorated for the occasion having at the upper end a transparency representing St. Andrew at full length. After supper the dancing was resumed and continued with much vivacity till after five, when the party retired to their respective homes highly pleased with their intertainment [sic].[67]

The celebration itself was a simple one, grouping together those of a certain class, men and women, to dance and dine together as Scots. Balls were a regular occurrence in the social

---

[66] The St. Andrew's Society history places this first celebration in 1804, but the source cited, *Gazette*, 5 December 1804, does not exist. Mary Johnston-Cox, *Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal, Handbook* (Montreal: Saint Andrew's Society, 2001), 5.

[67] *Herald*, 7 December 1816.

season during the winter months and were used periodically by the English and Welsh for their celebrations in this period.

Saint Andrew's Day was more regularly celebrated as a national holiday in Montreal, than Saint George's Day.[68] The day was most often celebrated with a dinner, occasionally a ball, and once a theatre event. What characterised the Scottish events during this period was their variety. For example in 1824 the day was publicly celebrated in two different locations. There was a ball and a dinner at the Mansion House Hotel, which hosted between eighty and a hundred and fifty people.[69] Mrs. West's Assembly Room also had a ball. There were also "several other private parties [which] were given in different parts of the city."[70] In 1825 there were four different events. The Cameron Highlanders held a dinner for a "select military party."[71] A ball was held at the Masonic Hall Hotel.[72] The Theatre Royal organised a performance of the play *Wallace*, which was "neither correct as regards to the period when the Scottish hero lived, nor to the incidents of the beautiful novel of Miss Porter, upon which it is said to be founded."[73] Regardless of its inaccuracy, it was enjoyed by the crowd mainly due to the performances and the stirring imagery of Scotland it presented, including outside the theatre building, which was illuminated by a transparency of the saint.[74]

---

[68] Not including the celebrations of St. George's Day as the King's Birthday.

[69] *Courant*, 4 December 1824 (80 people); *Gazette*, 4 December 1824 (150 people).

[70] *Courant*, 4 December 1824.

[71] *Gazette*, 7 December 1825.

[72] *Courant*, 3 December 1825.

[73] *Ibid; Herald*, 3 December 1825.

[74] *Ibid.*

The day was celebrated frequently after 1820, but its mention in the city's newspapers was often in complaint about its lack of commemoration. There seems to have been an awareness about the importance of the day as a Scottish holiday. Even in years when no events were mentioned, aspects of the saint's life and the importance of the day's observance made the pages of the newspaper. For example: "This being Saint Andrew's Day— a day celebrated throughout all Christendom, but more particularly among the Scots who own him as their tutelar Saint— we are induced to call to the recollection of our readers, a few historical incidents relative to this holy martyr."[75]

In the years when Saint Andrew's Day was not publicly observed, the city's papers were quick to denounce its absence. In 1822 the *Canadian Courant* saw that there was "no note of preparation" for a Saint Andrew's Day.[76] It criticised Montreal's Scots for their lack of feeling and patriotism. "Such omission on the part of a people so famed for nationality, is culpable in the extreme, we should not be surprised if every true Scotchman (aye, and every true Scotchwoman too) would dread encountering the angry shades of Burns, Ramsay, Ferguson, and other worthies of imperishable apostasy so reprehensible."[77] They ended their rant with an offer to publish any notices of planned celebrations. Their offer was not accepted and no explanations were offered as to why. A few days later, The *Gazette* published a poem of lament by '*A Scotsman*', which dramatised the missing celebration.

> Weep! Ye sons of Scotia, Weep!
> The lovely daughters too,

---

[75] *Gazette*, 30 November 1822.

[76] *Courant*, 23 November 1822.

[77] *Ibid.*

> The kindest father's gane to sleep,
> Prayers were aye for you
>     In time o' need:
> He's numbered with the chosen few,
>     St. Andrew's dead.
>
> The festive board and social bowl,
> His natal day was wont to cheer,
> St. George may bark, and Pat may howl,
> They too must follow Andrew's bier
>     To his lang hame;
> Die! Tak me if another year
>     I be to blame.
>
> I'll have a Haggis on the board,
> Sheep's head, and Trotters too,
> And Farintosh, tho' times are hard,
> And d- - - - me, I'll get fou;
>     Just out o' spite;
> No envious Cit, or chosen few!
>     Invite that night.[78]

The poem laments the lack of national feeling among the Scots in Montreal by comparing them to the English and Irish who honoured their patron saints, and by speaking of death and shame. The poet ends his critique by vowing to properly celebrate the following year with haggis and other traditional Scottish fare.

In 1826 the *Herald* took a different tack when criticising the lack of celebrations that year. It published a series of letters from a newly arrived Scot named *'Sander Dalap'*. They were probably written by the paper's editor, himself a Scot.[79] In the first letter published in late October, he introduced himself by describing his arrival in Quebec and his encounters with already settled Scots.

---

[78] *Gazette*, 4 December 1822.

[79] André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, *La Presse québécoise des origines à nos jours* (Québec: Presses del' Université Laval, 1973), *27*.

> I was nae sooner settled, an' had got a kintraman to sit down and tak' a skutfu' o' whiskey that I had brought out wi' me, than I began to speer about St. Andrew's Day, an' how the fo'k held it here- and ye may judge o' my surprise when he tauld me that the Scotch here had gien owre heeding it! The Lord hae a care o'me, quo' I, but ye're sure leevin' . . . Scotsmen forget Scotlan' sae far as to gie up a custom that brought them a thegither. . . . It's a black burning shame that the country that broucht them up an prepar'd the way for them doin' her credit when they were frae her, should be forgotten.[80]

Dalap's letter stirred speculation, and resulted in some comment. Alexander Dunlop wrote in the next issue of the *Herald* that while he understood the letter to be a joke, he did not appreciate his name (the Scottish version of it) to be used in this manner.[81] Dalap replied that he was surprised at the connection, but claimed authorship of the text.[82] He then wrote a short autobiography giving the details of his life in Scotland and that of his late lamented father.[83] In this way he was presenting his credentials to the reading public, as well as his authenticity as a proper and honourable Scot. He wanted to be taken seriously.

These letters were intended to push Montreal's Scots into action. They used Scottish vernacular speech, and references to the Scotland left behind, its wonders and its values. The author put himself forward as the voice of an authentic Scotsman in order to criticise what he saw as 'Canadianized' Scots,[84] people settled so well that they forgot who they were. The author assumed that a true Scot would exhibit overt pride by celebrating Saint Andrew's Day. He was using guilt to spur his readers into compliance. The true test of Dalap's letters was their effectiveness. *'A Scotsman'* called upon his fellow Scots to form a committee to

---

[80] *Herald*, 21 October 1826. Spelling in original document.

[81] *Herald*, 23 October 1826.

[82] Ibid, 28 October 1826.

[83] Ibid, 1 November 1826.

[84] Ibid, 26 November 1826.

"make arrangements for a public dinner with a competent chairman and stewards."[85] This resulted in a dinner held at the Masonic Hall Hotel.[86] A ball was also held that day by Mr. Whale.[87]

The letters also generated some criticism. The writer *'P.Q.'* thought that the use of the Scots language was undignified, and he did not like having to explain to his English friends what was being said.[88] *'Pedro'* went further by stating that "the said letters were written in the language of the Scottish, against the peace of our Lord the King."[89] Clearly the use of the language offended some. This was most likely because it presented the Scots as unclear and uneducated. Pedro's remarks made it obvious that the King's English was considered superior. The critiques were about the style, not the actual message. Dalap's letters stopped on November 26th of that year.

While some Scots were enthusiastic about the celebration of St. Andrew's Day, and were not above trying to shame their fellow Scots into commemorating the day, others were clearly not convinced of its importance. Like the English, the patron saint's day was not the only day which could be used to celebrate Scottish identity. The poet Robert Burns, a regular feature in the toasts and symbols used at St. Andrew's Day celebrations was another option. In Scotland, beginning in 1801 on January 25th, the day of his birth, a dinner was held in his

---

[85] Ibid, 1 November 1826.

[86] Ibid, 25 November 1826.

[87] Ibid, 22 November 1826; *Courant*, 6 December 1826.

[88] *Herald*, 22 November 1826.

[89] *Gazette*, 2 November 1826.

honour.[90] The Burns Suppers, as they came to be known, were reported in Montreal's newspapers. This did not inspire Montreal Scots to do likewise until 1850.

Sports were a more popular method of expressing Scottish identity in Montreal. The Scots were significantly involved in sporting activities, and were the creators of some of the earliest sports societies formed in the city. The Scots chose to express their Scottish identity through culturally distinctive sports.

Although questions have been raised as to the actual origins of curling, it is considered a Scottish sport.[91] In the case of Montreal those who curled strongly identified themselves as Scottish and used curling not only as a form of recreation, but as a means of preserving their identity and culture. Curling was ideally suited to Montreal because it was a winter sport, and it fit the economic life of early nineteenth-century Montreal, which ground to a halt when the port froze.[92]

The Montreal Curling Club was founded in 1807.[93] The club at first restricted its number to 20, and to Scots alone.[94] These early limits allowed those involved the opportunity to shape their organisation according to their vision of identity. Restrictions eased up in the

---

[90] This first dinner was held in Edinburgh, and included some of his friends. www.tartan.tv/ttv/localuserpage.asp?page=2100002534 (17/9/2004); www.worldburnsclub.com/begin/robert_burns.htm (17/9/2004).

[91] Gerald Redmond, *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982),35.

[92] Redmond, *The Sporting Scots,* 139.

[93] Robert Wayne Simpson, "The Influence of the Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas, 1807-1857" (MA, University of Western Ontario, 1980), 2 and 196.

[94] Redmond, *The Sporting Scots,* 109 and 118.

1820s and were at this point that curling began to be covered in the newspapers.[95] In the years that some Scots were bemoaning the lack of national identity among their fellow countrymen, curling events were being held which clearly demonstrated Scottish identity. These were public events in their use of public space for the games, and in the accounts published in newspapers afterwards.

One particular account of a curling night stands out as an example of the way in which Montreal's curlers used the sport to preserve and celebrate their Scottish identity. A group of two hundred and fifty people met to celebrate Christmas at the Clyde Inn in 1824. They divided into teams, curled, and following the games had a grand party. The description of the event tends to hyperbole, but it is evident that the primary purpose of meeting was to celebrate the participants' traditions as Scots. In describing the walk to the river before the games, the account is full of cultural references.

> After being divided into two parties for the games of the day, and their chiefs being appointed, the Rules were repeated by their Host, Mr. Hector McEchearn, and they proceeded to the scene of action on the River, headed each by their national Music- that instrument which gives enthusiasm to their joys, and heroism to their duty,- which inspires their ancient hereditary merriment, mixed with those remembrances of their Country and its past story, and softened by recollections of the "many braw lads it has whistled to their grave."[96]

It is evident that the participants were using the whole event as a way to connect to their heritage. The bagpipes used to lead the men to the ice were imbued with great symbolic meaning, representing both the greatness of Scottish history, and feelings of nostalgia.

---

[95] *Herald*, 14 April 1821.

[96] *Herald*, 7 January 1824.

Golf was another sport highly associated with the Scots. While it was considered a summer sport, it was in the winter of 1826 that a group of Scots met together to play a game. A notice was placed in the newspapers, appealing to Scotsmen to come and participate.

> We are requested to state that a few true sons of Scotia, eager to perpetuate the remembrance of her customs, have fixed upon the 25th inst. for going to the Priests' farm to play at Golf. Such of their countrymen as choose to join them, will meet them before 10 o'clock a.m. at D. McArthur's Inn, Hay Market.[97]

As with curling, golf was presented to the Montreal public not as a way to pass time pleasurably, but as a way to continue Scottish traditions. While playing the game in the winter may not have provided ideal green conditions, it was a moment when more participants would have had the necessary time. Judging from the lack of mention in the newspapers in the following decades, this foray into golf was not a success. It took different social conditions to allow for the formation of a club and the construction of a proper course in 1878.

In 1822, another account of Scottish sporting enthusiasts appeared. As with curling and golf, the report of the event was couched in cultural terms. The "Sons of Caledonia" as they called themselves, met at an inn, and were led by a piper to the windmills, where they played the "ancient Highland Game of *Cammons*."[98] This game, which is also known as shinty, is related to Irish hurling, and has been linked to the development of ice hockey.[99] The game of shinty played that day was an expression of Scottish identity. The players marched through the streets with their clubs, led by bagpipes decorated with plaid ribbons. This

---

[97] *Gazette*, 21 December 1826; *Courant*, 23 December 1826.

[98] *Courant*, 28 December 1822. Italics appear in the original.

[99] Hugh Dan MacLennan, "Shinty's Place and Space in World Sports," *Sports Historian*, 18, 1 (May 1998), 9. [Found online at www2.umist.uk/sport/maclennan.html (07/03/2004)]

display was reported to have had "a singular effect on Canadian spectators."[100] The spectacle did not end with the games. "The party, headed by a piper, returned to McEchern's [probably the same who hosted the 1824 curling party], in the best order, where they spent the remainder of the day in friendship and conviviality."[101]

As they were in matters religious, Montreal's Scots were not in agreement concerning the expression of identity. They were very conscious of their national identity, but used different types of events to express it. There were some common denominators in these events. Feasting was the most important cultural ritual, whether it was in honour of St. Andrew's Day, or following a game of curling, the Scots gathered over food to celebrate. Toasts for St. Andrew, Burns and Wallace were made at these dinners. The symbols did not vary, only the reason for gathering.

*3.4.3 Irish Identity*

As with the other groups, the Irish in Montreal celebrated St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, to publicly express their national identity. In the later periods, St. Patrick's Day would also serve as the model for the pattern of celebrations for saints days celebrated by other identities. But their celebrations were different. Ireland was the more reluctant, and often unwilling partner in the British union. Its position as a subordinate and conquered nation was reflected by the continuing conflict within its borders and with the British

---

[100] *Courant*, 28 December 1822.

[101] Ibid.

government.[102] This often left Irish loyalty to Britain open to question, and so the Irish in

Montreal found their expressions of identity carefully scrutinised.

In addition to having their loyalty questioned, the Irish found themselves the butt of

many jokes.[103] Throughout this early period Montreal's newspapers published off-colour

jokes which portrayed the Irish in a poor light.

> An Irishman
> "I hate cats almost as much ill natured old women" exclaimed an Hibernian in a coffee house;
> "and if I had been an English Minister, I would have laid the dog tax upon cats."[104]

> Anecdote
> An Irishman seeing a large quantity of potatoes standing in a market place, observed to a
> bystander, "What a fine show of potatoes." "Yes, they are," replied he, "very fine potatoes.
> I see you have the name quite Pat, how do you call them in your country?" "Ah, faith,"
> returned the Irishman, "we never call them, when we want any, we go and dig them."[105]

Positive images of Irish celebrations were thus very important for the Irish, to counteract

such negative portrayals.

The first recorded celebration of the day was in 1821 with a dinner held by the

officers of the 37th Regiment.[106] This dinner was an exclusively military affair, and so loyalty

was obviously not an issue. It was an affair tinted in an alcoholic haze.

> Let our readers imagine about ninety gentlemen, exhilarated by good cheer, and with further
> the view of a long vista of bumpers charged to the brim; decanters filled with sparkling

---

[102] K. Theodore Hoppen, *Ireland Since 1800: Conflict and Conformity*,(London and New York: Longman, 1989) 9.

[103] The Irish were often portrayed as stupid. The Irish in jokes were always the fool. Their American experience, and the change from object of ridicule is discussed in: Timothy J. Meagher, *From Paddy to Studs: Irish American Communities in the Turn of the Century Era, 1880 too 1920* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

[104] *Gazette*, 26 January 1813.

[105] *Gazette*, 7 July 1808.

[106] *Herald*, 21 March 1821.

> ammunition . . . Here the toasts ceased: but not so the circulation of the glass, which continued with some activity till three in the morning, that if the streams of the libation ascended to the nostrils of the saint, his mood must have been none of the saddest.[107]

And despite this lavish description of consumption, the report of the evening ends with the statement that "the discharge of grape failed of its usual effect."[108]

The first celebration was hardly sacred, but the next time it was celebrated it returned to its roots. The celebration of Saint Patrick's Day, unlike the other saints' days in British Montreal, kept its strong association with the religious festival. The Seminary of St. Sulpice gained permission from Rome to add the celebration of Ireland's patron saint to its liturgical calendar in 1822.[109] The inclusion of a Catholic mass into the celebration of Saint Patrick's Day did not diminish the importance of the dinner, which was held fairly regularly during this period by varying groups of Irishmen. There was no clear religious split in the composition of the dinner participants, which included Catholic and Protestant.[110]

According to community tradition, the first St. Patrick's Day parade was held in 1824. There is no corroborating evidence in the newspapers or other sources to prove or disprove this date,[111] and for the lack of other evidence, it is generally accepted.[112] The parade

---

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] *Ibid.*

[109] ASSS. 14 mars 1822, "Récit de la congrégation des rites qui permet cèlèbrer[sic] solennellement la fête de Saint-Patrice dans l'église Notre-Dame," T95, 96, 97, Section 27, Dossier 3, 36.

[110] "Brought together on a joyous occasion, united by one liberal feeling, untainted by either religious or national prejudices." *Gazette*, 20 March 1824.

[111] Rosalyn Trigger, "The Role of Parish in Fostering Irish-Catholic Identity in Nineteenth Century Montreal" (MA, McGill University, 1997), 114.

[112] The lack of any mention of the parades in the sources lasts until the 1830s, but otherwise good coverage of mass and dinners leads the date of 1824 somewhat suspect.

was an established part of the day's celebration by the early 1830s. The parade ran in conjunction with the church service held in Notre-Dame.[113] It ran through the city's streets either before or after the Catholic mass.

As previously mentioned, the Irish were the most concerned with the positive representation of their numbers, and the accounts of St. Patrick's Day reflect this. That is not to say that the English and the Scots did put forward an image of respectability, but rather that the Irish accounts were more careful to emphasise this respectability. Of particular concern in the accounts of Saint Patrick's Day dinners was the drinking. As evidenced by the account of the first dinner in 1821, the reporter was careful to mention that despite the copious amounts of alcohol consumed during the evening, the participants remained sober. In 1823, after all the toasts, the men left the tavern in a friendly mood, and "although the head might ache in the morning from the effect of too close an embrace, the heart would be left sound and untouched."[114] Their behaviour was portrayed as respectable.

The toasts themselves were of much interest, and in the case of all the British groups were frequently published. The Irish were the only group to receive criticism for their content. The *Herald* was the most critical of St. Patrick's Day, and other expressions of Irish identity. It began in 1825, with its coverage of the day.[115] The toast to Daniel O'Connell and

---

[113] Except in 1829, when it was held at the Recollet. *Vindicator*, 20 March 1829.

[114] *Courant*, 20 March 1823.

[115] It should be kept in mind that this criticism was in combination with a deep distrust of the Hibernian Benevolent Society, which will be discussed later on in this chapter.

to the Catholic Association of Ireland elicited the strongest critique.[116] "We know that this toast betrays a strong desire to impart into this country the baneful and poisonous effects of Irish Catholic principles and politics. We trust however, that there is much good sense and sound loyalty in the province as will prevent this from ever being the case."[117]

In a letter to the *Herald*, by a self-proclaimed Irishman, who was dissatisfied with more than one toast made at the dinner held at Mr. Kimber's:

> From the tenor of these toasts, it may be fairly inferred, they proceeded from some of that party, which is the bane of this country; a party whose principles many of this society view with abhorrence and disgust; a party, whose leaders, in every good and worthy citizen must consider as a set of ignorant demagogues, who know not how to appreciate the privileges of British subjects.[118]

The criticisms dwelled mainly upon the political aspects of Irish identity. The Irish who had recently settled in Montreal were aware of, and concerned with, matters in their homeland, and reacted to the events in Ireland in various ways. Their toasts then to Irish politicians and causes represented danger, and the criticisms presented by the *Herald* concentrated on loyalty. To the *Herald* the Irish in Montreal were British first, and should not allow the disloyal tensions and problems of Ireland to filter into the colony. British identity was considered the ideal, one which the Irish should express above all others. These were not unlike the criticisms expressed in relation to the Orange Order.

---

[116] Daniel O'Connell was a politician in Ireland who championed the cause of Catholic emancipation in Britain, and to accomplish this he formed the Catholic Association of Ireland.

[117] *Herald*, 19 March 1825.

[118] Ibid, 22 March 1826.

### 3.4.4 The Hibernian Benevolent Society and Other Irish Societies

The Hibernian Benevolent Society was formed in 1823.[119] This society was both a national association and a voluntary society with charitable ends. The Hibernian Benevolent Society operated primarily as a mutual benefit society. Its members paid an annual subscription, and in times of illness were provided with an allowance and, in case of death, the money for a funeral. As was the case with many other benefit societies,[120] the Hibernian Benevolent Society found it hard to maintain their funds, with members failing to keep their contributions up to date.

> The care bestowed on this institution from the commencement has enabled it to accumulate funds to the amount of £200 and upwards, while every attention has been bestowed to the wants of the members, who have not excluded themselves by falling into arrear. It has been an object of frequent regret to the officers, that they could not, consistently with the rules, afford assistance to many whose negligence allowed arrears to accumulate until the time of need called for relief, and more than once on such occasions has the benevolence of individual members supplied the funds, which the society has been obliged to deny.[121]

During this period the Hibernian Benevolent Society was the only mutual benefit society in the city.[122] Because of its function as such, it attracted to its ranks more than the Irish. It offered an opportunity and protection that was not necessarily specific to the Irish. "This society was instituted in 1822, . . . by a few charitably disposed Irishmen; from which

---

[119] *Courant*, 13 November 1823.

[120] Martin Gorsky, "Mutual Aid and Civil Society: Friendly Societies in Nineteenth Century Bristol," *Urban History*, 25, 3 (1998): 320-1; R.J. Morris, "Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis," *Historical Journal*, 26, 1 (1983): 108.

[121] *Vindicator*, 16 February 1830.

[122] French Canadians were discouraged by the Roman Catholic clergy to join fraternal orders, which were the most common means of obtaining mutual benefits. It was only in the 1850s that they founded their own societies. Martin Petticlerc, "De la Providence à la prévoyance: les classes populaires et la société libérale du Québec," Janice Harvey and Jean-Marc Fecteau, eds., *Agency and Institutions in Social Regulation: Toward an Historical Understanding of their Interaction* (Ste-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2005) 248.

cause it is called the Hibernian, the term being in all other respects superfluous; it is composed of men of different nations and different creeds, and has a number of the most respectable men in the district its members."[123] This claim of diversity was a bit of an exaggeration. From an analysis of the names published in association with the Hibernian Benevolent Society, of those whose origins were known, most were born in Ireland, making the society a predominantly Irish one.[124]

Chart Ten: Known Hibernian Benevolent Society Membership, Based on Place of Birth, 1823-1850[125]
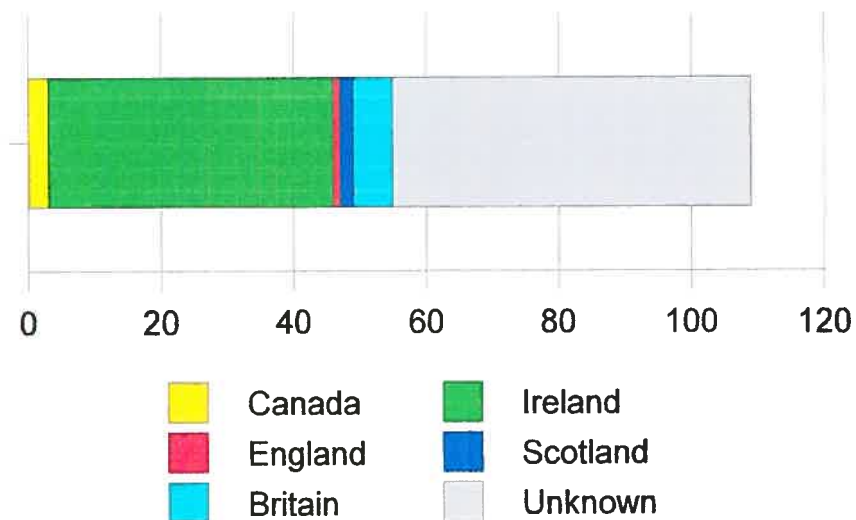
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Canada | | 3 |
| Ireland | | 43 |
| England | | 1 |
| Scotland | | 2 |
| Britain | | 6 |
| Unknown | | 54 |

---

[123] *Herald,* 22 March 1826.

[124] See Chart Ten; Database.

[125] Database.

The Society strongly identified itself as Irish. Hibernia was the Latin name for Ireland, and the society's most overt association with the Irish. The Society also referred to an Irish identity with its choice of an anniversary. The Saint Patrick's dinner became their moment to publicly proclaim their values and pride as a society. The adoption of this day as their own ensured that Saint Patrick's Day was consistently celebrated apart from the mass.

The celebration of Saint Patrick's Day as a Hibernian Benevolent Society event led to criticism of the Society's use of the day. The strong Irish identity expressed, and the formal structure of a society, amplified in many ways, the danger attached to Irish politics felt by many in Montreal. Irish organisations could be seen as promoting less than loyal British ideas. The *Herald*, while very supportive of expressions of English and Scottish identity, was always critical of Irish identity. They took cause with the toasts proposed at the Saint Patrick's Day dinners, but also with the sponsoring society and some of its members. The day itself was considered open to misuse because of its sensitive and emotional nature: "It is, however, a great misfortune, that scenes like these, which ought as it were, to be the sanctuary of every emotion that can cheer the thorny path of life, are too often made the channels of personal and party feeling, and of disseminating the most fatal and injurious to the peace of society."[126] To the *Herald* then, when used properly, the 'national celebrations can strengthen that family compact; so necessary to be preserved inviolate by every member

---

[126] *Herald*, 19 March 1825.

of the British Empire."[127] Of course, it was a matter of opinion as to what was an appropriate use of the national day.

In 1825, it was the Hibernian Benevolent Society, along with one of its members, Michael O'Sullivan,[128] who were the targets of criticism. Again the toasts raised ire. Proposed by O'Sullivan, toast number fourteen was "may the House of Assembly be alive to our interests and maintain our constitutional rights."[129] This seems like a fairly loyal toast on the face of it. However, it had two apparent faults: it forgot the Legislative Council which had "just as much interest in being alive to our welfare," and it was also toasted too late in the proceedings.[130] The toast which followed it was considered the worst offender. It was to the Irish politician O'Connell who was deemed "like a genuine son of Mars, [who] ventures upon rather precarious grounds, and by his unguarded conduct at once discloses the true sentiments and political feelings of the "Hibernian Benevolent Society."[131] This toast brought forward in the minds of some, the threat of discord and social unrest associated with Ireland.

The following year the toasts yet again raised criticism, but rather than being about order, it was about absence. The dinner, held at Dr. Timothée Kimber's home, and which was

---

[127] *Ibid,* 25 March 1826.

[128] Michael O'Sullivan, 1784-1839, Irish-born Justice of the Peace, lawyer, reformer for a time, then a Tory. Married into the French Canadian bourgeoisie twice. Alan Dever, "O'Sullivan, Michael" *DCB*; Database.

[129] *Herald,* 19 March 1825.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid.

a Hibernian Benevolent Society event, was most controversial.[132] The group failed to toast the King.[133] The omission showed "want of common courtesy and a total disregard of the attention to, and for a King, whose most excellent qualities are so well known throughout the world, and so much revered by the majority of the Irish nation."[134] It was unusual during the period that the monarch would be left out of the round of toasts at any social event.

Both authors of the letters in *The Herald* had commented on this slight to the King in 1826 identified themselves as Irishmen, and as members of the society. They both made it clear that the opinions expressed by those present at the dinner were not shared by them in particular, or by others in general. As *'An Irishman'* stated, "I am satisfied a number of its members would be far from countenancing it."[135]

As stated above, Saint Patrick's Day was held to have special and emotional meaning, so its use by the Hibernian Benevolent Society was significant. By having a Saint Patrick's Day dinner, and then publishing the toasts, the "character of the meeting ceases to be private, and its transactions, given to the public, become liable to examinations, and if they should merit it, to public reprehensions."[136] The toasts presented ideas which were different, and

---

[132] Dr. Timothée Kimber, 1797-1852, physician, family originally Jékimbert from Aix-la-Chapelle, Patriote. Michel de Lorimier, "Kimber, Timothée" *DCB*.

[133] List of toasts in 1826: The day; the Lt Governor; the Irish soldiers of the Duke of Wellington; the House of Assembly and its firmness; the Irish colonists; the emancipation of Ireland; the Hibernian Benevolent Society and its Presidents; the Rev. JB McMahon, preacher of the day; Jocelyn Waller the defender of Canadian rights; Daniel O'Connell, the defender of Irish rights; the Irish fair; the Canadian fair; the medical officers of the Hibernian Benevolent Society; the Irish eloquence and the memory of H. Gratton and JP Curran, great orators and honest men; Irish bulls, Irish wit and Irish conviviality. *Herald*, 25 March 1826.

[134] *Herald*, 25 March 1826.

[135] Ibid, 22 March 1826.

[136] Ibid.

dangerous. Not only was the Society toasting Irish causes and being remarkably disloyal in not toasting the King, but this behaviour was not confined to the Irish. Fortunately for the Irish in this instance they were not blamed for this.

> When a number of "Canadian Friends" joined the society, it was not anticipated by the original promoters of it, that any would be made on the part of the Canadians to avail themselves of the privilege they enjoyed to drag the Irish colonists into the vortex of political intrigue, or to insult the Irish members, by associating their name with principles diametrically opposed to the intentions of the institution.[137]

Dr. Kimber was not Irish, and neither were a number of other men present. It was rather simplistic to blame French Canadians for spreading disloyal sentiments when they toasted Irish figures such as O'Connell, but it deflected the blame from the Irishness of the critics. The mingling of Irish and French Canadians and the discussion of politics which did not favour the British government, could be seen as particularly suspect. That some Irish wished to distance themselves from such talk demonstrates the defensive position that many took when expressing their Irish identity.

If the Hibernian Benevolent Society was thought of as a problematic association by *The Herald*, other groups held clearer political goals, goals which did not necessarily sit well with the established system of government and with other members of the British community in Montreal. The Friends of Ireland was created in 1828. Its goal was to push for Catholic emancipation in Ireland by raising money for the Catholic Association of Ireland, which was Daniel O'Connell's organisation.[138] Many of the Friends of Ireland were also paid members

---

[137] Ibid.

[138] Jack Verney, *O'Callaghan: the Making and Unmaking of a Rebel* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994), 37.

of the Catholic Association.[139] The society began in Montreal, but quickly sister societies were established in Quebec City, Trois-Rivières, and Bytown (Ottawa), as well as in the United States.[140]

The society was entirely political in nature. It essentially recruited from the Irish-born, who comprised 59% of the membership whose origins are known.[141] The *Gazette* stated that they were "but very lately arrived from Ireland."[142] Its politics were abhorred by its critics because they represented a "tendency to lessen the good feeling, and to bring those disagreements which are in a manner unavoidable where such difficulties exist."[143] Critics feared that the problems of Ireland would affect society if they allowed the discussion of Ireland and the support of Irish causes in Montreal. The society was also closely linked to the newspaper *The Irish Vindicator*, which was reformist in its outlook.[144] The paper regularly covered the meetings of the society, its members and its aims.

The Friends of Ireland were Irish, and so used Saint Patrick's day to host their annual dinner. The dinner was not just a celebration but a promotional event. Its toasts, published in The *Vindicator* were used to advance the aims of the Society. They toasted the King first, which most likely pleased critics, for that year they were silent on the subject of Saint

---

[139] *Vindicator*, 17 February 1829.

[140] Ibid, 20 March 1829.

[141] From the names published in the *Vindicator* as members of the Friends of Ireland- 44 were born in Ireland, 1 in Scotland, 1 in Canada, and 29 which were unknown. Database. See Chart 17.

[142] *Gazette*, 27 October 1828.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Bealieu and Hamelin, *La Presse québécoise*, 65.

Patrick's Day. The King was praised and encouraged to do more for his Irish subjects: "No Irishman could consider himself happy until the bill removing all disqualifications from their Roman Catholic brethren had received the Royal signature."[145] Here, then, they framed their loyalty to the British crown within a context of political change.

The Society dissolved following the repeal of the Test Act which had restricted Catholic rights in Britain. The purpose of its founding had been achieved. It reemerged in 1831 as a result of "late important intelligence from Ireland."[146] What specific intelligence inspired this action is unclear. The Society was formed as a means to "sympathize with the people of Ireland in their present distress" and to "consider itself as a centre for union of Irishmen in Canada."[147] Its last meeting was reported in June that year, after which it disappeared.[148] Strongly political in nature, the two versions of the Friends of Ireland had little staying power, but they, like the Hibernian Benevolent Society, demonstrated the willingness of some Irishmen in Montreal to band together as Irish, and to use unifying symbols of Irishness, such as Saint Patrick, to demonstrate their identity.

---

[145] *Vindicator*, 20 March 1829.

[146] *Vindicator*, 11 March 1831.

[147] Ibid, 15 March 1831.

[148] Ibid, 10 June 1831.

*3.4.5 Welsh Identity*

March first marks the anniversary of the death, in 589, of David, patron saint of Wales. It was included in the Church's calendar in 1120.[149] In Montreal the celebration of this day first appears in 1816, the same year as the first celebration of Saint Andrew's Day. It was in that year that "a number of the native sons of Saint David, and several honorary sons's [sic] gave a ball and an elegant supper."[150] This was described as having been a small affair, and while well received, if its review in the *Herald* is to be believed, the day's celebration was not repeated until 1847.

Because neither the censuses of the period nor emigration statistics distinguished the Welsh from the English, it is not clear how many Welsh there actually were in Montreal. From the account of Saint David's day, it can be supposed that there were not many present as they had to recruit *honorary* Welshmen to attend the affair. Since the day was so rarely publicly celebrated in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Welsh were either not numerous enough to organise regular Saint David's celebrations, or just not interested in doing so.

3.5 Conclusion

Between 1800 and 1833, Montreal was undergoing a period of growth and transformation. The residents of British origin were establishing a system of social and business networks. They were building a community for themselves, and one of the most

---

[149] http://countrylearning.de/englisch/infostdavidengl.htm (04/04/2004).

[150] *Herald*, 9 March 1816.

accessible means to do so was the club or association. This allowed them to organise on clear and established lines, around interest, faith or nationality. The British population, products of their British culture, formed societies such as they had seen at home. Their associations were inspired by, and sometimes copied from, those existing in Britain, which were familiar to them in method, degree and purpose. Freemasons, members of British lodges, moved to Montreal, and undertook to keep their affiliation, and built new lodges. The members of the Orange Order, though their society was less well received, did the same. These societies undertook to preserve existing social ties, and build new social networks within the city.

The beginning of the nineteenth-century marked the real beginnings of a community for Montreal's British population. Prior to 1800 a small number of associations had formed which had served some of the needs of the city's population, but it was only with an increase of population after 1800 that an associational culture could be said to have developed. The increased population and the diversity which came with immigration meant a diversification and increase in the number and types of societies which were formed. The creation of religious, charitable and leisure societies helped to ease their adjustment to Montreal, by providing a social outlet, and by controlling the community itself. These associations, by their very creation, were imbued with the identities of their members.

National identity was an important element in the life of the city, and with the increased population, became more visible in public activities. This growth in the expression of British identities was amidst a French Canadian majority. British Montrealers undertook to organise various events which in some manner expressed their national identities. Dinners were the most common way that these groups gathered. The meals were highly ritualised

using specific food, toasts and symbols to unite the participants. The reason for the feasts varied.

The English, Scots and Irish chose to honour their patron saints instead of other days associated with their identities. As national saints, George, Andrew and Patrick were able to embody the entire nation. As symbols they were perfect for Britons settled in Montreal. They were powerful yet also adaptable. Andrew and George were not British, and had never set foot in the lands they represented as patrons. All were long dead. The distance of time and reality allowed for the manipulation of these figures. Their feats became greater, their qualities larger than life, unrelated to the actual men. The saints were able to be whatever they were needed to be.

The saints enjoyed varying degrees of success. Saint George was successful. The English identity was closely connected to the crown and its institutions. It was an identity that was English in the sense that it was rooted in England, but encompassed a wider sense of Britishness. Sharing the English day with the king's birthday legitimised this larger sense of British belonging, enjoying the full force of the state behind the celebrations. Cricket reinforced English cultural and physical superiority.

More permanent associations were also used as vehicles of national identity. The Scots used their sports clubs as a means to preserve their traditions and to gather together as Scots. The Scots saw their identity in terms of a cultural tie. Curling, shinty and golf were presented to the public not only as great moments of sport, but as events linked inextricably to being Scottish. These games were surrounded by other Scottish symbols, including traditional music on bagpipes, and tartans. Sports were their strongest connection, and

because curling or shinty could continue over a season of play, it could be said that sport was a more sustained expression of identity than the annual dinners. Scots embraced sports from the old country and used Scottish symbols and music to evoke the pride of identity. Saint Andrew's Day, when celebrated, likewise used similar symbols and music to do the same. They spoke a common symbolic language.

The Irish were more interested in framing their identity around less physical activities. The Hibernian Benevolent Society was the first such national society, which promoted mutual assistance, and through its anniversary dinners, social interaction. Politics played a key role in both the perception of the community's activities, and the tenor of the activities themselves. Perceptions of the Irish as dangerous because of events in Ireland coloured descriptions of them, while the events in Ireland brought some Irish in Montreal together to agitate for action.

St. Patrick's day was used extensively as a gathering point. It was employed by Protestant and Catholic, by the Church and through benevolent and political associations, military and civilian. Being Irish meant different things to different celebrants. British identity was certainly brought forward by critics in conjunction with Irish celebrations. The Irish in Montreal wrestled with their sense of Irishness, of their position vis-a-vis the British union and its empire, and the place they were settled in, different but still a part of the larger whole.

In these first thirty-two years, Montreal's British population had asserted themselves publicly. While they constituted a minority in the city, they had started to control the celebrational life of its population, with the establishment of a number of occasions in which

they could express their own identities. They were structuring their own environment with the creation of societies which could support the needs of the population, provide leisure and outlets for sociability, and promote a sense of belonging to both Montreal, and to the larger empire it was a part of.

CHAPTER FOUR

TORIES, PATRIOTES AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

4.1 Introduction

Montreal in 1833, was changing in the wake of rising political tensions. It was a city

which was also transforming demographically. The city's majority had shifted from French

Canadian to British. This was a shift not only in numbers but in ideology. The British

dominated Montreal, but not the colony. The population was also rising from increased

immigration especially from Ireland.

During the 1830s, tensions were mounting in Montreal, partly because of public

health problems. The cholera epidemic of 1832, had, in the space of twenty-two weeks, killed

2000 people, or about six per cent of Montreal's population. The disease struck again in

1834, 1849, 1851 and 1854. The city's existing social networks found it difficult to cope with

the ill, especially as many were newly arrived immigrants.[1] While the stress and strain of

epidemics were difficult for Montreal, the political tensions proved to be far more divisive.

The Assembly in Quebec City was battling the Executive Council and the Lieutenant

Governor over issues of jurisdiction and economic development. The elections of 1832 were

an example of the increasingly violent confrontations in the political life of Lower Canada.

In Montreal West, the editor of the *Vindicator*, and a reform[2] candidate, Dr. Daniel Tracey

---

[1] Michael Bliss, *Montréal au temps du grand fléau: l'histoire de l'épidemie de 1885* (Montréal: Libre Expression, 1993), 35-36. Geoffrey Bilson, "The First Epidemic of Asiatic Cholera in Lower Canada, 1832." *Medical History*, 21 (1977): 411-433.

[2] The Reform Party was also known as the Parti Canadien, and also later in the 1830s as the Parti Patriote. They most commonly referred to themselves as the Reform Party in the English language sources.

ran against the Tory[3] businessman Stanley Bagg.[4] The election was a long and violent affair which ended with a riot, and the death of three French Canadians.[5] Tracey was elected, but died shortly after, of cholera.[6] These tensions were felt among the national groups.

Political positions were hardening, and political parties were formed which presenting different priorities. The Reform party which held the majority in the Assembly, advocated legislative reform in Lower Canada. The party drew its membership mainly from the French Canadian middle class.[7] The reformers were educated in the Catholic Church's classical colleges, and worked as notaries, lawyers and doctors. They wanted to be a more vital part of the colonial administration. Among these professionals were a few men of British origin such as E.B. O'Callaghan, Daniel Tracey and Wolfred Nelson.[8]

On the other side of the political divide was the British Party. Most of the British party membership was drawn from the English-speaking and business elite. The party, as represented by the most active and vocal of its members, was invested and involved in the existing system of colonial government, some being members of the Executive Council. The choice of party name also confirmed the strong attachment its members had to the British

---

[3] The Tory Party was variously known as the Conservatives, the British Party or Constitutionalists.

[4] Dr. Daniel Tracey, 1794-1832. Born in King's County, Ireland. Physician, newspaper owner and editor, and politician. Reformer. *DCB*: Database.

[5] France Galarneau, "Tracey, Daniel," *DCB*.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 114.

[8] Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, 1797-1880. Born in Mallow, Ireland. Physician, politician, journalist and archivist. Reformer and Patriote. L-J Papineau's right hand man. *DCB Vol. X*. Wolfred Nelson, 1791-1863, Montreal son of an Englishman and an American, physician and politician. Patriote. Married a French Canadian. *DCB*.

state and British identity. But, as Allan Greer notes, while the party was supported by the bulk of the English-speaking population, not all of them were tied to the existing political system. "Indeed, many Anglophones in Two Mountains, and even more in the Eastern Townships, did throw in their lot with the patriot cause. Yet the bulk of the English-speaking population became politicised in the opposite direction, in part no doubt as a reaction by immigrants, still attached to the mother country, against a Patriot party that seemed bent on independence."[9]

Support for one side or another varied over time. Circumstances during the period influenced opinions greatly.

> L'adhésion d'un individu ou d'une communauté à la mouvance loyale doit par conséquent être envisagée en tenant compte de la conjoncture ou d'une sorte de scénographie politique. Participer à une assemblée loyale en octobre de 1834, alors qu'il n'est encore question que de gagner des élections, n'a pas le même sens ni la même portée que de le faire en janvier de 1835 quand les associations constitutionnelles [national societies] sont mises sur pied à bien d'autres fins. De la même manière, exprimer sa loyauté en décembre de 1837, tandis que l'armée et les volontaires procèdent partout à des opérations punitives, n'implique pas nécessairement une grande abnégation loyale.[10]

The tensions between these two political sides increased during the 1830s. Some in both groups hardened their attitudes, taking on a more closed stance, and inciting episodes of violence. This political conflict ultimately led to the Rebellions of 1837 and 1838. These tensions not only marked the political landscape, but also the social life of Montrealers, particularly among its elite. Their social life was not separate from their political life. Their social systems adapted to these tensions. Institutions and associations were formed and reshaped in order to deal with this challenge to their civil society.

---

[9] Greer, *The Patriots and the People*, 164.

[10] Gilles Laporte, *Patriotes et Loyaux: leadership régional et mobilisation politique en 1837 et 1838* (Sillery: Septentrion, 2004), 45.

This chapter will examine the types of associations which prospered in this period. The presence of political and social tensions which existed at this time influenced the type and number of associations formed. The increase of population was also a factor in the expansion of the city's associational life. Within this larger movement of societal formation came the creation of Montreal national societies, which were directly related to the political tensions in the city. The expression of national identity through societies and their activities will be examined in detail and related to the other events which marked the period.

## 4.2 Associational Life, 1833-1840

As with the previous period, this decade saw the creation of numerous leisure, religious and philanthropic societies. What made this period distinct from the previous one, was its associational diversity. The city's population was forming more clubs and associations which catered to a wider variety of interests. The sheer number of societies increased dramatically, in line with the city's increased population.

Montreal's associational boom was not exceptional. Although this burst of activity can be tied to the specific circumstances present in the city, other regions were likewise experiencing increased associational formation. Both Morris and Ryan noted an expansion in associational life in this period. Britain had, in the 1820s developed a large network of voluntary societies.[11] American cities such as New York, New Orleans and San Francisco

---

[11] R.J. Morris, "Clubs, Societies and Associations," F.M.L. Thompson, ed., *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950, Volume 3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 411.

saw the formation of associations "with an increasing velocity" in the 1830s and 1840s.[12]

Chart Eleven: Number of Associations Formed between 1833 and 1840[13]



---
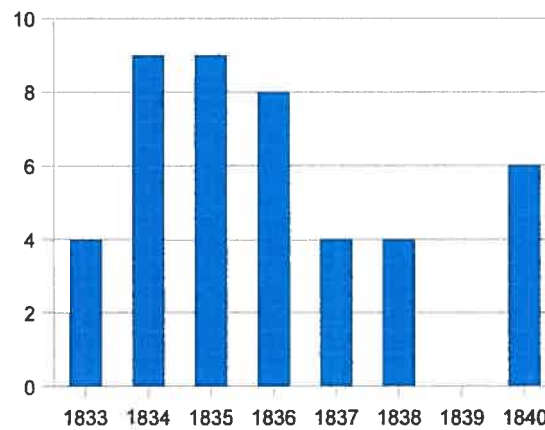
[12] Mary Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City During the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1997) 74.

[13] Appendix Two.

Chart Twelve: Types of Societies Formed Between 1833 and 1840[14]



| | Leisure | | Philanthropic |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Religious | | Social |
| | National | | Improvement |
| | Political | | Unknown |
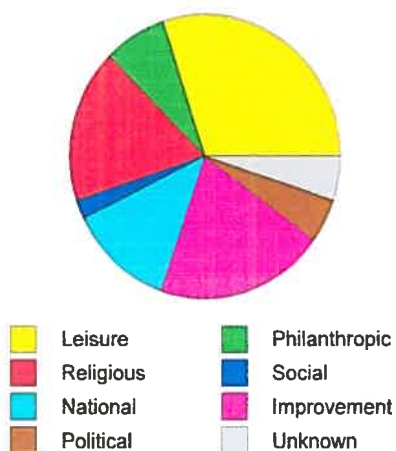
In this eight-year period more than forty societies were formed, an unprecedented number for such a short space of time. As with the first period, discussed previously, leisure societies were once again the most popular creation, with twelve formed during the period. What sets the leisure societies of this time apart from those created before and after, was the comparatively smaller interest in sports. Theatrical societies proved most popular.

Theatrical societies were masculine societies like sporting clubs, but their activities were open to a larger audience, which included women. The events were also different in that they precluded the camaraderie cemented through the dinners which followed the sporting events. The theatrical societies were promoted as a means of improvement as well as for fundraising. "As its object has a purely *moral* and *benevolent* tendency, viz., --that of rescuing from oblivion latent genius; that of promoting the study of elocution, and its attendant requisites, and *last* but not *least*, that of appropriating the surplus fund of the

---

[14] Ibid.

Society to support those excellent institutions, the Montreal General Hospital and the Orphan Asylum."[15] The charitable ends of these amateur performances lent the activity the respectability which theatre at the time lacked.

A great many of the theatrical societies created in this period were connected with the military, and were closely associated with specific regiments stationed in the city's garrison. The "Amateurs of the 24th Regiment" (1833) and the "Amateurs of the 32nd"(1835) were examples of this phenomenon.[16] Most of the theatrical societies included the adjective amateur in their names, which differentiated them from the professionals who were also active at this time. Amateur performances occasionally included the participation of professional actors and actresses.[17]

The increased number of military personnel in the city during the 1830s was a factor in the growth of theatrical groups.[18] This was also a contributing factor in the nature of these groups, which were never particularly long lived. They typically lasted only about two years. The civilian groups did not generally last any longer than the military groups.

The shift from sports to theatrical entertainment shows a change in priorities. Theatres offered a different way for the English-speaking population to gather in the uncertain years leading to and including the rebellions. It brought together more people, and included the military and the elite in a cultural and social setting, reinforcing their shared

---

[15] *Gazette*, 13 December 1834. Italics in original.

[16] *Gazette*, 18 September 1833; *Gazette*, 30 July 1835.

[17] *Gazette*, 5 March 1840.

[18] See Chart Five.

values. The military's active participation within this entertainment increased the visibility of this group in Montreal's social life. It enhanced the profile of this arm of the British state.

### 4.2.2 Improvement Associations

As can be seen by the notice quoted above for the Thespian Society, improvement was considered an important element in the creation of many types of societies. Improvement associations, however, used the idea of self-improvement as a guiding force, and geared their activities towards that end. Clark noted that in Britain this development took place principally during the reign of George II (1727-60), when such associations were very popular.[19] In the 1820s though, with the foundation of the London Mechanics Institute in 1824, a number of similar societies were formed in Britain and abroad.[20] For Montreal, the second period marked the moment when improvement societies took prominence in associational life. Eight such societies were founded at this time in Montreal.[21]

Probably the most important type of improvement society created in this period was the temperance society. One of the earliest to be formed in Montreal was the Montreal Temperance Society, also known as the Montreal Society for the Promotion of Temperance, in 1833.[22] The society was first formed as a Presbyterian society, but soon opened its ranks

---

[19] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies c. 1580-1800: the Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 85.

[20] R.J. Morris, "Clubs, Societies," 411.

[21] See Appendix Two.

[22] *Vindicator*, 19 February 1833.

to all Protestants.[23] It drew its inspiration from the growing temperance movement in the United States, which had begun in the 1820s. It was tied to the growing evangelical revivalism. From the late 1820s and throughout the 1830s this revivalism had meant, in the case of Montreal, the establishment of several new Protestant denominations. This included the construction of new churches and chapels, and the formation of church societies for Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and Unitarians.[24]

The temperance movement promoted personal improvement through the consumption of alcohol only in moderate amounts, "but after 1837 it called for total abstinence."[25] The concept of temperance was brought to Montreal through the Reverend Joseph Christmas at the American Presbyterian Church.[26] It was also a long-lived society, continuing through the century.[27] The society was joined in this period by the St. James Street Temperance Society, which was formed in 1836 by the congregation at the St. James Street Methodist Church.[28]

The Roman Catholic Temperance Society was created in February 1840.[29] While it too found inspiration in the American temperance movement, it had more direct connections

---

[23] Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 62.

[24] See Chapter Two.

[25] Newton Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta or the Early History of Montreal, 1839*, (Montreal: William Grieg, 1839/ Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1974), 189.

[26] Ibid, 58.

[27] Ibid, 85.

[28] *Gazette*, 19 July 1836.

[29] *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's T.A. & B Society, 1840-1890*, (Montreal: Dominion Illustrated, 1890) 23. Also known as the St. Patrick's Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society, Irish Temperance Association, Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Society, and the Recollet Temperance Society.

with Father Mathew's temperance crusade in Ireland.[30] Its creation was a means to both improve the Irish Catholics through personal (Catholic) salvation, the perception of respectability, and to provide the priests with a means to assert more social control.[31] This was a successful organisation, lasting through to the nineteenth century. The society was also oriented towards the congregation of Recollet Church, the Irish Catholics of the city and used St. Patrick's day as its annual celebration. This society at its inception was entirely under the direction of the community's priest Father Phelan, society President, and the assistant President Father Peter O'Connell.[32] The activities of this association will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. Its creation though, was a part of the temperance movement in the 1830s.

The temperance movement began in a period of increasing social tensions, and it was no coincidence that it gained ground during the 1830s. The temperance societies promised the good behaviour and sober control of its adherents. Alcohol was considered a social evil, and by first limiting its consumption, then banning it from the members of these societies, a measure aiming at social peace was considered to be achieved.

---

[30] Every St. Patrick's parade included a banner in Father Mathew's honour. Ex: *Transcript*, 16 March 1843. *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee*, 23.

[31] *Transcript*, 10 March 1840; Elizabeth Malcolm, *'Ireland Sober, Ireland Free' Drink and Temperance in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 55.

[32] *Transcript*, 5 March 1842.

## 4.3 Advent of the National Societies

Within this boom of societal formation, the establishment of national societies was most significant. While they accounted for only five out of the forty newly formed groups, they were probably the best covered societies in Montreal's press. National identity and society activities were of major interest. The events leading up to the creation of these national societies read like a series of tactical moves by the more politically minded of Montreal's population. Each action by one group resulted in an action by the other. As 1834 turned into 1835, these acts became more overt. Identity became a political commodity. The first volley came in March. Saint Patrick's Day 1834 was celebrated in the usual manner, with a Catholic mass and a parade in the daytime, and a dinner in the evening of a "respectable party of Irish fellow citizens."[33]

The dinner was organised by Reformers, and as such, it not only celebrated Saint Patrick and everything Irish, but also incorporated Patriote politics. The guests included "a number of our Canadian fellow citizens." Their presence served to "cement more strongly the good feeling and union which already exists in this city among Irishmen and Canadians, which will eventually overthrow the power of their mutual enemy."[34] The men present included E.B. O'Callaghan (the president of the evening) A.N. Morin and E.E. Rodier, all prominent Patriotes.

---

[33] *Vindicator*, 18 March 1834.

[34] Ibid.

While the King was toasted (a disappointing fourth), the majority of the toasts dealt with Irish independence and Canadian politics.[35] The political and partisan nature of the event upset many of a different stripe. Criticisms on the day and its toasts were carried in the *Herald.* The *Herald* was at the forefront of criticisms directed at expressions of Irish identity. Sadly, the *Herald* for this period is not extant, but the reaction to its coverage in the *Vindicator* is. Strong words were exchanged in the process. Several correspondents called for Irishmen everywhere to cancel their subscriptions to the *Herald.*[36] It is doubtful, though, considering how strongly the paper had reacted in years past to Irish events, that many subscribed to it.

The Reform-sympathetic Irish, feeling threatened by the controversy, then organised a meeting and passed ten resolutions. Some dealt specifically with the creation of a Society, with quorums, meetings and officers. The society called itself the Irish Electors, and its purpose was to act as a political support to Papineau by rallying the Irish in town during elections. The first resolutions dealt with politics.

> 1st That Irishmen, natives of a land that suffered most on Earth from misrule and despotisms, we can never unite with or aid the country of our adoption.
> 2nd That the Irishmen of this city will strictly adhere to the principles advocated by their great national leader Daniel O'Connell. . . .
> 3rd That the Irish inhabitants of this city shall only give their support at the approaching elections to those candidates who shall possess the confidence of the people. . . .[37]

---

[35] Ibid. 1. The day we celebrate and all who disappointing it; 2. The people, the source of all legitimate power; 3. Ireland as she ought to be; 4. The King; 5. O'Connell and the Repeal of Union' 6. Shiel and the patriotic orators of Ireland; 7. The land we live in and our sister provinces, may the next elections be favourable to their liberties; 8. Papineau and the majority of the house of Assembly of Lower Canada; 9. Our guest A.N Morin; 10. The Bishops and Clergy of the Catholic Church in Canada; 11. The memories of the late Jocelyn Waller and Daniel Tracey; 12. Dr. MacNeven and the Friends of Ireland; 13. Barrett and the liberal press; 14. The fair sex.

[36] *Vindicator,* 21 March 1834.

[37] Ibid, 11 April 1834.

The Electors' society rarely appeared in the newspapers following its creation. It limited itself to election periods, and only until around 1836.

While all of these Irish Patriote activities were going on in public, the more conservative of the Irish, were also agitating. Irish identity was now not just a subject to critiques in newspapers, but one to more actively shape. Conservative Irishmen within a month of Saint Patrick's Day formed the St. Patrick's Society.[38] This constituted a deliberate act of preservation and persuasion. The St. Patrick's Society framed Irish identity along the specific ideas of its conservative members, in opposition to those put forward by reformers. It was the first of the national associations to form, but not the last.

### 4.3.2 The Next Volley: Saint-Jean-Baptiste

In June the Patriotes again celebrated a Saint's day— this time Saint Jean Baptiste. It was organised by Ludger Duvernay. He decided that since French Canadians were often called *Jean-Baptiste*, they should appropriate this day as their own, along the same lines of the other saints' days already celebrated.[39] It was an event which mimicked the traditional British dinner, in the garden of John MacDonell.[40] Sixty men attended. Toasts were made

---

[38] John Loye, "St. Patrick's Day in Montreal, 1835," *Gazette*, 16 March 1934; Kevin James, "The St. Patrick's Society of Montreal: Ethno-religious realignment in a Nineteenth Century National Society" (MA, McGill University, 1997), 18. Contemporary reports of the St. Patrick's Society's formation are absent. The Society only appears in the newspapers as an established unit for St. Patrick's Day 1835; *Gazette*, 3 March 1835.

[39] Robert Rumilly, *Histoire de la Société-Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal: des patriotes au fleurdeslisé, 1834/1948* (Montréal: Les éditions de l'aurore/ Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, 1975), 20. St. Joseph was the official patron saint of Lower Canada.

[40] John MacDonell, also known as Jean-Francois-Marie-Joseph MacDonell and John MacDonell-Belestre, 1799-1866, lawyer, moderate Patriote, mother French Canadian and father a Scot. *DCB*.

to St. Patrick, O'Connell, Daniel Tracey, Papineau, and Jocelyn Waller, but not to the King.[41]

The assembled men also organised the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, which at its inception was called "Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera."[42] While both the dinner and the society could claim some members of British origin, they were essentially French Canadian initiatives. The men behind the celebration of St. John were deliberately using the British tradition of national saints days to unify their identity, and compete with the British groups on the same social level. The Société St-Jean-Baptiste was the city's second national society to be born in this period, and tensions were mounting.

### 4.3.3 Conservatives Agitate: Saint Andrew's Day, 1834

St. Andrew's day offered another opportunity for Montreal's British population to express their national identity. In the intervening months between the celebration of St-Jean-Baptiste and St. Andrew's days, the political tensions had increased. The elections held in the late fall were both violent and divisive. The '92 Resolutions' put forward by the Patriotes formed the basis of the party's political platform. They were a "long-winded and rather disorganised collection of grievances, assertions, and threats."[43] Many of these resolutions were radical in ideology. This radicalisation alarmed those on both sides of the political spectrum, with some Patriote supporters changing sides, as well as agitating "extremists

---

[41] *Vindicator*, 27 June 1834.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: the Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993) 137.

within the English community of Montreal."[44] Despite the discomfort on the part of some, the Patriotes won the elections handily.

Associational activity centred around national identity, but apart from the Irish Electors (who supported the Patriotes) it was not discussed in the pages of Montreal's English-language newspapers. Instead they concentrated on the 92 Resolutions and the elections. St. Andrew's day in November was the next salvo.

> A public dinner, of an extensive nature, to celebrate the return of a day dear to every true CALEDONIAN, had not taken place in Montreal for the last eleven years, but the recent proceedings at the *West Ward* election had brought together so many fellow-countrymen, united in one common cause; the party to which they were opposed had so diligently and virulently attacked their principles, their country, and all that is dear to SCOTCHMEN, that it was deemed advisable to form an union of all who professed the same attachments.[45]

The evening's organisers were sending a very clear message to the public by way of this newspaper account and through the event itself. They were aligning Scottish identity to the Tory cause, and lining the other national identities in the city behind them. In that aim, the assembled included not only prominent Scots, but "six of ENGLISH, IRISH and CANADIAN descent respectively, several gentlemen of AMERICAN birth, and a few of the heads of military departments." The 128 present at the Albion Hotel also included the "late Constitutional candidates for this city [who] were invited as special honorary guests."[46] These were the men who had lost in the election. Another dinner held at Mr. Murphy's in the New Market, sent delegates to the Albion during the course of the evening.

---

[44] Ibid, 138 and 139.

[45] *Gazette*, 4 December 1834. Italics and capitals are in the original text.

[46] Ibid.

The toasts given at both dinners were practically identical, and expressed British institutional loyalty. The King was at the top of the list at both events. Other honourees included the army, navy, the Governor, the Chief Justice, the garrison, trade and commerce, and the Scottish educational system. Wallace, Bruce and Burns and the 'land o'cakes' were the nods to the Scottish symbols.[47] Those present, then, were combining their Scottish identity with their strong ideological connection to the existing political system in Lower Canada and Great Britain. They were promoting stability based on these identities.

The celebration of Saint Andrew's Day created a sense of unity among those present. It was a unity among the Scots in Montreal, and included the other members of the British community who attended the event. The symbols of state were universal and understood by those present. According to *The Gazette*, "the pleasure which all derived at the happy evening has led to the ideas of the formation of a St. Andrew's Society, similar to that in New York, and we are happy to learn that there are strong hopes entertained of having a large, efficient and respectable association."[48]

### 4.3.4. George and Andrew

Despite this reported wellspring of Scottish organisational zeal, it was the English who met together next. They organised the St. George's Society in mid-January, 1835. The society, at the time of its formation, declared itself open not only to those born in Britain, but

---

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

also to "persons born in this Province- their parents being from any of the three Kingdoms."[49] The society was providing a place for all British, not just the English. This provided an institutional framework for British identity. This also meant that those who were not members of the St. Patrick's Society had a place to go. English identity was acting as an umbrella for all British groups and becoming indistinguishable from British identity.

The article which announced the creation of the St. George's Society, with great satisfaction, suggested "that the sons of St. Andrew will not be slow in following the example set them by their ENGLISH and IRISH brethren."[50] Openness to Scots, then, was considered only a temporary measure for the St. George's Society. Only two days later the Scots organised a committee, put out pamphlets and gathered together "the most leading, influential and respectable of their countrymen"[51] to create their own society. Following an organisational meeting the officers were elected and the society was founded. The city now had four national societies.

### 4.3.5 Escalation

Saint Patrick's Day 1835 was the first saints' day celebrated by the three Tory national societies in Montreal. The St. Patrick's Society organised a huge dinner at the Theatre Royal, and invited representatives from all the groups. The Patriote supporters

---

[49] *Gazette*, 15 January 1835.

[50] Ibid. Capitals in original text.

[51] *A Summary of the First Fifty Years, Transactions of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal* (Montreal: McQueen and Corneil, 1886), 6.

organised a rival dinner at E.E. Rodier's home.[52] The day began as it traditionally did, with a mass and a parade. The morning's activities were the domain of the St. Patrick's Society, which enjoyed the support of the Roman Catholic Church.[53] The parade began at the Society's rooms at the Swords Hotel. There the members gathered with the band of the 24th Regiment, and marched to Notre-Dame Church to hear mass.[54]

The dinner at the Theatre was a grand affair, with lavish decorations and sumptuous food. The evening began as a masculine event, with the men seated on the theatre's main floor. At 8 p.m., apparently after the main meal had been served, the ladies were allowed in, sitting in the theatres boxes and balcony, to hear the main speeches. They departed at 10. The toasts were made following their departure. The women were not the only honoured guests, the presidents of the newly created St. Andrew's Society and the vice-presidents of the St. George's and St. Andrew's societies, were also present. They stayed the whole evening.

The scale of the event was impressive. Clearly, time and money were spent to create a dazzling effect. Much was made of the dinner in *The Gazette*, with its description filling five columns on the second page. It was considered a significant event, and its coverage demonstrated this. The decoration of the theatre alone took up half of the first column. Many descriptives were used. The decorations were "marked by great taste," "elegant" and made of "costly materials." The use of symbolism was key to the presentation of the evening. The

---

[52] Édouard-Étienne Rodier, 1804-1840, lawyer, politician, Patriote. *DCB*.

[53] The Roman Catholic Church was, during the period, allied ideologically to the colonial government.

[54] *Gazette*, 17 March 1835.

society's banner took pride of place, with its Irish harp and the motto *Erin go bragh*.[55] There

were also transparencies of the royal arms, Saint Patrick and the last of the bards.[56] From

these lavish details, it is clear that the event was designed for the wealthier members of the

Irish community. The intent of both the celebration and its coverage in The *Gazette* was to

present Irish identity in the context of high society, respectability, success and loyalty.

### 4.3.6 Germans

In April of 1835 the last of the Tory national societies was formed. The formation of

the German Society illustrates how the principal of nationality was used to organise

Montreal's population. The Irish, English and Scottish societies were influential in the

whole process of formation, acting as a role model for the Germans. While the others

organised upon clear and established 'national' identities, and used known symbols and

patron saints, the Germans could not. There was no single German state, only a common

language, one spoken in Austria, Prussia and Switzerland. The creation of the German

Society was problematic for its founders who had to establish links among a diverse group

of men. Who exactly was German?

The organisational meeting itself was full of discussion. The members did not have

a great deal in common with each other. The meeting was conducted in French, English and

German. Communication then, as evidenced by the following, was difficult. "Daniel

Salmon, Esq., was next called upon to address the meeting, which he then did in the French

---

[55] Ireland be free.

[56] *Gazette*, 19 March 1835.

language. He regretted much that the son of a HANOVERIAN, he could not address them in his paternal language."[57]

The Society attracted a variety of men. Isaac Valentine served on the Society's Committee of Management in 1835, as Steward in 1835 and 1838, and the Dinner Committee in 1836.[58] But, perhaps because of his English birth,[59] he also joined the St. George's Society, serving as a Steward from 1835 to 1840.[60]

Finding a name for the society was one which proved to be the biggest problem. Some felt that the name 'German' "might seem to exclude those of DUTCH origin. It was proposed to call it after some Patron Saint, general to both countries."[61] Not an easy task. There were several suggestions made, but the matter was never decided upon, and the society kept its name simply as German.

Unable to choose a patron saint, the society was then left with a dilemma. What day could then serve as their anniversary? Clearly such a day was necessary for the society to reunite, and to demonstrate publicly their unity and their message, as the other national societies in town were doing. In the end they chose the first of August as their anniversary. This was the anniversary of the Ascension of the House of Hanover, the British Royal family,

---

[57] *Gazette*, 2 April 1835. Capitals in the original text.

[58] Database.

[59] Census of Lower Canada, 1841.

[60] Database.

[61] Ibid.

and honoured the members' German origins.[62] It was an important decision, because while the organisers were grouped around a perceived common German origin, they were promoting a loyal British one. The German Society deliberately inserted itself into the British identity promoted by the other Tory national societies. They based their identity upon their attachment to the colony and its system of governance, as the other groups had. The celebration of the king's Hanoverian roots allowed the Society to bridge the gap between German and British, and foster a civic identity which incorporated national differences and institutional loyalty.

## 4.4 Activities and Characteristics

Societies, in order to maintain their existence, had to sustain the interest of their members through a number of different activities. These activities centred upon the identity around which the society was founded. And while the formation of the national societies was politically motivated, the activities that were undertaken were not necessarily political in nature. Chief among the functions of each society was charitable aid to fellow countrymen. All of them, in their public statements at their formation, and throughout this period and in the next, stressed this purpose above all. The St. George's Society put it well when it said that "these institutions are calculated not only to do a great deal of good, by relieving indigent or unfortunate countrymen, but by keeping alive in the members themselves, the sacred love of country, and inciting them to the interchange of kindly feelings."[63] The love

---

[62] Linda Colley, "The Apotheosis of George III, Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation, 1760-1820," *Past and Present*, 102 (1984): 110.

[63] *Gazette*, 15 January 1835.

of country was thus fostered through caring for those sharing a common national origin. "To a person far removed from the land of his nativity, and at a distance from his friends to whom he could apply for relief when in the hour of misfortune and distress, the friendly assistance of those who own a common home, and boast a common origin, is always cheering to the heart and acts as a balm to the wounded spirit."[64]

Every year the societies published an annual report, which listed the amount of money that was spent by the charitable committee. Some accounts dwell on grand totals, such as the St. George's Society in 1836, when it reported "that the sum of £81 18s 6d had been paid for the relief of indigent and families during the preceding and present winters."[65] Others went into more detail. The St. Andrew's Society in 1837 gave a full accounting of its work:

> The society continues its usefulness by extending its benevolence in all cases where they believe it is deserved, and the Standard Committee, although strict in enquiry into the applications laid before them, do not in any case refuse assistance, where the object comes within the regulations of the Society, and is such that they think requires their aid. The amount expended its charity by the Committee during the year just ended, is £71 11s 1d which has been the means of alleviating, in some degree, the wants of one hundred and sixty-five individuals. The disbursements during the previous year amount to £87 18s 9d given to one hundred and eighty-seven persons, so that during the present year there has been a decrease of £18 7s 8d in the expenditure, and twelve in the persons to whom the relief was given.[66]

Each society took its charitable role seriously. A committee was elected annually, and met regularly to assess the requests made to the society. It was assisted in this by a society doctor, and often an assistant doctor, both elected. As the St. Andrew Society annual report

---

[64] *A Summary of the First*, 4.

[65] *Gazette*, 14 January 1836.

[66] *Gazette*, 11 November 1837.

demonstrates, this aid was selective. Most assistance went to the immigrants passing through Montreal, and came in the form of paid passage to Upper Canada or the United States, and occasionally back home to Britain. Not everyone who asked for assistance received it.

The Erskine Presbyterian Church sought help in dealing with a request from one of its parishioners. "Mrs. Morhill had applied for aid for her husband also a member of this church, he being infirm and unable to make his living."[67] "After deliberations it was resolved that the session should not in any case apply to the St. Andrew's Society for relief for our members."[68] Obviously this largely Scottish congregation did not feel it could rely upon the charity of their fellow Scots. The aid dispensed by all the national societies was specific and not for all fellow countrymen in need. The charity offered by them was designed to soothe the distress of those in need, provide a purpose for those who could assist, and generally surround the national societies in a cloak of good will. This presented a positive image of the national societies, the identities they represented, and the other activities that they undertook.

In order to perform these soothing and uniting acts of charity, the societies had to raise funds. Membership fees were charged. They were not the only means to raise money. The societies also solicited donations at the annual church services for their charitable funds. Much money was gathered in this manner. The St. Patrick's Society collected £50 17s 6d at

---

[67] ANQ-M, P603 S2 SS96, Erskine Church, E19 Minutes, Session 1838-1851, 26 September 1839.

[68] *Ibid*, 26 August 1839.

the Mass in the saint's honour in 1837.[69] The annual dinners, however, seem to have been the big money makers for the national societies.

Aside from being fund raisers, the anniversary celebrations were the social events of the season for the members. They were the time when the members could express their pride. The 1830s saw the saints' days become day long events. The commemoration of the day started in the mornings with a parade and a religious service. During the first period the Irish had incorporated the parade and mass into their celebrations, but in 1835 the other groups adopted these Irish precedents as their model. This was attended by all members of the societies (in support of the group celebrating) and others who shared the same national identity.

The parade was the most public act of the societies, accessible to all spectators in the city's streets. The parade itself was open to all of the same national group, members of the societies, or not. The spectacle of the marching members with their banners and their musical accompaniment in the streets would have been viewed by supporters and curious alike.

The societies chose to celebrate their saints' days within denominations which were closely associated with the various national groups. The St. George's Society celebrated their patron saint at the Anglican Christ Church, until 1843, then at St. George's Church following its opening that year. The German society likewise chose to use Christ Church for their annual day.[70] The St. Andrew's Society celebrated Andrew at one of the various Presbyterian

---

[69] *Transcript*, 18 March 1837.

[70] See Chapter Two for discussion of the German presence in the Anglican Church.

churches in the city, depending upon the year. The Irish continued to hold mass at Notre-Dame.

The inclusion of a religious service was an ideological shift for those who were not Catholic. Saints, as stated above, were not central to Protestant faiths, and their commemoration in Protestant churches was exceptional. In Montreal, though, this was apparently not a problem for the various denominations, and the ceremonies were well attended. These services may have been held in churches of specific denominations, but this did not limit the attendance to that congregation. As noted before with Saint Patrick's Day, the service was intended for all of those of that national group, not just of that faith. Abraham Joseph, a member of the St. George's Society, and an observant Jew, had no problem participating in a service in an Anglican church.[71] His diary describes his marching in the parade to the church, and attending the service.[72] He expressed no conflict between his own religious beliefs and his participation in a Christian service.

That is not to say that such conflict did not exist. In 1836 some Anglican ministers in Quebec City decided to voice their misgivings about Protestants attending a Catholic Mass. This letter was published in Montreal as well as in Quebec City.

TO THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPALIAN MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETIES OF ST. GEORGE, ST. ANDREW, AND ST. PATRICK

*Christian Brethren*

We, the undersigned, clergy of the Church of England, to whom in the Providence of Almighty God the trust to watch for your souls as they that must give an account is confided, request your considerate attention to the following observations: - We see by notices from your several Societies, that it is proposed that you should collectively attend Divine Service, the 17th instant, at the Roman Catholic Church of St. Patrick. In all Christian charity, and as in duty bound, we wish to remonstrate with you on this head.

---

[71] Abraham Joseph, (1815-1886). Merchant, banker and municipal politician. Born in Berthierville. Lived in Montreal and Quebec City. Married Sophia David. Annette R. Wolff, "Joseph, Abraham" *DCB*.

[72] LAC, MG 24 I 61, Joseph, Abraham, Diary no. X, page 215-6, 23 April 1847.

> And first we will observe, that your Roman Catholic brethren cannot be offended if you stay away from their churches, for do they ever yours?
>
> But if they were to take offense still our duty remains the same-to beseech you not to give attendance upon services, which, as Protestants, you protest against, and profess to consider *idolatrous*. *Idolatrous* as consisting in part of prayers offered to the Virgin Mary- to Saints and angels; - *especially idolatrous*, if as we believe will be the case, High Mass be offered, for then the Consecrated wafer is pronounced by *God*! And *worshipped* AS SUCH! If you say you can be present and yet not partake of this idolatry, surely you deceive yourself . . .

This strongly worded letter expressed the inherent ideological problems with attending the services of another faith. For these Anglican ministers, a Catholic mass represented a moral danger. Any feelings of brotherhood that was engendered by the service were negated by the idolatry of the Catholic Church.

The warning was not heeded in Montreal. Quite the reverse, it was strongly denounced by both Patriote and Conservative supported newspapers. This "insulting production" was considered by The *Vindicator* as an indicator of the "extermination, worldliness and uncharitableness" of the Church of England.[74] The *Courier* thought that the Reverend Gentlemen represented a minority, and pointed out that in Montreal things were better.

> So differently did the Protestant clergy of this city act on the 17th instant, that three, if not more of them, - namely the Rev. Messrs. Atkinson, Richey and Lord were present at the services in the Roman Catholic Church. By the numerous attendance, indeed, of Protestants, both here and in Quebec, it is certain that the narrow fantastic views promulgated in the clerical handbill were shared by neither the inhabitants of neither [sic] city.[75]

---

[73] *Vindicator*, 18 March 1836; *Courier*, 22 March 1836. Italics and capitals in original text.

[74] *Vindicator*, 18 March 1836.

[75] *Courier*, 22 March 1836.

The non-Catholics who attended the service did not see it in terms of religion per se. Rather, they embraced it as a ceremony that confirmed their identities. The church lent a sanctity to the affair, but not necessarily a clear religious identity.

As the religious service became integral to the celebration of the saints days, so too did the clergy. The clergy of all denominations embraced the idea of the national societies and the events they sponsored. Each society had a chaplain, and sometimes an assistant chaplain. He was usually the minister for the church where the society's service was held. The link between church and society gave the minister the opportunity to reach a wider audience, and conferred upon the society greater respectability.

Two Presbyterian ministers, Esson and Mathieson had their St. Andrew's day sermons published.[76] If these speeches can be considered typical, then they were long, and full of hyperbole and Biblical references. Both dwell on themes relating to the preservation of faith in a foreign land. The sermons connected patriotism and nationality with the Bible. "As is the ordinance of God, then, that the universal society of mankind should be divided into distinct communities or Nations."[77] Both also preached the benefits of unity through national societies which fostered peace and understanding. "Hand will grasp hand in the firm grip of trusty friendship."[78] These sermons underscored both a particular Scottish identity

---

[76] Alexander Mathieson, *A Sermon preached in St. Andrew's Church, Montreal on the thirtieth day of November, 1836 (St. Andrew's Day) by the Rev. Alexander Mathieson, AM, Minister of that Church and one of the Chaplains of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal* (Montreal: James Starke & Co, 1837); Henry Esson, *A Sermon preached in the Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal, on the 30th November, 1835 (St. Andrew's Day) by the Rev. H Esson, senior Chaplain of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, published by request of the society* (Montreal: James & Thomas A Starke, 1836).

[77] Esson, *A Sermon preached*, 2.

[78] Mathieson, *A Sermon preached*, 20.

praising special moments in Scottish history, and linked it to a larger allegiance to the British empire, and to the other identities which were a part of it.

The dinners were the cap to the day's events. As illustrated by the descriptions of the Saint Patrick's Day dinner in 1835, much care and attention was spent conceiving and planning of the event. A lot of expense was involved. Each group made sure that the rooms were decorated appropriately and lavishly. The societies purchased banners, flags and transparencies which illustrated the symbols of their respective identities. These were not cheap items. In 1835 the St. Andrew's Society spent £115 on theirs.[79] Considering that the Society spent £87 on charity the next year, the expenditure is telling. The meals were equally lavish productions. Saint George's Day 1835 featured "a baron of beef weighing 280 lbs."[80] The Scots had a haggis of "upwards of a hundred weight."[81] These amazingly sized dishes were carried into the dinner with pomp and ceremony. Size or abundance was the key to the meals, and emphasised in the descriptions of them.

The dinner guests were limited by the price of the ticket. Accounts of the dinners usually mention that some 100 to 150 people were in attendance. This did not reflect the number of members in the society. If the membership of the St. Andrew's Society can be a

---

[79] Hugh Allan, *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal from its Formation on the 9th March 1835 until 1st January 1844, to which is appended lists of the Officers and the Constitution of the Society* (Montreal: J.C. Becket, 1855), 16.

[80] *Gazette*, 25 April 1835.

[81] Ibid, 3 December 1835.

guide, as these are the only numbers extant, they counted 384 members in 1835, and had 150 men present at that year's anniversary dinner.[82] These were relatively exclusive affairs.

The toasts were a source of unity and revelry for all concerned. Numbering up to about twenty official toasts and several more volunteer toasts, the men had ample opportunity to highlight their goals, both social and political, their heroes, and of course their homeland. The festive atmosphere was augmented by the music played by a regimental band, consisting mostly patriotic songs and marches. The publication of these toasts in the next edition of the newspapers cleansed the evening of its bacchanalian characteristics and presented its socio-political agenda in a dignified light. The toasts varied little among the four groups, in both content and order. The difference lay in the symbols used by the specific groups: national heroes and the saints themselves.

Chart Thirteen: Toasts made at the National Societies' Dinners, 1836[83]

| St. Patrick's Day | St. George's Day | German Anniversary | St. Andrew's Day |
|---|---|---|---|
| The day | The day | The day | The day |
| The King | The King | The King | The King |
| The Navy & the Army | The Queen and the Royal Family | The Queen and the Royal Family | The Queen and the Royal Family |
| The Governor-in-chief | St. George & Merry England | Memory of George I | The Princess Victoria |
| Sir John Colborne and the Garrison of Montreal | The Governor-in-chief | Our fatherland | The Land o' cakes [Scotland] |
| Ireland | His Majesty's ministers | The Navy | The Navy & the Army |
| The Earl of Mulgrave | Lord Hill & the Army | Lord Hill & the Army | Our sister colonies |

---

[82] Allan, *Narrative*, 8-9.

[83] *Gazette*, 19 March 1836; 30 April 1836; 2 August 1836; 1 December 1836.

| Daniel O'Connell | The Navy | The Governor-in-chief | Our sister societies |
|---|---|---|---|
| The USA | The Duke of Wellington | The land we live in | The USA |
| Emigration | Sir John Colborne | Sir Francis Bond Head | Garrison of Montreal |
| The preacher of the day, & the clergy of the province | Our sister societies | Sir John Colborne | Our motto- *relieve the distressed* |
| The societies who meet today | President of the society | Our sister colonies | The land we live in |
| The fair | The land we live in | Our sister societies | Earl of Dalhousie |
| | Sir Francis Bond Head | Lady Colborne & the Canadian fair | Memory of Wallace & Bruce, Knox, Burns & Scott |
| | The Commandant & garrison of Montreal | The USA | Parish schools of Scotland |
| | Our sister provinces | Duke of Wellington | The trade of the river St. Lawrence |
| | The Canadian Fair | Major Wingfield & the Garrison of Montreal | The rose, the thistle, & the shamrock |
| | | | honest men & bonny lasses |
| | | | Sir Francis Bond Head |

The societies chose to highlight their affection and loyalty to Britain and its specific institutions, particularly the Crown, the military and its personnel, and the colonial administration both in general, and in the city. For them these represented stability for them within the turmoil.

One of the most important characteristics of the Saints George, Patrick and Andrew Societies and the German Society was that they were exclusively male. Women were not included in their expressions of identity, their activities or their goals. They were, however, not absent from the symbolism of these groups. This was not unusual, as in the United States, the women had retreated from the celebrations, but remained as symbols in them. "Their status as the quintessential 'other' within a male-defined cultural universe made them perfect

vehicles representing the remote notions of national unity and local harmony."[84] This was evident at the first anniversary celebrations of each society in 1835, when the women of the group, wives and daughters of members, presented the society with a special banner.

The St. Patrick's, as the first society to celebrate its saint's day that year, was the first to receive its banner. Its presentation to the society was part of the grandiose descriptions of the decorations at the Theatre Royal. "This flag, valuable in itself, was rendered more precious from its being a present to the 'St. Patrick's Society' from the fair countrywomen of its members, and this handsome donation from the daughters of Erin, it will be noticed, was suitably acknowledged by the President in his opening speech."[85]

The St. George's Society in April of that year, underlined the presentation of their banner with even more enthusiasm: "Among the acts of kindness as extended to them that day there was on deserving of especial notice. The fair daughters of St. George, ever ready to appreciate the exertions of their countrymen: whether those exertions be made in the service of the State or in the cause of humanity, had presented to the Society the splendid Banner on his right."[86]

The German Society was next in line, and a representative of the ladies presented the association with a banner with a "swan, richly embroidered in silver, on a ground of dark

---

[84] Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1989):149-150.

[85] *Gazette*, 19 March 1835.

[86] Gazette, 30 April 1835.

velvet, with the motto *Einigkeit*."[87] But it was the presentation by the ladies of the St.

Andrew's Society which stands out among all of these other accounts. It was a very formal

presentation ceremony. The women themselves were not present, but had appointed a

deputation, who then handed over the banner with a letter:

> To the President of the St. Andrew's Society. Sir, - I have the pleasure of intimating to you
> that the ladies resident in Montreal, Scotch by birth, and others descended from and
> connected with Scotchmen, have observed with sincere satisfaction, the formation of a St.
> Andrew's Society in this city, for the charitable purpose of administering relief to such of the
> natives of Scotland and others claiming kindred therewith, as may have fallen into poverty
> and distress.
> To manifest in some measure the deep interest they take in the welfare and respectability of
> the society, they have been some time past preparing a banner emblematic of the Faith and
> Fame of that ancient and gallant nation, the anniversary of whose Patron Saint you are this
> day met to celebrate, and they request, that your society will accept the same, and as a
> testimony of that high estimation, in which they hold the object for which it was constituted,
> and as a mark of that affection, and respect they feel for every thing relating to a people so
> renowned and moral . . . [88]

The women were important to the societies as they confirmed the society's respectability. By

having the ladies sew, and present the societies with richly decorated banners, they were

conferring approval. Feminine approval was limited to the charitable works of the society.

This was the only way in which the women were included. It combined the feminine skill of

sewing, the feminine concern for charity, and respectability. They could applaud their fellow

countrymen for their noble societies and purpose, but not join.

Women attended a society dinner once, in the Theatre Royal on St. Patrick's Day in

1835. As mentioned previously, the ladies were present at the dinner for no longer than two

hours. They sat separately from the men and the festivities, and listened only to the most

formal of the speeches. When the drink was brought out and the toasting begun the ladies

---

[87] Ibid, 4 August 1835. *Einigkeit* translated means Unity.

[88] Ibid, 1 December 1835. Signed by Eliza McGill, wife of the President of the society.

were gone. Even this limited exposure was considered a problem by some. The *Vindicator,* always quick to criticise the actions of the conservative national societies, commented the following when hearing of the invitation to the ladies, said "We hope the women will decline the invitation. A drunken debauch is not a scene for ladies' eyes." The only feminine presence which was acceptable was when women were symbols, the objects of the toasts to the "fair." The critique while no doubt partially based on the paper's political opposition to the St. Patrick's Society, also had roots in the way in which saints' days were celebrated in Montreal. Dinners were the bastions of men, and their identity a very public one. Women were not included again.

## 4.5 The Constitutional Association

The Tory national societies were closely connected to one another. Their formation within months of each other was no coincidence. It was the reaction to the same socio-political conditions which spurred the process. Once formed, these societies, with members of a similar political vision, coordinated their efforts. Each saint's day brought all of these societies together. The Saint Patrick, Saint George, Saint Andrew, and the German societies were strongly connected to each other. The participation in each others' events was not merely a courtesy, but emblematic of their shared ideology, for while each embraced their national identities, they also embraced a British identity. They shared political views in terms of this sense of belonging to a larger British whole. The most important of the combined efforts were the parades. The societies agreed to march in each others' parades and to an

order of procession.[89] The parades began with the celebrating society gathering at their rooms in a hotel. They marched past the other societies' rooms, where they were joined in the march to the church service. The windows of the societies' rooms were suitably decorated with banners and flags.

Politics in 1834-5 was growing increasingly intense. The British party was gathering its forces. In December 1834, during the time that the national societies were being formed, a number of men met together and formed the Constitutional Association.[90] It expressed a distinct British political identity, and was linked to the empire. Unlike the others, however, it was entirely political in its outlook. There were no parades or dinners, no charitable committees, just political action. The society presented itself as "representative of the loyal population of Lower Canada, [and it] . . . also worked to shape the imperial policy and ensure that they and the province's governors shared the same political values and were working towards the same ends."[91]

The Constitutional Association's political action came in the form of numerous meetings and petitions. In 1835 it addressed a petition to the King, appealing for his consideration and justice. It wanted "fair and equitable Representation in the Provincial Assembly, and [to be] otherwise protected in their rights as British subjects, and in the full

[89] Allan, *Narrative*, 8-9.

[90] MMA, P 195-A/1- 1-10, Badgley papers, folder 9, Circular, Constitutional Association, 31 December 1834.

[91] Steven Watt, "Authoritarianism, Constitutionalism and the Special Council of Lower Canada, 1838-1841"( MA, McGill University, 1997), 56.

enjoyment of Constitutional Government."[92] The Association was trying to protect its particular interests at a time when the Patriotes were electorally more successful.

The formation of the Constitutional Association within the mounting tension, and in the midst of the creation of the national societies, led to the presumption that the five societies were inextricably linked together by formal agreement. Elinor Kyte Senior described the Constitutional Association as an umbrella organisation of the conservative national societies.[93] Contemporary critics of the national societies and the Constitutional association likewise saw them as formally connected. For them, it was a political strategy by the constitutionalists to convince the population of their cause.

> THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS of this city carried out their "national origin" principles, in the course of last spring, by cutting up their followers into squads, and separating them into political parties or "Societies", according to the country, they, or their forefathers came from. The Scotch Tories were parcelled out into a "St. Andrew's Society"- the English Tories into a "St. George's Society", the Irish Tories into a "St. Patrick's Society" and the German, Dutch and Flemish Tories into a "German Society." All this was done in order to move the whole Tory phalanx, with ease, whenever required. To add to the facility, each squad or "society" has a captain or president . . .
> The legislative councillors above named, who thus openly commit themselves by heading these societies- and who in another sphere are the movers and leaders of what is called the "Constitutional Association", attend in the winter, at Quebec to legislate for, and to protect the interests of, one section of the population.[94]

These groups were taken by their opponents as one and the same, although *The Vindicator* acknowledged that the Constitutional Association was in a different sphere. Despite Senior's contention that the Constitutional Association was an umbrella for the Saints Andrew,

---

[92] LAC, MG 24 B 142, Constitutional Association.

[93] Elinor Kyte Senior, *Redcoats and Patriotes: The Rebellions in Lower Canada, 1837-38* (Ottawa: Canadian War Museum, 1985), 12.

[94] *Vindicator*, 9 October 1835.

Patrick and George Societies and the German Society, no formal agreement seems to have been made.

Each had similar political goals and formed to consolidate a conservative political position. As The *Vindicator* pointed out, the presidents of the societies were strongly connected to the political system as legislative councillors. George Moffat, who served as president of the Constitutional Association through its entire existence, was also president of the St. George's Society from 1835-38.[95] The president of the St. Andrew's Society, Peter McGill[96] and the president of the St. Patrick's Society Benjamin Holmes,[97] were also members of the Constitutional Association. Louis Gugy,[98] president of the German Society was the only president not associated with the Constitutional Association. In general, only 41% of the members of the Constitutional Association joined the national societies. The majority then, were active only in the Association.

---

[95] George Moffat (1787-1865). Businessman and Politician. Born in England. *DCB*. See Appendix One. In 1838 John HR Molson became president of the St. George's Society. (1787-1860). Businessman, Justice of the Peace and Politician. Son of John Molson, English born founder of Molson Breweries. *DCB*; Database.

[96] Peter McGill (1789-1860). Businessman, Bank Director, Justice of the Peace and Politician. Mayor of Montreal, 1840-2. Born in Scotland. *DCB;* Database.

[97] Benjamin Holmes (1794-1865). Businessman, Public Servant and Politician. Born in Ireland. *DCB*; Database.

[98] Louis Gugy (1770-1840). Seigneur, militia officer, Justice of the Peace and Politician. Born in France, of a Swiss family. *DCB*; Database.

Chart Fourteen: Membership in the Constitutional Association
and Accompanying Membership in the National Societies[99]
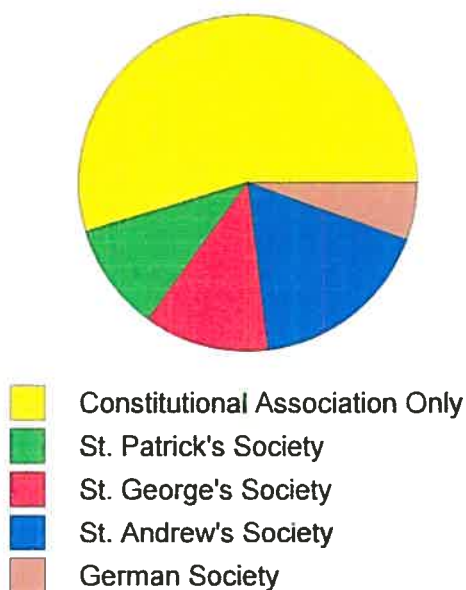


| | Constitutional Association Only |
| St. Patrick's Society |
| St. George's Society |
| St. Andrew's Society |
| German Society |

| Constitutional Association | | 143 |
| --- | --- | --- |
| St. Patrick's Society | | 27 |
| St. George's Society | | 31 |
| St. Andrew's Society | | 46 |
| German Society | | 14 |

## 4.6 Alternative National Expression

The British national societies were attractive social creations, providing their members with activities, celebrations and a broader sense of purpose. They were also guided, to a large extent, by a larger political agenda. As Hugh Allan later stated in his summary of the St. Andrew's Society:

---

[99] Constitutional Association membership information from The *Gazette* 20 January 1835; NAC, MG 25 B 142, Constitutional Association. National Societies information from the *Gazette, Herald, Transcript, Courant, Courier, and Pilot,* 1834-1850. Membership for the national societies are only indicated when they are also members of the Constitutional Association. Database.

It had long been felt that there was a want of concentration and unanimity, amongst the Anglo-Saxon community, for although its members on all leading points were sufficiently unanimous, yet the machinery did not exist whereby the views and opinions of the more prominent of the "British Party," as it was called, could be diffused and impressed on the community at large. It is true, the Constitutional Association was formed for that purpose, and to a considerable extent was successful in accomplishing it, but experience proved that it did not possess that strong appeal to patriotic feeling which societies strictly national would have.[100]

The events organised by the Saint Andrew, Patrick and George societies, had political undertones. For some, like Allan, this was an important part of society membership. Not all those of British origin would necessarily share the same point of view. Did they have a place in which they could express their sense of belonging?

Political opinion, like all opinion, varies in strength and degree among a population. Those most active in the Constitutional Association or the British Party could be considered to have held the strongest conservative beliefs, as those most active in the Parti Patriote can be considered those who believed most strongly in the other end of the political spectrum. Not everyone sympathetic to either position would necessarily embrace it as strongly, or on all points. Depending on the individual and their political beliefs, these societies could or could not provide the appropriate place for the expression of their identity. The appeal of these societies lay not only in their politics, but also in their activities and the access to the camaraderie they offered. Some members may have tolerated the one for the other, while not necessarily agreeing entirely with the opinions expressed.

The political rhetoric which was expressed by the national societies was not to everyone's liking. Those sharing these national identities but not the attendant politics, had

---

[100] Allan, *Narrative*, 3.

options for expression outside the societies. The most obvious one was not to join at all. The national societies were not mandatory. As can be seen by the numbers of members of the St. Andrew's Society, compared to the number of Scottish-born in the city at the time, not all Scots joined.[101] Not all English, Irish or Germans joined their national societies either.

For those who supported the Patriote cause, membership in the Société St-Jean-Baptiste was the most obvious option. As stated previously, the society did have a few members of British origin. They were noticeable by their rarity. Because of its strong French-Canadian identity, it did not have a strong appeal for the British population. Its appeal for those of British origin lay in its reform goals. There was another option available.

The editor of The *Vindicator*, E.B. O'Callaghan, promoted the Patriote cause through his paper, as well as its ideological and political links with Irish issues. In this way, the Irish became a chief concern for Patriotes and a potential group of support.[102] O'Callaghan also increased his involvement with the Hibernian Benevolent Society, becoming its president in 1835.[103] His active involvement in the society resulted in the increased publicity of its activities in the pages of his newspaper. The Hibernian Benevolent Society was promoted as an alternative to the Tory St. Patrick's Society. The society moulded itself around the

---

[101] In 1835 the St. Andrew's Society had 384 members, and the Scottish born in Montréal in 1842 (the closest year where data was available) were 2619. Allan, *Narrative. . .* , 8; Jean-Claude Robert, "Montreal, 1821-1861. Aspects de l'urbanisation," (PhD, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Université de Paris I, 1977), 106.

[102] John Sexton likewise felt the importance of the Irish in Lower Canadian politics, and founded the *Irish Advocate* to promote the Tory cause. The newspaper lasted a year, and no copies are now extant. André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, *La Presse québécoise des origines à nos jours* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973), 85.

[103] *Vindicator*, 20 February 1835.

Patriote cause, and used Saint Patrick's Day to consolidate its political alliances. The Irish, then, were not limited in their choices when expressing their identity publicly and as a group.

The "Americans" gathered in 1837 as political tensions were reaching a boiling point. A series of resolutions were drafted declaring the Patriotes' actions "treasonable and seditious," and confirmed the loyalty of the "British subjects of American birth and origin."[104] Sixty-one men affixed their names to a call to meet.[105] They met only this once. At no other time did this group meet as 'Americans.' No society was formed. Of the sixty-one men who signed the American resolutions, only six joined the Constitutional Association, and two joined the St. George's Society.[106]

No other national groups formed any associational alternatives to the Tory saints societies, nor did they commemorate their identities in other celebrations. The will to hold such events with their fellow countrymen did not exist, or if it did, not sufficient in number to get such an undertaking off the ground. Given the polarised nature of Montreal's newspapers, such gatherings may not have found a place to be promoted or even mentioned.

## 4.7 Conclusion

The 1830s, and particularly the years at the end of the decade, were marked by the political and social unrest related to the Rebellions of 1837-8. Montreal's citizens and their institutions changed with the surrounding social atmosphere. The associational form and the

---

[104] *Gazette*, 30 November 1837.

[105] *Ibid*, 5 November 1837.

[106] Stanley Bagg, Dr. C. Carter, Charles D. Day, Logan Fuller, T.J. Greene, John Easton Mills, and Noah Shaw. Database.

public celebration were prominent features of the period. Montrealers of all origins and political persuasions utilised these forms to further their particular causes, and to control their immediate social environment.

The creation of new associations accelerated in this period, and the types which proved to be the most popular in terms of numbers formed, were different from those of the previous period. Theatre overtook sports, providing a forum for a more diverse audience and participants, and a means to transmit values and identities more directly. Temperance societies gave their members the means to comport themselves in a moral and stable manner.

While the saints' days had enjoyed a measure of popularity, celebrated fairly frequently after 1820 by the British groups in Montreal, it was only after 1834 that they received such concentrated attention. The saints' days became rallying points for the particular national identities and for a larger community which sought unity. The saints' societies and the national saints' celebrations they organised, were deliberate creations which enabled those involved to insulate themselves somewhat from the unrest and gather in a network of like-minded individuals. It is important to recognise that these forms served those who were sympathetic to both Tory and Patriote politics.

For those who aligned with the Tories, or were wary of the Patriotes, which encompassed a large number of those British origin, the societies and their activities were a way to affirm their national identities. The saints' days were organised to create the maximum impact with three events. The religious service acknowledged the particular religion associated with national identity, but also encouraged other faiths to attend, fostering understanding amongst them. The parade, with all of the groups marching together in the

city's streets waving colourful banners and flags, and playing stirring music, impressed the crowds and unified the participants. The more exclusive dinners reinforced the national solidarity for those who attended, and for those who read the account in the newspaper the next day.

Historians such as Robert have characterised the creation of these ethnic associations as divisive.[107] However, the separation into the different national groups was not a philosophical change in Montreal society. Differences, both religious and national, were framed by a larger sense of belonging. By including the other groups in Montreal within the different celebrations, the Tory societies were recognising their common identity. This common identity was as loyal British subjects, and was based on their belonging to the British empire, both as nationals of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and as colonists in British North America. As seen by the numerous toasts made at the dinners[108], imperial and colonial institutions from the King and the military to the more local functionaries such as the garrison and the governor, were featured. They were symbols of the empire and as such understood by those present as readily as the symbols of St. Patrick, the haggis and the rose.

> Victoria! Queen of the oaken-girl isles
> Fair flower of the land of the free!
> Lov'd daughter of Britain, we greet thee afar-
> All hail to thee, Queen of the sea!
> Hurra for the flower of our own father-land!
> Each rose-bud will blossom today,
> That grows in a sod where no traitor has stood-
> A bumper for her- hurra!

---

[107] Robert, *Atlas historique de Montréal*, 80.

[108] See Chart Twelve.

Tho' far, far away from the homes of our sires,
The Red Cross burns brightly for thee,
And sons of the Thistle and ever-green Isle
Are ready "to do or to die,"
Hurra for the Thistle, the Shamrock, and the Rose
Entwine them still closer today,
For their friends they have flowers, and thorns for their foes-
A bumper for them- hurra![109]

The societies did not functions solely on a political level, as the Constitutional Association did, but rather as social institutions. The saints' days were celebrated once a year (or four times a year as all four national societies participated). The rest of the year was focussed on the other activities of the group. Charitable assistance for their fellow nationals provided the societies with a more noble purpose. Monthly meetings gave the men a place to socialise and network with those of similar origins and goals.

The British population in Montreal, under siege by the political aspirations of the Patriotes, sought to take control of their environment by creating associations and events which highlighted their common values, while embracing their differences. The events were ways in which the British group demonstrated their power over the public space, using the parades and dinners to proclaim their presence and their views. They facilitated cohesiveness by organising societies which fostered a larger identity. This was an identity founded on the institutions of the British empire, but accommodated national and religious identities. These gave comfort by uniting the familiar and the traditional.

---

[109] *Gazette*, 28 April 1838; *Transcript*, 24 April 1838. By W.F. Hawley.

CHAPTER FIVE

TO EACH THEIR OWN: DEVELOPMENT OF ASSOCIATIONAL IDENTITY IN

POST-REBELLION MONTREAL

1840-1850

5.1 Introduction

The end of the rebellions, the Durham Report, and the subsequent act of Union of 1840 gave Montreal a social and political peace, although temporary. Not everyone was content with the terms, but for the bulk of the English-speaking population, the settling of the conflict in their favour allowed them, and as a consequence their social life, to flourish. "[I]t could be said the post-Rebellion period was a time when political power in Lower Canada shifted into the hands of English-speaking, Montreal based, mercantile and industrial interests."[1] Union was also a catalyst for later political changes. The colony's political and administrative systems would be transformed in the ensuing decade. "The rebellions served to clean house, purging some members of the Francophone bourgeoisie, giving short-term power to the authoritarian Special Council, and preparing the terrain for a profound adjustment of judicial, landholding, social, educational and religious institutions."[2]

Montreal society had been strongly affected by the rebellions. As seen in the previous chapter, the city's institutions and public life had been oriented towards buttressing their identities and supporting their political goals. While the rebellions were now over, their

---

[1] Steven Watt, "Authoritarianism, Constitutionalism and the Special Council of Lower Canada, 1838-1841," (MA, McGill University, 1997), 55.

[2] John A. Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec, Second Edition* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) 168.

occurrence had not been forgotten, nor was there a desire to repeat them. The British community had changed and with them their associations and celebrations. Associations now had to adapt to the new decade.

The lessening of political tensions in 1840, led to an easing of the connections between the national societies. In the 1830s the fates of these groups were intertwined, but in the 1840s each society took different paths, operating more independently. National identities were more prominently displayed, and British identities became a colourful background. In contrast to this, however, the different national groups within their associations, and through public celebrations attempted to forge links particularly with French Canadians.

The character of associational life in the 1840s reflected the changes felt by the city's population at the end of the rebellions. The period was also marked by a continued increase in the population. This led to a growing and more diverse associational life. Sports reappeared, and self-improvement societies increased in number.

This chapter begins with an overview of Montreal's changing associational life, noting the trends in this period. It traces the development of national identity within the framework of the previously established national societies and their activities. National identity was becoming a more stringent division in Montreal, and it was affecting the way groups related to one another, in all types of situations. Nowhere was this more evident than in the raising of funds for disaster relief. The Shamrock explosion in 1842 and the Famine of 1847 demonstrate how identity of both victim and donor directed the ways in which the funds were raised.

## 5.2 Associational Life, 1840-1850

In this ten-year period ninety-four new societies were created in the city. As in years before, and as illustrated in Chart Fifteen, leisure societies were the most common creations. The next most popular type of society was improvement, followed closely by philanthropic societies. Societies of every type were established in this period, while many of the older associations which were formed in the earlier years continued to flourish.

Chart Fifteen: Number of Associations Formed in Montreal, 1841-1850.[3]



---
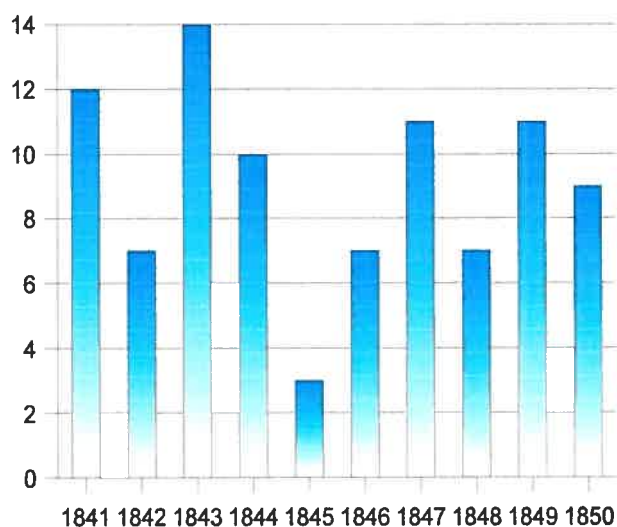
[3] Source: Appendix Two.

Chart Sixteen: Type of Associations Formed in Montreal, 1841-1850.[4]



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Leisure | | Philanthropic | |
| Religious | | Professional | |
| Social | | National | |
| Improvement | | Political | |
| Unknown | | | |
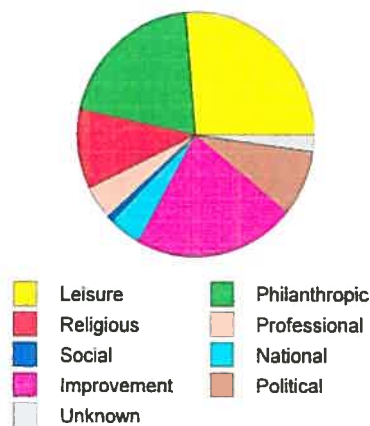
The city experienced what can be called an associational boom. The average annual number of associations formed in the first period was only two, and six in the second period. The unprecedented growth in leisure type societies was mainly due to the renewed interest in sports. One sporting association was being founded almost every year, although the years between 1840 and 1844 were especially busy in this regard.

The sports closely identified with national identities were particularly successful. Montreal's curling scene saw an increase in competition with the creation of the Thistle (1842), Junior (1843) and Caledonian (1850) Curling Clubs. With the increase in the number of clubs came the potential for new members. Non-Scots were now being welcomed into the sport.[5] In 1853, for example, the Montreal Curling Club had 20 Scots, 3 English and 1 French

---

[4] Source: Appendix Two.

[5] Gerald Redmond, "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth-Century Canada," (PhD, University of Alberta, 1971) 141.

Canadian members.[6] These clubs, though, kept a strong connection with Scotland. In name both the Thistle and Caledonian clubs were Scottish. An even stronger tie to Scotland was sought through Edinburgh's Grand Caledonian Curling Club, which the Montreal and Thistle Curling Clubs joined in 1842.[7]

The playing of cricket also grew drastically in 1847 with the formation of two more clubs. The Aurora and Burnside Cricket clubs, like the Montreal Cricket Club founded earlier, were civilian clubs. The military continued to be an important element in the playing of cricket in Montreal.[8] Cricket remained very English in character and membership.[9]

New sports also came to be formalised. Quoits, a sport related to ring toss or horseshoes, was first played in Montreal in 1829.[10] It was organised into clubs in the 1840s. The Montreal Quoit Club was formed in 1841 and the Thistle Quoit Club in 1846.[11] That the names of these clubs greatly resembled the city's curling clubs was not a coincidence. Quoits were considered a perfect summer practice for curlers.[12] It was one of many different sports which came to be formally organised at this time. In the "birthplace of Canadian sport," the

---

[6] Robert Wayne Simpson, "The Influence of the Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas, 1807-1857," (MA, University of Western Ontario, 1980) 153.

[7] Redmond, "The Scots and Sport," 137.

[8] Allan Elton Cox, "History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900" (PhD, University of Alberta, 1969), 11.

[9] Of the known memberships in Montreal's different cricket clubs, only three members whose origins were known were not English. They were Irish. Database.

[10] *Vindicator*, 31 July 1829.

[11] *Gazette*, 14 September 1841; *Gazette*, 10 September 1846.

[12] Redmond, "The Scots and Sport," 374.

development of so many organised sports clubs in Montreal, in the 1840s, was significant.[13] "By the mid-1860s organised sport had become a recognized part of the social and sporting life of the Montreal elite."[14] In his analysis of sport in the French-Canadian community, Donald Guay points to the clubs of the 1840s as an important factor in the introduction of sports to the wider Quebec population, through example. [15]Other sports, including track and field, swimming, rowing, snowshoeing, shooting and ice-skating also came to the fore in this period.

Another leisure activity which saw a significant boom was connected to music. In the latter part of the 1840s especially, a number of musical and mainly choral societies were formed.[16] These societies were very active in the production of concerts for the general public. At this same time, theatrical societies were being formed with far less frequency than in years past.

Improvement societies also saw a dramatic increase. Educational societies were the most frequent of these creations. The city was, in the words of Yvan Lamonde, undergoing a cultural renaissance, with the proliferation of newspapers and periodicals, as well as a larger reading public.[17] The Mercantile Library Association was probably the most important

---

[13] Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987/9), 22.

[14] Ibid, 25.

[15] Donald Guay, *La Conquête du sport: le sport et la société québécoise au XIXe siècle* (Outremont: Lanctôt Editeur, 1997), 54.

[16] See Appendix Two.

[17] Yvan Lamonde, *Gens de parole: conférences publiques, essais et débats à l'Institut canadien de Montréal, 1845-1871* (Montreal: Boréal, 1990), 18-9.

society of this type in the city. Certainly, it was the most publicised of its type. It was formed in January 1840 as the Clerks Association. Its aim was to promote commercial knowledge among the young men of the city. It was based on the Mercantile Library Association of New York City, which was founded in 1820 by clerks.[18] The society's library was the key to its activities, and members funded it through donations and balls. They were able to purchase the Montreal Library's collection in 1844.[19] Unlike the Mechanic's Institution (1828/ 1840), the Mercantile Library Association was geared to young merchants (also known as clerks), those who were already privileged with an education and other social advantages.[20] Their office became "the meeting place of the elite."[21] The Mercantile Library Association was more than a library. It provided its members with a place to network and socialise, as well as to learn about business. In 1845 it had 469 members.[22]

The Horticultural Society was another important educational society. It was not the first horticultural society to form in Montreal, the first lasted from 1818 to 1826.[23] Its importance lay not in its subject matter, but rather in its inclusion of women within its ranks as regular members. This was a first for a Montreal association. As its constitution states, "any individual may become a Member of this Society by the annual payment of ten

---

[18] *Gazette*, 21 January 1841.

[19] William Henry Atherton, *Montreal 1535-1914, Volume II Under British Rule 1760-1914* (Montreal: S.J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1914), 350. The Montreal Library, a subscription based lending library, a society in its own rights, had recently folded. See Appendix Two.

[20] Database.

[21] Atherton, *Montreal 1535-1914*, 350. Appendix Two.

[22] *Gazette*, 26 November 1845.

[23] See Appendix Two.

shillings, and shall be entitled to vote, shall be eligible to any office or appointment."[24] The

Society's purpose was to promote the improvement of methods of cultivation of vegetables.[25]

This was accomplished partly through exhibitions and with prizes given for the best produce.

These prizes were awarded to men and women alike, through open competition.

Another improvement society which was formed in 1844 was the Shakespeare Club.[26]

It was a literary and debating society which concentrated on British literature, and was named

for the famous English playwright.[27] Its concentration on British literature made it a place

where a British identity was celebrated through debates, discussions and essays on aspects

of British culture. The society was presented in the press as an intellectual gathering of men

and situated itself as a part of the larger group of literary associations formed in Montreal.[28]

The Shakespeare Club stands out from the others of its kind, because a visual source

also exists apart from its mention in the city's newspapers.

---

[24] *Proceedings Connected with the Formation of the Montreal Horticultural Society and its Constitution* (Montreal: J. Starke & Co., 1847), 15.

[25] Ibid, 1; *Gazette*, 19 March 1847.

[26] *Gazette*, 4 July 1844.

[27] Ibid, 18 June 1845.

[28] The Shakespeare Club regularly publicised their debates in the newspapers, such as a debate and lecture on Macbeth in 1847. *Gazette*, 1 March 1847. These debates were described in much the same manner as those of the other improvement societies. For example a debate was held by the Athenæum Club on whether Byron was a greater poet than Coleridge. *Gazette*, 17 March 1848.

Illustration One[29]



"The Shakespeare Club, Montreal, 1847" was painted by Cornelius Kreighoff, one of its members, and depicts a group of men sitting around a table, smoking and drinking. The room resembles a tavern. The men are not engaged in a formal debate as described in the newspapers, no great intellectual moment occurs, and the painting does not depict particularly respectable comportment. This painting demonstrates the problem with newspaper sources which describe societies not as they necessarily were, but how they wanted to be perceived. The club was formed around the desire to debate and discuss literary works and regular newspaper reports highlighted these activities.[30] These numerous accounts were not imagined. Discussions took place. It was, though, as with all societies, a social endeavour, and so the inclusion of normal male social accessories, such as smoking and drinking, would be expected, but not necessarily included in the descriptions of it.

---

[29] MMA, M2000.95.1, "The Shakespeare Club, Montreal, 1847" by Cornelius Kreighoff.

[30] For more details about the painting and Kreighoff's Montreal years see: Conrad Graham, "Cornelius Kreighoff and the Shakespeare Club", *Journal of Canadian Art History*, 24 (2003): 46-57.

## 5.3 National Societies and Celebrations in the 1840s

The 1840s were a time of change for Montreal's national societies. Cooperation was no longer imperative to buttress the city's British population, and as a result the societies found themselves acting more independently. Their activities and goals were separate and focussed on their respective priorities. Some faced challenges from within their communities, as well as from without. More national societies were also formed. National identity became more prominent, and British identity while still important, lost its preeminence, to become more a subtler undertone.

One factor that contributed to this prominence of national identity was the composition of these societies. Because membership data for all societies came mainly from executive lists, it is not possible to trace membership on a yearly basis, or even by period.[31] Joining the society and serving on its executive did not necessarily occur at the same time. However, when all known members to 1850 are taken in consideration along with their place of birth some important characteristics come to the fore.

---

[31] Occasionally the names of new and ordinary members appeared in the papers, so the composition of the Database is not exclusively society executives.

Chart Seventeen: Membership in Montreal's National Societies by Birthplace, 1828-1850[32]
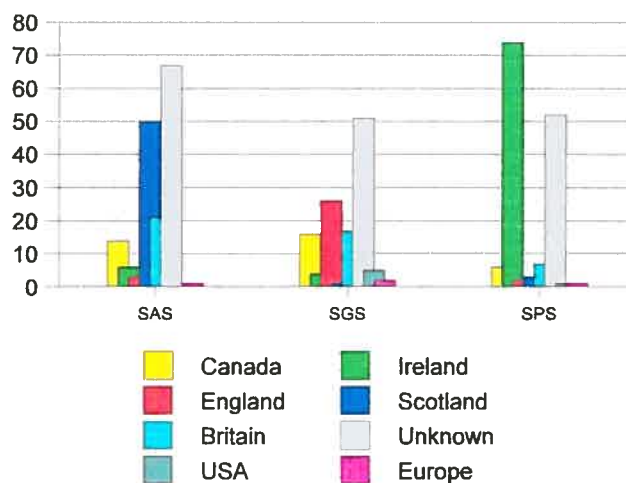


The most important characteristic of these societies, taken as a whole, was that the majority of members, whose origins are known, were born in the country the societies were commemorating. The Canadian-born population was increasing over this period, while the number of English and Scottish-born was decreasing.[33] It is telling, then, that these societies attracted mainly immigrants. Only the Irish-born population was increasing in Montreal, and so the figures for the St. Patrick's Society and the Hibernian Benevolent Society[34] were proportionate to the demographics of the Irish living in the city.

---

[32] Source: Database.

[33] See Chart Four.

[34] See Chart Ten.

### 5.3.1 French Canadians

The most striking change in the public expression of national identities in Montreal in the 1840s was the inclusion of French Canadian events in the English-language newspapers, and these were described in much the same manner as the British national events. The St. Jean Baptiste day's origins were firmly rooted in the Patriote cause, as was the society which hosted it. The Société St-Jean-Baptiste had disappeared following the outbreak of violence in 1837-8, and with the escape of some its most prominent members to the United States. In 1842 Ludger Duvernay had returned to Montreal and revived the Society.[35] That same year St. Jean Baptiste day was celebrated. "The St-Jean Baptiste Society mustered very strong this morning, and their procession highly respectable. The glorious Union Jack was numerously displayed among the banners, and was taken as a guarantee of their loyalty and good feeling."[36]

Much of the approval of the celebration lay with the Society's copious use of British symbols such as the flag, the playing of "God Save the Queen"[37] and their respectable behaviour. These displays of French-Canadian identity were not threatening, and were perceived in the same light as the other saints' days and societies. Although, they were different, they were made understandable in the national context in which Montreal society was organised, by using similar forms and symbols. The Société St.-Jean-Baptiste joined the

---

[35] Robert Rumilly, *Histoire de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal: des Patriotes au fleurdelié 1834/1948* (Montréal: Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, L'Aurore, 1975) 47.

[36] *Gazette*, 27 June 1842.

[37] *Transcript*, 29 June 1843.

ranks of national societies in Montreal, and began to be invited to the other saints' days celebrations.

This acceptance of Patriote supporters in post-rebellion Montreal was remarked upon by Thomas Storrow Brown, who had fled to the United States in 1837. "As this wiped away all my political sins, I returned to Montreal in May 1844, landed on the wharf, as if returned from an ordinary journey, shook hands all around with men of all parties, and at once found myself at home again."[38] Montreal's elites were quite willing to welcome their old enemies back into society. Brown, Papineau and Duvernay were able, with little difficulty, to reinsert themselves into the city's society.[39]

There was a willingness on the part of many in the elite to include and be included in each others' celebrations, not merely the national days. This was evident in 1846 when members of Montreal's British population were present at a Ball in honour of St. Catherine (patron saint of unmarried women). This "peculiarly Canadian festival" attracted around 500 participants, "including a fair proportion of British and other descents."[40] In 1847 Lord and Lady Elgin were present at the St. Catherine Ball. Not only were quadrilles danced, but also a number of Scottish reels.[41] Here then was an admitted French Canadian holiday which was organised and celebrated by French-Canadians with a ball, but which included other national groups of the elite. These mixed social events were presented positively in the English-

---

[38] Rare Book Room, McGill University, Thomas S. Brown Fonds, MS 405/11, "Reminiscences of a Veteran," *Canada First*, 28 January 1882, 4.

[39] Yvan Lamonde, *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec, 1760-1896* (Montréal: Fides, 2000) 296.

[40] *Gazette*, 27 November 1846.

[41] *Transcript*, 30 November 1847.

language press. "As the instrument of social reunion, it is regretted that parties of the kind are not more numerous, and on this, as on every other occasion in which we have seen the two races brought together without any reference to political objects, the best feeling and the most courteous manners prevailed."[42] These events were seen as an opportunity to foster good relations among the groups. Coverage of them by the papers framed them in terms of respectability and loyalty, making them comfortable to residents of British origin.

### 5.3.2 The English

Of all the national groups in the 1840s the English changed the least. The St. George's Society operated in the same manner. Saint George's day was still commemorated with a church service and parade in the morning, and a dinner in the evening. The parade underwent the most visible change, something that occurred in all societies' parades. 1840 saw the end of cooperation among the national societies. On Saint George's day the English marched alone. They were accompanied only by a regimental band. The coverage of Saint George's day in the newspapers was minimal. The most descriptive account of their parade was in 1845. It provides not only a florid account of the march, but underlines the limited importance of the other societies in the day.

> at the rendezvous at Rasco's [the St. George's Society rooms] mustered in a goodly company, not arrayed in glittering panoply of steel, but in good broadcloth, at whose head St. George himself if, instead of being the "Patron of chivalry and the garter" he had been a man "well to do in the world" would have not been ashamed to place himself. Shortly after eleven o'clock the procession formed and began to move up St. Paul Street, in the direction of Dalhousie Square. The van was led by the Union Jack followed by the superb band of the Ninety Third or Highland Regiment, arrayed in the "Old Garb of Gael" and after them came the juveniles of the families of the members of the St. George's Society and those of our townsmen of English descent. Each either bore the cross rouge of England, or the rose . . .

---

[42] *Gazette*, 27 November 1846.

> Next followed the members of the St. George's Society and such other gentlemen of English descent as desired to show on this occasion, their reminiscence of their national origin . . . The procession was closed by the officers of the St. George's Society with the Reverend Chaplain, Dr. Lundy . . . [43]

It was an English display with symbols of England (the rose and the flag of Saint George) and Britain (the Union Jack and the regiment). The other national societies did not merit any attention in the descriptions of the parade in *The Gazette,* and *The Transcript* mentioned only that "the compliment of displaying their banners was paid by the sister societies."[44] The *Gazette* mentioned this honour only a few days after their initial account.[45] While unity was still evident, it was no longer important to see them march together.

The dinners continued on in the same manner as they had in the 1830s. The lavish banquets employed the same symbols, the same music, and the same toasts, in relatively the same order. The St. George's Society continued to invite the representatives of the other national societies to their celebrations, although they now included the Société St.-Jean-Baptiste after its revival in 1842. All the national societies did likewise, treating them as they would the other national societies. It was important to the organisers to present an image of harmony at the head table. It was also considered traditional to invite the other societies' presidents to the dinner.

In 1845 this reliance on tradition proved to be a problem. A letter published in the *Transcript*, and addressed to the President and members of the St. George's Society, urged them to hold a dinner despite their dislike of the President of the St. Patrick's Society,

---

[43] *Gazette*, 24 April 1845.

[44] *Transcript*, 24 April 1845.

[45] *Gazette*, 26 April 1845.

Francis Hincks.[46] "If I am right in saying that the St. George's Society is a national society, I ask you to hope to preserve its nationality by passing over St. George's Day with the marked neglect you seem inclined to do? What is Mr. Hincks to me or any other Englishman, that he should stand in the way on this occasion."[47] The Society was being forced to decide which part of their tradition was most important. The letter, signed by "An Englishman and a member of the Society" sided on the importance of the day over other considerations. A few days later tickets for the dinner were advertised in *The Gazette*.[48] The dinner went off without incident in the traditional manner. Hincks did not attend.

In 1848 the St. George's Society was plagued with financial difficulties. In his annual report that year, the treasurer stated that the society only had £14 11s 4d cash, and £150 in the bank. The society had paid out £190 13s 9d in charity assistance that year. This was a crisis for the society, which had financial commitments to honour. The annual report of that year was quite clear as to why the society was in such a position. The charitable committee felt "called upon to advert to the very small attendance of members of the society, at quarterly meetings."[49] This lack of interest was mirrored in the payment of dues by members (25s annually and 15s entrance fee).[50] Only 77 of their 158 members had paid up,

---

[46] Francis Hincks (Sir), (1807-1885), born Cork, Ireland. Was a banker, journalist, politician and colonial administrator. Was a moderate reformer, and owned the *Pilot* newspaper. *DCB*.

[47] *Transcript*, 12 April 1845.

[48] *Gazette*, 17 April 1845.

[49] *Courier*, 13 January 1848.

[50] *Gazette*, 5 February 1849.

leaving the society £177 in arrears.[51] The society found it difficult to sustain interest in its regular activities and meetings, and to maintain the regular financial support the members provided. There were no clear reasons stated as to why the members were not attending or paying their dues.

This financial difficulty persisted through 1850. That year the society took the step of organising a charity ball to increase their funds. It took place following the St. George's Society dinner. The dinner cost 15s, the ball cost 10s for the men, 5s for women, and 25s for families.[52] "The proceeds of this Ball are applied for the purpose of replenishing the, at present, impoverished coffers of the Society, whose numerous charities are too well known to require any encomium from us."[53] The same day the Shakespeare Club also held its annual dinner at Dolly's, but left their dinner at 9pm to attend the ball.[54] It proved to be a popular event, drawing in a large number of people.

After 1840, the St. George's Society found it difficult to sustain interest in its regular activities. The number of English-born in Montreal was in decline, as shown in Chart Seventeen, and this group made up the bulk of its membership.[55] A number of the Society's old guard began to withdraw from the Society's executive. For example, George Moffat, president of the society from 1835 to 1837, and 1839 to 1840, ceased to participate in the

---

[51] *Courier*, 13 January 1848.

[52] Ibid, 15 April 1850.

[53] Ibid, 22 April 1850.

[54] *Gazette*, 28 April 1850. Shakespeare was born on April 23rd.

[55] See Chart Two.

society's executive after 1840. He continued to participate actively within Montreal's public life, including the Mercantile Library Association, the Montreal High School, the Montreal Regatta, and the Canadian Agricultural Society.[56] John Molson Jr., likewise reduced his participation in the St. George's Society following the Act of Union in 1840. He did not cease altogether like Moffat, but served in lesser posts, such as Steward in 1846-7. A new group of men assumed the society's leadership.

Not unlike other societies, the St. George's Society encountered difficulties in sustaining the interest of its members, and more specifically in obtaining their financial commitment.[57] However, the celebration of St. George's day continued, indicating a willingness among them to pay for that event at least. And despite the words of doom from the Society's charitable committees, its financial woes were not fatal, as the Society persisted through the nineteenth-century and into the twentieth, its mission and activities unchanged.

### 5.3.3 Welsh

While the English society was having trouble attracting members to activities, the Welsh in Montreal were experiencing new stirrings of their own identity. As the 1845 advertisement for Saint George's Day dinner tickets illustrates that the Welsh were lumped together with the English, and would have theoretically shared their celebration. St. George's

---

[56] Database.

[57] As was the case for the Hibernian Benevolent Society in the 1820s, described in Chapter Three.

Day and the St. George's Society were wholly English in its symbolism, despite their

promotion of a British identity (of which Wales was a part). Welsh symbols were absent.

Last celebrated in 1816, Saint David reappeared in 1847. Rather than a dinner, a ball

was held in the saint's honour.

> St. David who though the patron of Britons the most ancient, has been quite overlooked by
> Montrealers in the brotherhood of saints, was honoured on his anniversary (Monday eve) by
> a ball and supper given at Mayo & Flagg's Exchange, in a style equal to any, and superior
> to most things of the kind, got up this season. The assemblage of ladies, mostly young, and
> all looking so, appear to have been studiously selected from the most beautiful of the city,
> and in point of tasteful dress they were all perfection ... the ball-room, tastefully decorated
> with festoon of evergreen, mirrors, flags, and banners of national societies, was brilliant in
> itself.[58]

The number of superlatives used in the account of the evening lead to the conclusion that it

was a success. This success was translated into the establishment, in the early 1850s, of a St.

David's Society.[59] It was modelled and operated in much the same way as the other British

national societies. Montreal's social climate was such that in the 1840s it the formalisation

of national identities like those of the Welsh and French Canadians was encouraged.

## 5.3.4 The Scots

The 1840s was an interesting period for the Scots in Montreal, and particularly for

the St. Andrew's Society. The Scots of Montreal adapted the celebration of Saint Andrew's

day, both within the St. Andrew's Society and without, to the changing social and political

climates. As with the English, the St. Andrew's Society found itself parading in the streets

---

[58] *Courier*, 4 March 1847; reprinted their text in the *Transcript*, 9 March 1847.

[59] Kevin James, "The St. Patrick's Society of Montreal: Ethno-religious realignment in a Nineteenth-Century National Society," (MA, McGill University, 1997), 28.

alone, the marchers "greeting on their way the banners of the other societies."[60] Their dinners also, like the English, continued to include the presidents of the national societies.

The St. Andrew's Society dinners were not the only celebrations of the saint in the city, as had been the case in the previous decade. As in the period before the creation of the St. Andrew's Society, restaurants and hotel businesses hosted Saint Andrew's night festivities, usually balls. These ran in direct competition with the society's dinner. For example in 1840, in addition to the dinner held at Rasco's Hotel, balls were held at McHardy's Caledonian Hotel and Mr. Adam's rooms.[61] Mr. Adam also held a ball in the saint's honour in 1843.[62] That year's account of the day ended with the comment: "besides the [St. Andrew's Society] dinner at Mack's Hotel, we understand that about a dozen parties are to come off in different parts of the town and suburbs."[63] The day then was widely celebrated by Montrealers, and was not exclusively the domain of the St. Andrew's Society, unlike St. George's and St. Patrick's days, which continued to be celebrated by national or other specific societies. The number of balls held by private individuals gave women an opportunity to celebrate their heritage, which the exclusive male celebrations of the Society dinner did not.

The society itself, probably because of the competition with non-society events, played with the format of its evening celebrations. In 1844 it began hosting a second dinner

---

[60] *Gazette*, 1 December 1840.

[61] *Transcript*, 24 November 1840.

[62] Ibid, 25 November 1843.

[63] Ibid, 30 November 1843.

for the mechanics among their members.[64] The mechanics' dinners were held in a completely different location. The elite dinner, which included the presidents of the St-Jean-Baptiste, St. George, St. Patrick, and German societies, the mayor, the speaker of the House of Assembly and one hundred and thirty others, was held at Rasco's Hotel.[65] The seventy mechanics supped on haggis at Mack's Hotel.[66]

Both dinners were run in the same manner, with lavish foods, decorations, toasts and music. Scale was perhaps a difference. The band of the 93rd Highlanders played at Rasco's, while two of their pipers attended the dinner at Mack's. They were accompanied by the band of the 89th Regiment (not a Highland regiment). The Colonels of both regiments dined at Rasco's. The highlight of the evening at Mack's was the visit to their dinner by a deputation from Rasco's.

> About half past nine o'clock, a deputation from the other portion of the Society, dining at Rasco's Hotel, headed by R. Armour Jr., Esq., accompanied by Sir Allan McNab, (speaker of the House of Assembly) and also by "The McNab", were received with a hearty and cordial Scotch welcome. The health of the deputation and those whom they represented, being drank.[67]

These double dinners continued on through the decade.

This division, based on socioeconomic lines, was a clear indication of class consciousness of the Society, as well as the presence of more than the elite in the society's ranks. This was an innovation, but not one imitated by the other societies. The incorporation

---

[64] The term mechanics referred to those who held skilled jobs, but were not of the elite, and not likely to have attended the society's fancy dinners.

[65] *Gazette*, 3 December 1844; *Transcript*, 30 November 1844.

[66] *Gazette*, 10 December 1844.

[67] Ibid.

of the mechanics in the evening's event was both inclusive and exclusive. By bringing them into the activity, the St. Andrew's Society was embracing more of its members, but by the same token was segregating the classes by organising separate dinners. Class distinctions within the Society had not been previously articulated. The society was portraying itself as a place for all Scots, but appeared uncomfortable with the idea of mixing socially, especially in the more intimate setting of the dinners. It also represents the changing social dynamics of Montreal, with its growing population, changing economy and the beginnings of class divisions which were common in industrial cities.

Saint Andrew's Day 1848 saw the society experiment with hosting its own ball. It was called the "Caledonian Assembly" and was "not confined to members of the society." It was open to anyone willing to pay the price of admission: men paid 16s and women were admitted free.[68] In the lead up to the event, *The Gazette* even hinted at the possible attendance of the Governor General, their "noble patron,"[69] an attraction for those interested in socialising with the nobility. It was a glittering affair. It "was attended by all the elite of Montreal society, between two and three hundred persons being present."[70] This elite included the Governor General, as promised. He was "attended by a brilliant suite, and accompanied by Lady Alice Lambton, and the Hon. Mrs Bruce."[71]

---

[68] *Gazette*, 22 November 1848.

[69] Ibid, 29 November 1848.

[70] *Courier*, 2 December 1848.

[71] *Pilot*, 5 December 1848.

The move to a ball instead of a dinner was generally praised, both in *The Gazette* and *The Pilot*.

> The St. Andrew's Society have this year set the example of celebrating the anniversary of their Patron Saint in a manner more conductive to true sociality and convivial enjoyment than heretofore by substituting the elegancies of the dance with their wives and sweethearts, for the selfish indulgences of the dinner table. We hope to see such days always so kept.[72]

The presence of women made the affair respectable, and dictated a better comportment, which had not been the case at the traditional all-male dinners. Though this mixed celebration was well received, and despite the improved behaviour, the society did not have another ball until 1871.[73] The dinner was a far more popular event for the members. Its intimacy and the opportunities it afforded for male bonding were more in keeping with the outlook of the society's all-male membership.

Expressing Scottish identity was a popular activity in the 1840s, and St. Andrew and his day were the chief symbols used, though not the only ones. In 1850, with the founding of the Caledonian Curling Club, Robert Burns finally entered the calendar of days celebrating national identity in Montreal. On November 25, 1850, the club "resolved that the annual supper of beef and greens take place this and future years on the anniversary of Robert Burns, January 25th."[74]

The St. Andrew's Society, despite all of the changes made in commemoration of Saint Andrew's Day, or perhaps because of them, was able to maintain a stable number of

---

[72] *Gazette*, 4 December 1848; *Pilot*, 5 December 1848.

[73] Mary Johnston-Cox, *St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, Handbook* (Montreal: St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, 2001), 19.

[74] LAC, MG 28 I 365, *Caledonian Curling Club*, volume 1, no. 1, Minute Book, 1850-1875, 25 November 1850.

members. Data for the other societies do not exist, and the St. Andrew's Society's numbers only go to 1844, although totals of new members exist for the years following.

Chart Eighteen: Membership Numbers in the St. Andrew's Society, 1835-1844[75]
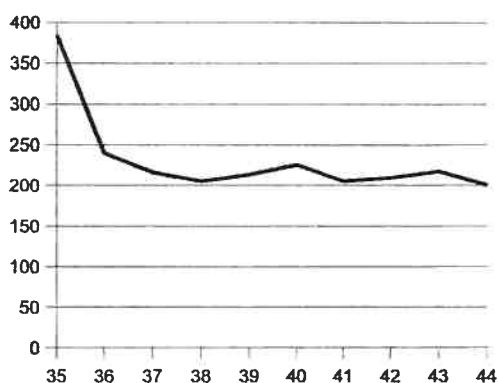


After the initial enthusiasm in 1835, the membership levelled off to between 200 and 220 members each year. In the years for which the information is available, the Society attracted an average of 20 new members a year.[76]

Politics continued to play a role in the St. Andrew's Society. Though, for the most part, the society itself, like the other national societies, did not pronounce itself on the issues of the day, it was not entirely removed from the political sphere. Many of the Society's members remained politically active, serving in all levels of government.[77] For example, two Montreal mayors were presidents of the Society, Peter McGill and James Ferrier. The

[75] Source: Allan, *Narrative;* and the annual reports published in *The Gazette.*

[76] Allan, *Narrative.*

[77] Database.

introduction of the Rebellion Losses Bill in the Assembly, which had been moved to Montreal, caused a great deal of tension among some of the Tories in the city, including many members of the Saint Andrew's Society.

Many had counted on the Governor General, James Bruce, eighth Earl of Elgin, not to sign the controversial bill and thus prevent its passing.[78] However Elgin was determined to see responsible government function, which meant approving all bills passed in the Assembly and the Legislative Council.[79] The bill itself was designed to redress the losses incurred by Lower Canadians during the rebellion, which included the claims of some Patriote supporters. A similar bill had passed for reparations to Upper Canadians a few years earlier without any protest.

The passing of the bill caused a riot. On the evening of April 25, 1849, crowds gathered outside the parliament buildings, and a mob then entered the sitting Assembly, knocking gaslights over in their rampage, and setting the building afire. The Governor General also found himself a target of protesters; his carriage was stoned when it went out in the streets. The bill became law nonetheless.

The St. Andrew's Society held a special meeting three days following the riot and fire. Those present blamed the Governor General for the events. Lord Elgin was a Scot and a patron of the society, as well as a descendant of Robert the Bruce. His role in the bill's passage rankled the assembled members. His strong support of this society, both financially and socially, was deemed unimportant. The Society took the unprecedented step of expelling

---

[78] Renaud Séguin, "Un loyalisme incendiaire: étude sur le "toryism" montréalais de 1849 à partir de journaux de l'époque" MA, Université de Montréal, 2002, 86.

[79] Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 182.

him. This was a very public act of humiliation. The Society published its resolution in The

*Gazette* two days later to make sure all understood their anger and their actions.

> Resolved 1st. That the Earl of Elgin has so conducted himself in his government as to insult
> and outrage the feelings of every British subject in Canada, and to disgrace the Scottish
> name, the Society, with deepest regret, consider him unworthy to continue as its patron, and
> that therefore he is henceforth removed from that office. Resolved 2d. That the name of the
> Earl of Elgin be erased from the list of Honorary members of the St. Andrew's Society.
> Resolved 3d. That the secretary be instructed to intimate the above resolutions to his
> Lordship.[80]

In justifying the expulsion, the society stated: "It was felt humiliating to the pride of

Scotchmen and to the glory of Scotland that one of her noblemen had been found destitute

of proper ideas of his duty, as to put his name to an act which, for infamy, is unparalleled in

history."[81] The meeting was attended by seventy-one of the society's members, and the vote

was unanimous. It cannot be said, however, that these resolutions represented all the

members, as John Boston, who entered the meeting following the passing of the first

resolution, promptly left.[82] Regardless of this disapproval, the resolutions stood. It was only

in 1972 that the society redressed the matter and invited the current Earl of Elgin to be an

Honorary member.[83]

The punishment of Lord Elgin and the language used in doing so, demonstrated the

proprietary interest that the St. Andrew's Society had over Scottish identity. They held Elgin

to a standard which was strongly connected to their Tory roots, their vision of Canadian

---

[80] *Gazette*, 30 April 1849; *A Summary of the First Fifty Years, Transactions of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal* (Montreal: McQueen and Corneil, 1886), 23.

[81] *Gazette*, 30 April 1849.

[82] *A Summary of the First Fifty*, 23. John Boston (1786-1862) born in Scotland. Lawyer, Businessman, and Sheriff of Montreal. *DCB*.

[83] Johnston-Cox, *St. Andrew's Society of Montreal*, 12.

politics, and their disapproval of the Rebellion Losses Bill and responsible government. They were prepared to regulate Scottish identity, and likewise attempt to influence the political transformation of the colony. The St. Andrew's Society was criticised for this act by M.P. William Blake, who called the Society members "the most debased and degraded of human beings, that they are not possessed of human feelings, but monsters."[84] When attempts were made to pass a similar motion at the Mechanic's Institute, it was stopped because of its political nature.[85]

The St. Andrew's Society was not the only place where Scottish identity was expressed. The city's Presbyterian churches were also important places for this. But, as stated in Chapter Two, they were plagued by conflict, and particularly in this period, by the disruption caused by the Free Church in 1844-5. The presence of competing commercial celebrations of St. Andrew's day indicates a strong desire by Scots to identify as Scots, although not necessarily together. Both Society and private celebrations honoured their identity using the same symbols of saint, thistle, history and haggis.

### 5.3.5 The Irish

Of all the British groups in Montreal in the 1840s, the Irish experienced the most social turmoil and change. The 1840s was a period of demographic growth, with an increase of Irish immigration, notably in the famine migration of 1847-8.[86] The vast majority of

---

[84] *Gazette*, 16 May 1849.

[85] Ibid, 4 May 1849.

[86] See Charts Two and Three.

famine migrants were Catholic.[87] These changes were reflected in their association and celebrational life, which likewise changed drastically through the decade.

The formation of the Irish Catholic Temperance Association in 1840 was a pivotal event in the confessionalisation of Irish identity. The society was created through the initiative of the English-speaking congregation's priest, Father Patrick Phelan. He "addressed the members of the congregation in a powerful and eloquent sermon on the evils of intemperance and explained the object for which they had been called together."[88] This sermon on the 23rd of February 1840 compelled "a large number of the oldest and best members of the congregation, over 300 . . . repeated the pledge."[89] The society managed to attract a large number of people, men and women, who took the pledge of temperance, and after 1841, the pledge of abstinence.[90] Only men served on the executive of the society.

The society centred itself upon the temperance/abstinence crusade, but early on it assumed a larger social and religious role for its members. An important indicator of this role was its participation in the Saint Patrick's Day parade. As with the other national parades after 1840, the other national societies no longer marched in the parade. The gap was filled by the Roman Catholic Temperance Association. They were often joined by the Christian

---

[87] Mark McGowan, "Irish Catholics," *Encyclopaedia of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) 743.

[88] *Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee*, 22.

[89] Ibid, 23. This was the earliest of temperance societies in the Catholic Church in Quebec. It was only after 1845 that temperance societies were formed by French Canadians, and transformed into a Crusade by Father Charles Chiniquy. Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) 166.

[90] The move to abstinence had also occurred in the Montreal Temperance Society in 1837. Many in the movement were becoming convinced that only total abstinence, and further, legislated abstinence would achieve their moral aims. Noel, *Canada Dry*, 64.

Doctrine Society of the Recollet Church.[91] The parade was assuming a more Catholic character despite its organisation by the nondenominational St. Patrick's Society.

The Saint Patrick's Day parade was a big event. In 1843, The *Transcript* published the order of procession for the parade. Its size is both impressive and indicative of the influence of the temperance society in the overall expression of Irish identity in the city.

<div align="center">

2 Stewards with wands
supporters with spears {Union Jack} supporters with spears
Band
Grand Marshal, M. Kelly
supporter { Blue banner of the cross} supporter
2 Deputy Marshals
Children of the Christian Doctrine Society
Four and Four
2 Deputy Marshals
supporter with spears { St. Patrick's banner} supporter with spears
2 Stewards with wands
Marshal, D. Doyle
members four and four
2 Stewards with wands
supporter { original harp banner } supporter
Irishmen, not members, four and four
2 Stewards with wands
supporter { Green medal banner} supporter
members, four and four
supporter with battle axe { Standard of Ireland} supporter with battle axe
Steward { Marshal Stanley} Steward
supporter{ Ladies' Crimson banner} supporter
members, four and four
2 Stewards with wands
supporter{ Ladies' banner} supporter
2 Stewards with wands
supporter{ Father Mathew's banner} supporter
Committee of Vigilance
Committee of Instalment
Committee of Accounts
2 Stewards
Committee of Charity
Managing Committee of both societies
Honorary Members
Physicians
Secretaries
Treasurers
Past Presidents and Vice Presidents

</div>

---

[91] *Gazette*, 17 March 1840.

Vice Presidents
supporter with spear { Grand Banner} supporter with spear
stewards { Presidents} stewards
Five Stewards[92]

The above procession was filled with symbols of the church, alongside two associations which were wholly Catholic in their makeup. The three societies were mixed together, divided according to the positions held within them, with the more important officers marching last. The marchers were accompanied by supporters carrying banners which represented Ireland (Saint Patrick, harp, standard), and Catholicism (cross, Saint Patrick, Father Mathew). The event reinforced the strong moral character that the Irish involved wished to promote. The large parade attracted much attention. It brought in thousands of members both in and at the parade, and at the religious service it led to. The nobility of the temperance cause overshadowed the presence of the St. Patrick's Society in the most public of the day's events. They were present, but not as important. The year before, *The Transcript*, impressed by the cause of temperance and the large display it had witnessed, published three poems in honour of the society.

*On Seeing the Irish Temperance Society in Procession*
*at Montreal in the Year 1842*

When man made wine, the conscious liquor flushed,
Felt sin complete and for our nature blushed;
How changed by virtuous deeds from times that were,
View Ireland's host led captive by the fair
How vain to tempt- see Erin's prospering band
Proclaiming Temperance in each foreign land-
Her three-leaved boast all nations loudly cheer,
Success attending where their standards rear;
Such peaceful banners in each clime carest,
Combine throughout to make new countries blest.
Go, now promote what thy kind works have done.
And end the task by Temperance begun;
May prudence guide, may fortitude combine,

---

[92] *Transcript*, 16 March 1843.

> Give each a leaf- the victory is thine-
> So shall the Shamrock bloom, from pole to pole,
> A nation's pledge to sanctify the whole.[93]

As this poem illustrates, temperance was a powerful national symbol. It was also a Catholic one. Its denominational grounding provided a place for Irish-Catholics to go and express themselves as such, and its combined Irishness and connection to faith made it compelling. The Roman Catholic Church was, after 1840, increasingly influenced by Ultramontanism, which sought to provide Catholic institutions for its faithful.[94] This was true for both French Canadian and Irish Catholics. The Irish Catholic Temperance Association was the beginning of the process of steering Catholics away from secular societies. The founding of St. Patrick's Church (in 1847), and the recruitment of priests from Ireland to serve the community, gave the Church a solid institutional base for its goals.

The increasing role of the Roman Catholic Church in secular affairs, starting with the Irish Catholic Temperance Association, and the movement towards an identity based on confession, was a problem for the St. Patrick's Society. Its Protestant members were left marginalised in the more public expressions of Irish identity. The Society, however, continued to host a St. Patrick's Day dinner. This event was untouched by the temperance movement. And while clearly those who signed the abstinence pledge were not likely to approve of the copious amounts of alcohol imbibed through the evening, no calls for a change were publicly voiced.

---

[93] *Transcript*, 19 March 1842. Poem by Standish O'Grady. He was a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and an impoverished Protestant clergyman. He homesteaded near Sorel. Donald Mackay, *Flight from Famine: The Coming of the Irish to Canada*, (McClelland and Stewart, 1990), 193.

[94] James, *The St. Patrick's Society of Montreal*, 50.

The Irish in Montreal did not express themselves in a unified manner. The St. Patrick's Society was not, like the other societies, the only association for this group. The creation of the temperance society, however, was a threat to the St. Patrick's society because it divided the population not by politics but by faith, and this was harder to compete with. The St. Patrick's Society was promoting a general Irish identity that was becoming less and less relevant to Montreal's Irish population.

The society itself was falling apart. In his thesis Kevin James argues that the broader political ambitions of some of its membership made the society an arena of debate, and "undermined the authority and autonomy of their national society."[95] President Francis Hincks's politics and policies were a point of contention not only for the St. George's Society. Under Hincks, the St. Patrick's Society was trying to adapt to the post-rebellion reality, and as a part of this it decided in 1847 to become a mutual benefit society rather than a charity. This was at a time when charity was most needed.[96] The issue was divisive.[97] "By 1847 it was being undermined by political realignment, and was challenged on several fronts: by the manifest failure of the society to generate principles of mutual interest and communal assertion."[98] The society was further split by the pressure exerted by Father Dowd on the

---

[95] James, "The St. Patrick's Society of Montreal," 39.

[96] It was also the time when mutual benefit societies were becoming more popular, markedly so after 1845. Martin Petticlerc, "De la providence à la prévoyance: les classes populaires et la société libérale au Québec" in Janice Harvey and Jean-Marie Fecteau, eds., *Agency and Institutions in Social Regulation: Towards an Historical Understanding of their Interaction* (Ste-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2005): 247.

[97] James, "The St. Patrick's Society of Montreal," 44-5.

[98] Ibid, 46.

Society's Catholics to participate in the institutions under clerical patronage, and the natural appeal these institutions offered.[99]

The Young Men's St. Patrick's Association was formed about 1848, and served as a national society for many who were not content with the actions of the St. Patrick's Society.[100] The Young Men's St. Patrick's Association had close ties to the Catholic Church. It disbanded in 1856, folding into the newly formed and wholly Catholic St. Patrick's Society.[101] As with other Irish societies, it celebrated its anniversary on St. Patrick's Day, and held a dinner for its members on that day.

The St. Patrick's Society was not the only Irish society experiencing internal division. The Hibernian Benevolent Society also found itself divided. Unfortunately, the details of the split were not reported in from the city's newspapers. The split became public in 1848, when two different societies calling themselves the Hibernian Benevolent Society advertised their annual meeting in the same issue and page of The *Transcript*.[102] When the reports of the meetings were later published, no mention of the division was made, or the other's existence acknowledged.

In order to differentiate between the two groups, for the purposes of identification here and in the Appendices, the different societies' rooms were used. Hibernian Benevolent

---

[99] Ibid, 62.

[100] Ibid, 44. The date of formation is unknown, but its first appearance in the newspapers was in 1848. *Pilot*, 5 December 1848.

[101] Kevin James, "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth Century City: St. Patrick's Society of Montreal, 1834-56," *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 26, 1 (Spring 2000): 60.

[102] *Transcript*, 17 February 1848.

Society (1) appeared first in the papers, and met at the St. Francis Xavier Street, and Hibernian Benevolent Society (2) met at McGill Street. Number 2 claimed to have been founded in 1823. It was probably the original society, or at least the one which kept the society's funds.[103] James asserts that a group of dissatisfied St. Patrick's Society members formed the Hibernian Benevolent Society in 1847, but this is unlikely.[104] The choice of naming the new society after an existing one can only be interpreted as a direct challenge to the original Hibernian Benevolent Society, not to the St. Patrick's Society. The first disappeared quickly in 1849. The original society folded in 1851.[105]

Of all the groups in Montreal, the Irish used associational life the most to express themselves. The Irish population was varied, with the arrival of many new immigrants, and this was reflected in the formation and folding of Irish associations. Irish identity in Montreal had remained one which was publicly scrutinised. All associations pressed for the respectability of the Irish, but otherwise varied politically, religiously and functionally. All claimed Patrick as their symbol, and used him, along with the shamrock to unify their members.

---

[103] Ibid, 26 February 1848.

[104] James, "Dynamics of Ethnic," 57.

[105] D.C. Lyne, "The Irish in the Province of Canada in the Decade Leading to Confederation," (MA, McGill University, 1960), 94.

## 5.4 Charity Begins at Home

While the British national societies continued to participate in a limited way in each others' events, and continued to express a sense of community through common values and imperial institutions, there was a clear separation of the associations. This was reflected in society in general, and nowhere more than in the realm of charity. The national societies had begun the process of separating charity relief according to nationality, whereby each group assumed the responsibility for the aid of their own. Immigrants of certain groups could expect some assistance from their group's national society if they were moving onto other areas of settlement. Divisions were creeping into other charitable endeavours, most particularly these dealing with the victims of disasters. Two events in this decade demonstrate the importance Montrealers placed on the national identity of both the victims and the donors.

On July 19th, 1842, the steamer *The Shamrock* exploded just offshore from Lachine. The boat was full of immigrants heading towards Kingston in Upper Canada. The fifty-seven survivors found themselves stranded without transport, funds or any belongings.[106] Upon hearing the news of the disaster, the St. George's Society "voted the sum of £100, or each portion of it as might be necessary" for the English victims.[107] The St. Andrew's Society announced that Society funds could not be spared, but organised a private subscription to assist the affected Scots. The St. Patrick's Society also stepped in and raised money separate from the society's funds.

---

[106] *Transcript*, 23 July 1842.

[107] *Gazette*, 19 July 1842.

The President of the St. Patrick's Society, Benjamin Holmes, in announcing the formation of an Irish committee, expressed his dismay at the parcelling out of the victims. "It was the intention of the contributors not to confine to their own countrymen exclusively this assistance: but, understanding that the other societies of the city have limited their donations to the sufferers of their respective countries, the Irish portion of the community found themselves precluded from a more general course."[108] Each group was left to its own community for assistance. Even prominent Montrealers who donated did so to their own group. Mayor Peter McGill "transmitted to Lachine the sum of ten pounds for the relief of such surviving Scotch emigrants as might be in distress."[109]

The disaster was reported in terms of nationality with the dead and injured categorised by their country of origin. Aid was perceived as the responsibility of each national group, and specifically of the national societies. This division made the distribution of aid uneven. Of the hundred and twenty passengers, half were English, with the rest divided fairly evenly between Scots and Irish. The St. George's Society helped sixteen survivors, using £65 5s of the society's funds.[110] The St. Andrew's Society paid out £31 11s 2d to aid an unspecified number of Scots.[111] The St. Patrick's Society had enough left over from their

---

[108] Ibid, 25 July 1842.

[109] *Transcript*, 21 July 1842.

[110] Ibid, 15 October 1842.

[111] *A Summary of the First Fifty*, 16. It was reported that six adults and fourteen children from Scotland survived the explosion. *Gazette*, 19 July 1842.

fundraising that they were able to present to John Norton and Captain Nelson Chamberlain engraved silver mementoes in gratitude for the lives they saved after the disaster.[112]

Montrealers' reaction to the *Shamrock* explosion was to assist the victims, but on specific terms. As sympathetic as they apparently were, they felt compelled to help only those who shared their origins. It may also be argued that the national societies used the opportunity of assisting victims to demonstrate their own utility. Even though the St. Patrick's and St. Andrew's societies had to raise special funds, they proved to their members that they were a credible source of support to the community. Identity was the key to both the spirit of giving and to receiving.

The groups were reluctant to assist each other. The famine in Ireland and Scotland in 1847-8 was another moment when the call to aid took on national divisions. In early 1847 reports of famine in both Ireland and the Scottish Highlands began to reach Montreal. The Irish and the Scots, upon hearing this, organised separate meetings to determine ways to raise money for their assistance.

The Irish were the first to hold a public meeting in early February. The meeting was not organised by any specific Irish association, but by a group of men identified only as Irish. In an address "For the Irish inhabitants of Montreal, and to the charitable generally," they appealed to their countrymen who lived in plenty, to assist, "The duty of calling a public meeting at an early day, for the purpose of concentrating our efforts to relieve to the full extent of our means, the destitution which is now consigning a starving people to a premature

---

[112] *Transcript*, 17 December 1842.

death."[113] The Scots, under the auspices of the St. Andrew's Society used their quarterly meeting to discuss assisting the Highland famine victims. Although the meeting was hosted by the society, "it is by no means desired that it should be exclusively a meeting of the members of the society, or of any particular class, but that the appeal is to all classes and all races."[114]

Famine relief had begun in Montreal, and had divided itself according to the origin of the victims. This trend was mirrored in Canada West, where separate committees were established in most urban centres.[115] However, the first famine relief group organised by the Irish made the move to extend their efforts to the Highlanders. It was proposed by Thomas Ryan[116] "that the same committee form also a committee for the relief of the destitute Highlanders of Scotland, and that the amount of one-fourth of the subscriptions received be applied to their benefit."[117] The Scots meeting, held a few days later, seemed to suggest that there was agreement among their committee to join with the Irish, when they stated that "although each peculiar race of a common country may be expected to sympathise more closely with their own countrymen, let none be backward in the coming strife of generous

---

[113] *Transcript*, 2 February 1847.

[114] *Gazette*, 10 February 1847.

[115] G.J. Parr, "The Welcome and the Wake, Attitudes in Canada West Toward the Irish Famine Migration" *Ontario History*, 66 (1974): 102.

[116] Thomas Ryan (1804-1889), born in Ireland, businessman, and politician. Roman Catholic, his second wife was of the French Canadian elite. Became a Senator in 1867. *DCB*.

[117] *Transcript*, 9 February 1847.

feeling- let party and politics be alike forgotten, and the only emulation be, who shall show the most generosity, not to their own countrymen but to their starving fellow creatures."[118]

The United Irish and Scottish relief fund was thus created. However, a number of Scots were not satisfied by the proportion of funds allocated to the Highland victims.[119] They set up their own Scottish Relief Fund, which along with the United Irish and Scottish Relief Fund continued to advertise in the newspapers for the next month. The United fund, however, seems to have received the more general approval of the editors of *The Gazette* and *The Transcript*, and of society in general. The holding of a ball for the United Irish and Scottish Relief Fund also demonstrated this support.[120]

Fundraising for the famine in Ireland and Scotland both divided Montrealers and brought them together. For most, it appears that the reality of the famine, which was by far worse in Ireland,[121] and the common sense of raising money as a unit, led to the union of those most concerned with the victims -- the Scots and the Irish. Unlike the Shamrock disaster, which divided the communities, famine relief efforts appealed to Montrealers' generosity in a broader way. Those Scots who chose to go it alone most probably relied on a smaller community of donors. There were no grand totals published to indicate the success of either group. The impact of the famine immigrants' arrival in the spring overshadowed any efforts made for those remaining in Britain.

---

[118] *Transcript*, 11 February 1847.

[119] Ibid, 20 February 1847.

[120] *Gazette*, 19 February 1847.

[121] T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950* (London: Fontana Press, 1986/1990), 12.

Both these events demonstrate the importance of national identity in the raising of funds for charity. The national societies initiated their own fundraising, and for the most part were responsible solely for their own group, even when the victims were of diverse origins. The scale of the famine in 1847 made this separate fundraising problematic and the two groups appealed to all Montrealers: "People of Montreal . . . Let us gratefully thank the Supreme Being who has spared us the calamity, and let our sympathies flow freely, and our aid be extended generously."[122] However, this strategy may have resulted in less money being raised. Some Scots felt that they were responsible only for their compatriots, and wanted to raise as much as possible in their own interests.

## 5.5 Conclusion

The 1840s were a time of change. By participating in each others' annual day the national societies still acknowledged a sense of union with one another as part of Montreal and as British subjects. This participation, however, was less involved than during the previous period, relying more on symbolic gestures such as displaying banners in windows along the parade route, and inviting representatives of the other national societies to the dinners. The national societies were experiencing different pressures and changing independently to suit their distinctive needs.

British social forms dominated Montreal society. The association, and particularly national society, was the preferred way for the various national groups to interact. The rebirth of the Société St.-Jean-Baptiste was accepted because the society undertook to demonstrate

---

[122] *Gazette*, 19 February 1847.

their identity in conjunction with loyal British symbols. The French Canadian society became like any other national society, and integrated itself with the calendar of saints' days. The celebration of St. Catherine, although considered a French Canadian tradition, could likewise be viewed as part of the use of the British social form, linking disparate groups together under the auspices of a national celebration. Not only was the British form the most dominant in the city, but the British identity as expressed by the national societies was as well. Acceptance in the British controlled public sphere was contingent on expressing some aspects of loyalty and love for British institutions. The other groups in Montreal were, by using these forms and symbols, acknowledging British dominance in Montreal society.

The celebrations of saints' days had, in the 1840s, become the focus of interaction between the various national societies. The presidents and vice-presidents of these societies had a round of social occasions where they acted as representatives of their associations, and as representatives of their national groups. Their presence at the saints' days dinners reinforced the ties amongst the national groups and legitimised their functions. Their unity relied on a sense of belonging to Montreal, and loyalty to the institutions of the British empire. This was an identity based on political allegiance.

Each British national society operated independently and changed variably to the different conditions of 1840s Montreal. The treatment of charity in disaster illustrates how each national group assumed responsibility for its own. Even the United Irish and Scottish Relief Fund began the organisation of famine relief separately. The St. George's Society did not alter their celebrations much beyond the withdrawal of other societies participating actively in the parade. The Society went on essentially as before. Financial crises at the end

of the decade caused by the lack of funds, was linked to low attendance at regular meetings, but did not cause the society to fold. Indeed, Montrealers (mostly the elite) made an effort to attend a ball designed as a fund raiser for the Society.

The St. Andrew's Society, while continuing to honour their patron saint with a parade and church service, experimented with its evening events. It, unlike the other associations, faced competition from commercial celebrations. The Society created a second separate dinner for the mechanics of the society, and a ball, which included more of their members and other Scots in their expression of identity. It also implicated itself strongly in the politics of the colony, and actually expelled the Governor General for failing to represent what they saw as Scottish interests.

The Irish underwent the most change in this period. The St. Patrick's Society was unable to sustain itself with the change in demographics and politics. The increasing power of the Catholic church over the secular activities of its faithful challenged the nondenominational character of the Society. Challenged by the other Irish national societies such as the clerically controlled temperance association and the Young Men's St. Patrick's Association, the St. Patrick's Society was unable to compete. The Irish were unable to maintain an air of unity that the other national groups were.

CONCLUSION

In May 1842, the city of Montreal organised a welcome for the Governor General's arrival in the city and a procession to government house. Naturally, in introducing themselves to the Queen's representative in the colony, they were intent on displaying the most respectable and positive aspects of Montreal society. The procession began at the city's limits, and accompanied the Governor General. It included: "the several Irish societies," the Mechanics Institute, the German society, the St. Andrew's Society, the St. George's Society, the Board of Trade and the Natural History Society.[1]

In addition to the parade each national group prepared an address to the Governor General, Sir Charles Bagot. The Irish address stated in part:

> ...We, the natives and descendants of Ireland, resident in this city, and forming a numerous body of Her Majesty's subjects, have a deep and abiding interest in its prosperity; but we can declare to your excellency, that distinct origin creates in us no exclusive interest, and that we shall be content, while in common with the rest of our fellow citizens, we shall in that we trust, the city of Montreal, and the province generally, are destined to enjoy ... [2]

The Scots and English presented similar statements of loyalty and identity. This grand public demonstration was a snapshot of how Montreal society was ordered socially, the value national identity had in its relationships, and the sense of community that had developed since 1800.

Clearly, national identity was an important aspect of Montreal society. Even when groups were acting together, such as in the welcome of the Governor General, this unity was described in national terms. National identity was the reference point by which much of

---

[1] *Gazette*, 23 May 1842.

[2] Ibid.

Montreal society organised itself.

The emphasis in this thesis has been on the creation of public commemoration and of voluntary associations, which were the core manifestations of Montrealers' desire to order their society. The social reality of the city was defined by its role as a colonial port in the British empire, its significant French Canadian and Catholic population living alongside a diverse grouping of the different British nationalities as well as other national groups, and the constant flow of new settlers it experienced throughout the nineteenth century. Ordering society was the means by which these groups could integrate into their new social and political environment, while at the same time adapting society to their own needs.

From 1800 onward, Montreal was developing into a more structured and complicated society. Its population was growing throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. This was primarily the result of increased immigration to the colony, particularly after 1815. The city was extending physically, with the development of suburbs around the original city centre. The economy changed from the original fur trade, expanding into the other types of business, and the financial services that an increasingly complex and varied economy required. The political climate was also changing. The colony underwent major political changes, from the increasing role of French Canadians in the administration of the colony, to political upheavals in the 1830s which ended in rebellion in 1837 and 1838. The 1840s were marked also by political changes which resulted in the burning of the parliament buildings in 1849, along with the advent of responsible government.

These were disturbing times, and those who were living in them had to cope in some way with the upheaval of settlement, the changes in population, economy and politics. The

use of voluntary associations and commemoration and celebrations were coping mechanisms, particularly in the first period when the British population was a minority. The population was constructing institutions which reflected their needs, and controlled in some way the behaviour of those participating within them. It was a control based on the principal of associational democracy with mutually accepted rules, and the incorporation of symbols and traditional forms which those of British origin understood. Identities were framed by these institutional and celebrational forms.

National identities, like the forms which were used to express them, were not static. At the opening of the century, Montreal's British population was beginning to organise its social environment. The Protestants, starting with the Presbyterians, had begun to leave the Anglican church where they had shared religious services. A few societies had also formed which supported the faithful of some Protestant denominations, as well as a few charities and leisure societies. National identity was not as present in these early creations as was religious identity. The importation of British associations such as the Freemasons, and others inspired by like-minded British associational forms demonstrated a strong desire to perpetuate their identity. The formal organisation of curling and the 1808 celebration of St. George's Day were the first public displays of national identity.

Following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, Montreal became the recipient of increased immigration from the British Isles. With a growing number of people present, Montrealers organised a larger number and variety of associations. National identity was able to assume a more prominent role in the city's public life. By the 1820s the British population had organised specific associations and celebrations which honoured their

national identities in a definite manner. The Scots had formed the Montreal Curling Club in 1807, and had also organised Shinty (Cammons) and golfing events. The English had formed the Montreal Cricket Club. The Irish were less athletic, instead forming societies like the Hibernian Benevolent Society. All three national groups had organised and celebrated their national identities using their patron saints as their symbols. These celebrations had started to become regular occurrences in the city's calendar. National identity was institutionalising.

The 1830s were particularly tumultuous. This was a time of social unrest, challenges to the existing political system and the spread of revolutionary ideas. The British population, at its heart quite conservative, organised a network of associations which bolstered their confidence in their identities, and their loyalty. These events were a means to control the immediate social environment, by creating institutions which combined the appeal of nostalgia and tradition attached to their homelands, and the power which comes from formalizing social contact and ritual. The national groups were able, through the associational form, to regulate their identity, and by consequence the expression of their values, and in the 1830s, their politics. Other types of associations were formed at this time, reflecting and directing this need for unity and control.

The various Protestant denominations in this decade, had organised regular religious services, as had the Roman Catholics and the Jews. When national societies were founded in 1834 and 1835, these religious institutions were deftly incorporated into their activities, by way of chaplains, and religious services conducted in honour of the various national patron saints. The different churches which held the patron services were particularly allied

with that national group, but the attendance of many different pastors and priests, as well as individuals of other denominations at all the services indicated a sense of unity. The national associations were the way in which the British population displayed their unity, much as the above-mentioned parade welcoming the Governor General did. Separate and distinct, but with a unity of purpose.

The associational form was, by the 1840s, one of the most influential means by which that Montrealers organised their social life. The form was respected and used by those in the city in order to achieve social or political goals. This period was blessed with a rich and varied associational life. This had been built upon the foundation of societies created in the four decades prior, which had used the British associational form to impose their presence on the city. The change in political climate after the Act of Union, the increasing immigration, and the movement towards a more industrial economy also facilitated this associational boom. The greeting of the Governor General demonstrates how the city's population relied on the form for moments of civic expression and public celebration.

The national societies and national identities had become, by the 1840s, institutionalised and entrenched. Rarely were expressions of national identity organised outside of these societies. The only exceptions were the commercial St. Andrew's Day celebrations, which operated in competition with the St. Andrew's Society. The associational form had become the place to express identity. The Irish identity was changing in this period because of denominational differences within the group, these changes precipitated the creation of new associations which reflected their new needs and sense of belonging. Even victims of disasters were assisted along national lines, with fundraising

frequently along the lines of the victims and the often the donors.

The national societies of the 1830s continued to operate in the 1840s, but were more focused on their own group. These societies and the identities they represented remained symbolically intertwined, demonstrating together at society dinners and events like welcoming the Governor General. In general, though, these societies acted far more independently. National identity was front and centre in public life, institutionalised, and reinforced through celebrations which incorporated ritual and tradition

If national identities set portions of Montreal's population apart, British identity brought them together. The unity expressed by those welcoming the Governor General in 1842 was invested in the institutions of the British Empire and Montreal as a part of that empire. The monarch, the military and the colonial administration were symbols of stability and security which were consistently toasted and presented at public celebrations.

The British identity was expressed in the first thirty-three years, mainly through the celebration of the King's birthday. It was only with the uncertainty caused by the rebellions of 1837-8, and the events leading up to them which brought about a concerted effort to express British identity. The threat of losing the stability and consistency offered by being a part of the empire and its administrative and cultural institutions, spurred the population of British origin to protect and promote British identity. The resolution of the rebellions with Union refocused the population on their more particular national identities. The British identity that the national societies had promoted in the 1830s persisted. It was not a national identity like Irish, Scottish or English, but a civic identity, and was nurtured not only from the common British origins and culture that portions of the population shared, but also

through the shared desire of Montreal's population to coexist peacefully. This allowed other groups which did not necessarily have the same cultural attachment to the British Isles, like the French Canadians and the Germans, to foster and express a sense of belonging to the dominant British culture and the imperial institutions which were a part of the governing of the city.

While the sources consulted limited the study to the more public demonstration of identities, and to a limited number of participants, which formed, for all intents and purposes an elite, this thesis was able to discern the evolution of the British identities in Montreal, and the events which shaped them. In casting a wider net and examining the British population in Montreal as a whole, not just its composite parts, the thesis has presented the context for its development, and demonstrated that these groups did not live in isolation. In fact they had close economic, social and political links. Though this thesis has not discussed in great depth the role of French Canadians and their expressions of identity in Montreal, it has shown that the presence of the other, of difference, influenced and was influenced by Montreal's British population. There was importance in being English; in being English, Irish, Scottish and British.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Primary Sources:

Archives of the McCord Museum of Canadian History (MMA)

M12427, Letter to J.S. McCord from Simon McGillivray, 27 February 1828.

M12455, Letter to J.S. McCord from William H. White, 5 March 1846.

Beaver Club Fonds, P305, Folder 6, M15467, Rules and Regulations of the Beaver Club, 1819.

P 195-A/1 1-10, Badgley papers.

M 2000.95.1 "The Shakespeare Club, Montreal, 1847" by Cornelius Krieghoff.

National Library and Archives of Canada (LAC)

MG 28 I 365, Caledonian Curling Club.

MG 24 B 142, Constitutional Association.

MG 24 I 61, Joseph, Abraham, Diary no. X

RG 4, B19, Quebec and Lower Canada Census Rolls and Records, Volume 3, "Liste des petits jurés pour les sessions. . .Montreal district, 1832-5. (H 1758)

Archives of the Anglican Archdiocese of Montreal (AAM)

RG 1.3, Petition to the Bishop of Quebec, c. 1815.

RG 1.5 "GJ Mountain", Letter to J. Mountain from Lt. Col. CA Wetherall, 17 July 1837.

RG 1..5 "GJ Mountain", Letter to J. Mountain from John Bethune, 10 August 1837.

RG 1.5 "GJ Mountain", Letter to Timothy Franchere from Edward Parkin, Rector of St. Stephen's, Chambly, 3 December 1823.

RG 1.5, "GJ Mountain, Mountain, George J. "A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Quebec on the Question of Affording the Use of Churches and Chapels of the Church of England for the Purpose of Dissenting Worship" Montreal: T. Cary and Sons, 1845.

Archives du Séminaire Saint-Sulpice, Montréal (ASSS)

"Registre de l'église des Récollets, à l'usage de la congrégation irlandaise de Montréal. 8 pages, P. Phelan desservant." Section 27, voûte 2, T-97, #165.

January 1833, "Petition to Quibler and seminary from Irish community for a church" Section 27, voûte 2, T-97, #187, 188, 189.

28 mai 1842, "Lettre de Vincent Quiblier à M. A.W. Pugin, architecte, Londres, pour lui demander des plans pour l'église St-Patrice-de-Montréal" Section 17, voûte 2, T-98, #6 (duplicate).

Jan. 1833, "Petition to Quiblier and Seminary from Irish community for a church." Section 27, voûte 2, T-97, #187 and #189.

"Rapport d'un comité pour hâter la construction d'une église pour les catholiques de la langue anglaise de la paroisse de Notre-Dame de Montréal, Robert Begley, 3 pages." Section 27, voûte 2, T-98, #5.

Saint Patrick's Basilica, Montreal (SPA)

"Diary, 1840-1844" attributed to John Joseph Connolly.

St. Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book [dated] 1841.

Archives de la Fabrique Notre-Dame, Montréal (AFND)

"Lettre du [sic] Irlandais, 5 juillet 1826. Re-Récollet grandi" Boite 3, chemise 17.

*Délibérations des assemblées de marguilliers, livre "B" du 9 août 1778 au 15 décembre 1833.* Vulgarisation du registre original par Roxanne Léonard, 1984-11-08.

*Délibérations des assemblées de marguilliers, livre "C" du 6 avril 1834 au 9 juin 1878.* Vulgarisation du registre original par Roxanne Léonard, 1988-05-12.

Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec- Montréal (ANQ-M)

"Church Society Minute Books, 1822-1864" P 603 S2 SS14, United Church Archives: American Presbyterian Church, Box 123.

"Erskine Church, E19, Minutes, Session 1838-1851" P603 S2 SS96, United Church Archives.

"Cahiers des Récollets" P 1000, D668, 1837-1842.

"Church Minutes and Annual Reports" P 603 S2 SS40, United Church Archives, St Gabriel Street Church, Box 193.

*Congregationalism in Canada a Century Ago* by H.W. Barker, Congregational Church Records, P600, boîte 5, C18.

**Printed Primary Sources:**

Newspapers

*Canadian Courant* 1807-1834.
*Irish Vindicator and Canadian Advertiser* 1828-1837.
*Montreal Courier* 1835-1850.
*Montreal Gazette* 1800-1850.
*Montreal Herald* 1811-1850.
*Montreal Transcript* 1835-1850.
*Pilot* 1844-1850.

"Mark Twain in Montreal, His Speech at the Banquet in his Honor, an Explanation How He Came to be in an Ostensibly Foreign Land, Looking Forward to the Good Times Coming When Literary Property will be as Sacred as Whisky", *New York Times*, 10 December 1881.


## Society publications

Allan, Hugh, *Narrative of the Proceedings of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal from its Formation on the 9th March 1835, until 1st January 1844, to which is appended lists of the Officers and the Constitution of the Society*, Montreal: J.C. Becket, 1855. (CIHM 53911)

*A Summary of the First Fifty Years, Transactions of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal*, Montreal: McQueen and Corneil, 1886.

Becket, Hugh W., *The Montreal Snow Shoe Club, its History and Record with a Synopsis of the Racing Events of Other Clubs Throughout the Dominion, From 1840 to the Present Time*, Montreal: Becket Brothers, 1882.

Bosworth, Newton, *Hochelaga Depicta or the Early History of Montreal, 1839*, Montreal: William Grieg, 1839/ Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1974.

Collard, Edgar Andrew, *The Irish Way: The History of the Irish-Protestant Benevolent Society*, Montreal: Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, 1992.

Collard, Edgar Andrew, *The St. James's Club: the Story of the Beginnings of the St. James's Club*, Montreal: St. James's Club, 1957.

Collard, Edgar Andrew, *Montreal's Unitarians, 1832-2000*, Montreal: Unitarian Church of Montreal, 2000.

Committee of the Congregation, *Zion Congregational Church, Montreal, 1832-1910*, Montreal: Zion Congregational Church, 1910.

Cooper, John Irwin, *The History of the Montreal Hunt*, Montreal: Montreal Hunt, 1953.

Curran, J.J., ed., *Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, the Works of Fathers Dowd, O'Brien, and Quinlivan, with Biographies and Illustrations*, Montreal: Catholic Institution for Deaf Mutes, 1902. (CIHM 72061)

Curran, J.J., ed., *The Golden Jubilee of the Reverend Fathers Dowd and Toupin with Historical Sketch of Irish Community of Montreal*, Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1887. (CIHM 02243)

*East End Methodist Church, Montreal, Historical Sketch, 1826-1904*, Montreal, East End Methodist Church, 1904. (CIHM 86901)

Esson, Henry, *A Sermon Preached in the Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel's Street, Montreal on the 30th November 1835*, Montreal: James & Thomas A. Starke, 1836. (CIHM 55707)

*First Baptist Church in Montreal, 1831-1981*, Montreal: First Baptist Church, 1981.

Fraser, D., *A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Free Church, Coté Street, Montreal Read to the Congregation at their Annual Meeting on the 25th April 1855*, Montreal: JC Becket, 1855. (CIHM 64090)

Graham, John H., *Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec*, Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1892. (CIHM 03892)

Johnston-Cox, Mary, *Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal, Handbook*, Montreal: Saint Andrew's Society, 2001.

Mackay, Robert W.S., *The Montreal Directory for 1842-3, containing an alphabetical directory of the citizens generally, a classified business directory of professional and businessmen in Chambly, Laprairie and St. Johns*, Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1842.

Mackay, Robert W.S., *The Montreal Directory for 1845-6: containing, first, an alphabetical direcotory of the citizens generally; second, a classified business directory, in which the names of subscribers only are arranged under their proper business heads; and third, a directory to the assurance companies, banks, national and religious benevolent societies and institutions, and to all public offices, churches &c, &c, in the city*, Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, RWS Mackay, 1845.

Mathieson, Alexander, *A Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Church, Montreal, on the Thirtieth Day of November 1836*, Montreal: James Starke & Co, 1837. (CIHM 21607)

*One Hundred Years of Erskine Church, Montreal, 1833-1933*, NP: United Church of Canada, 1933.

*Proceedings Connected with the Formation of the Montreal Horticultural Society and its Constitution*,  Montreal: J. Starke and Co., 1847.

Rumilly, Robert, *Histoire de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal: des patriotes au fleurdelisé, 1834/1948*,  Montreal: Les éditions de l'aurore/ Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, 1975.

*Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's T.A. & B Society, 1840-1890*,  Montreal: Dominion Illustrated, 1890.

*Statement of the Committee of the St. Gabriel Street Church Detailing the History of the Recent Proceedings, by Which the Congregation was Deprived of the Services of the Free Church Deputies, and Brought to the Verge of Dissolution with an Appendix*,  Montreal: JC Becket, 1845.  (CIHM 63446)

Williams, T.G., ed., *St. James Methodist Church, St. Catherine Street, Montreal*, Montreal: St. James' Church, 1901.  (CIHM 86887)

## Secondary Sources:

<u>Dictionary of Canadian Biography Entries</u>
www.biographi.ca

| | |
|---|---|
| "Boston, John" | Carman Miller |
| "Gugy, Louis" | Renald Lessard |
| "Hincks, sir Francis" | William G. Ormsby |
| "Holmes, Benjamin" | Lorne Ste Croix |
| "Joseph, Abraham" | Annette Wolf |
| "Kimber, Timothée" | Michel deLorimier |
| "Macdonell, Jean-François.." | Michèle Guay |
| "McGill, Peter" | Robert Sweeny |
| "Moffatt, George" | Gerald Tulchinsky |
| "Molson, John" | Alfred Dubuc |
| "Molson, John H.R." | Alfred Dubuc and Robert Tremblay |
| "Mountain, Jacob" | Thomas R. Millman |
| "Nelson, Wolfred" | John B. Thompson |
| "O'Callaghan, E.B." | Jacques Monet |
| "O'Sullivan, Michael" | Alan Dever |
| "Phelan, Patrick" | J.F. Robert Choquette |
| "Richards, Jackson John" | Bruno Harel |
| "Rodier, Édouard-Étienne" | Richard Chabot |
| "Tracey, Daniel" | France Galarneau |

Montreal

Adams, Frank Dawson, *A History of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal*, Montreal: Burton's Ltd, 1941.

Armour, J.S.S., *Saints, Sinners and Scots: A History of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul*, Montreal: The Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, 2003.

Atherton, William Henry, *Montreal 1535-1914 Volume II Under British Rule 1760-1914,*. Montreal: S.J. Clarke Pub. Co., 1914.

Bernard, Jean-Paul, Paul-André Linteau, and Jean-Claude Robert, "La société montréalaise dans les années 1820," *Rapports des travaux 1973-1975*, Groupe de recherche sur l'histoire de Montréal, UQAM, 1975.

Bernard, Jean-Paul, Paul-André Linteau, and Jean-Claude Robert, "La structure professionnelle de Montréal en 1825," *RHAF*, 30, 3 (décembre 1976): 383-407.

Blanchard, Raoul, *L'Ouest du Canada français Vol. 1 "Montréal et sa région"*, Montréal: Librarie Beauchemin Ltée., 1953.

Blaustein, Esther J., Rachel A. Esar and Evelyn Miller, "Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue (Shearith Israel) Montreal, 1768-1968", *Jewish Historical Society of England Transactions*, 23 (1969-1970): 111-142.

Bliss, Michael, *Montréal au temps du grand fléau: l'histoire de l'épidemie de 1885*, Montréal:Libre Expression, 1993.

Burpee, Lawrence J., "The Beaver Club" *Canadian Historical Association Report*, (1924): 73-92.

Campbell, Robert, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St Gabriel Street, Montreal*, Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co, 1887.

Cooper, John Irwin, *Montreal: A Brief History*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Univeristy Press, 1969.

--------------------------, *The Blessed Communion: the Origins and History of the Diocese of Montreal, 1760-1960*, Montreal: Archives Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960.

Corley, Nora T., "The St. Lawrence Ship Canal, 1805-1865" *Cahiers de géographie de Québec*, 11, 23 (sept. 1967): 277-306.

Cross, Dorothy Suzanne, "The Irish in Montreal, 1867-1896," MA, McGill University, 1969.

Danaher, James R., "The Reverend Richard Jackson, Missionary to the Sulpicians" *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report* (1943-1944): 49-62.

Gadoury, Lorraine and J-F. Leclerc, "Profil de quelques bourgeois de Montréal, 1820-1825," *Cahiers d'histoire,* 5 (1985): 7-23.

Gordon, Alan, *Making Public Pasts: the Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories, 1891-1930,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

Graham, Conrad, "Cornelius Krieghoff and the Shakespeare Club," *Journal of Canadian Art History,* 24 (2003): 46-57.

Greenlaw, Jane, "Fractious Individuals': Protestant Non-conformity in Montreal, 1828-1842," MA, UQAM, 1989.

--------------------, "Choix pratiques et choix des pratiques de non-conformisme à Montréal (1825-1842)," *RHAF,* 46, 1 (été 1992): 91-113.

Harvey, Fernand, "Montréal et l'immigration au XIXe siècle," J.R. Brault, ed., *Montréal au XIXe siècle, des gens, des idées, des arts, une ville,* Montréal: Léméac, 1990: 35-43.

Harvey, Janice, "Upper Class Reaction to Poverty in Mid-Nineteenth Century, Montreal- A Protestant Example," MA, McGill University, 1978.

--------------------, "The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society: A Case Study in Protestant Child Charity in Montreal, 1822-1900,"PhD, McGill University, 2001.

Hustak, Alan, *Saint Patrick's of Montreal: the Biography of a Basilica,* Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1998.

James, Kevin, "The Saint Patrick's Society of Montreal: Ethno-religious realignment in a Nineteenth-Century National Society," MA, McGill University, 1997.

-----------------, "Dynamics of Ethnic Associational Culture in a Nineteenth Century City: St. Patrick's Society of Montreal, 1834-56," *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies,* 26, 1 (Spring 2000): 47-67.

Jenkins, Kathleen, *Montreal*, Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday and Co., 1966.

Keep, G.R.C., "The Irish Immigration to Montreal, 1847-1867," MA, McGill University, 1848.

---------------, "The Irish Adjustment in Montreal," *CHR,* 31, 1 (1950): 39-46.

Knowles, David C., "The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal, 1822-1866," MA, McGill University, 1957.

Lamonde, Yvan, *Gens de parole: conférences publiques, essais et débats à l'Institut canadien de Montréal, 1845-1871,* Montréal: Boréal, 1990.

Lefebvre, André, *La Montréal Gazette et le nationalisme canadien (1835-1842),* Montreal: Guerin, 1970.

Leitch, Gillian I., "Community and Identity in Nineteenth Century Montreal: the Founding of Saint Patrick's Church," MA, University of Ottawa, 1999.

-----------------, "Irish-Catholic Leadership in Nineteenth Century Montreal: Research Notes" *Cahiers d'histoire*, 23, 1 (automne 2003): 23-36.

Lewis, Robert D., "A City Transformed: Manufacturing Districts and Suburban Growth in Montreal, 1850-1929" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27, 1 (2001): 20-35.

Linteau, Paul-André, *Brève histoire de Montréal,* Montréal: Boréal, 1992.

Linteau, Paul-André and Jean-Claude Robert, "Propriété foncière et société à Montréal: une hypothèse," *RHAF,* 28, 1 (1974): 45-65.

Marsan, Jean-Claude, *Montreal in Evolution,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981.

Marsolais, Claude-V., Luc Desrochers and Robert Comeau, *Histoire des maires de Montréal,* Montréal: VLB Editeur, 1993.

McDougall, Elizabeth Ann, "The American Element in the Early Presbyterian Church in Montreal (1786-1824)," MA, McGill University, 1965.

McNabb, Heather, "Montreal's Scottish Community, 1835-65: A Preliminary Study," MA, Concordia University, 1999.

----------------------, "Butcher, Baker, Cabinetmaker? A View of Montreal's Scottish Emigrant Community from 1835 to 1865," Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb, eds., *A Kingdom of the Mind: How Scots Helped to Make Canada,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006: 242-259.

Miller, Pamela; Brian Young; Donald Fyson; Donald Wright and Moira J. McCaffrey, *The McCord Family: A Passionate Vision*, Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992.

Montbriand, Monique, "L'église de Récollets à Montréal (c. 1703-1867)," *Cahier de la société historique de Montréal*, 2, 2-3 (mars/juin 1983): 132-4.

Olson, Sherry and Patricia A. Thornton, *The Tidal Wave of Irish Immigration to Montreal and its Demographic Consequences,* Montreal: McGill Department of Geography, 1993.

Olson, Sherry, *Occupations as Cues to Social Structure in Nineteenth Century Montreal*, Montreal: Shared Spaces, Department of Geography, McGill University, 1986.

Ouellet, Fernand, "Structures des occupations et ethnicité dans les villes de Québec et de Montréal (1819-1844)," *Élements d'histoire sociale du Bas Canada,* Montréal: HMH, 1972: 177-202.

Poulter, Gillian, "Becoming Native in a Foreign Land: Visual Culture, Sports and Spectacle in the Construction of National Identity in Montreal, 1840-1885," PhD, York University, 1999.

Rajotte, Pierre, "Pratique de la conférence publique à Montréal (1840-1870)," PhD, Université Laval, 1991.

Robert, Jean-Claude, "Montréal 1821-1871. Aspects d'urbanisation," PhD, École des études en sciences sociales, Université de Paris I, 1977.

----------------------, "Les notables de Montréal au XIXe siècle," *Histoire Sociale*, 8, 5 (mai 1975): 54-7.

----------------------, *Atlas historique de Montréal,* Montréal: Éditions Libre Expression, 1994.

Rousseau, Louis, *La prédication à Montréal, de 1800 à 1830, approche religiologique*, Montréal: Fides, 1976.

Rousseau, Louis and Frank W. Remiggi, *Atlas historique des pratiques religieuses: le sud-ouest du Québec au XIXe siècle*, Ottawa: Les presses de Université d'Ottawa, 1998.

Rumilly, Robert, *Histoire de Montréal, Tome 2*, Montréal: Fides, 1970.

Séguin, Renaud, "Un loyalisme incendiaire: étude sur le "toryism" montréalais de 1849 à partir de journaux de l'époque," MA, Université de Montréal, 2002.

Senior, Elinor Kyte, *British Regulars in Montreal: An Imperial Garrison, 1832-1854* MGQUP, 1981.

Simpson, Robert Wayne, "The Influence of the Montreal Curling Club on the Development of Curling in the Canadas, 1807-1857", MA, University of Western Ontario, 1980.

Sweeny, Robert, "International Dynamics and the International Cycle: Questions of the Transition in Montreal, 1821-1828," PhD, McGill University, 1986.

Timbers, Wayne, "Britannique et irlandaise: l'identité ethnique et demographique des irlandais protestants et la formation d'une communauté à Montréal, 1834-1860," MA, McGill University, 2001.

Trigger, Rosalyn, "The Role of the Parish in Fostering Irish-Catholic Identity in Nineteenth Century Montreal," MA, McGill University, 1997.

Tulchinsky, Gerald, *The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-1853*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

------------------------, "The Social and Political Significance of Business Groupings: The Montreal Business Community, 1837-1853," *Canadian Business History: Selected Stories, 1497-1971*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972: 125-143.

Watson, Robert, "The Story of the First Beaver Club," *Queen's Quarterly*, 45 (1938): 497-502.

Williams, Dorothy W., *The Road to Now: A History of Blacks in Montreal*, Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1997.

Verney, Jack, *O'Callaghan: the Making and Unmaking of a Rebel*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994.

Young, Brian, *The Making and Unmaking of a University Museum: The McCord, 1921-1996*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.


Québec

Beaulieu, André and Jean Hamelin, *La Presse québécoise des origines à nos jours*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973.

Bilson, Geoffrey, "The First Epidemic of Asiatic Cholera in Lower Canada, 1832," *Medical History*, 21 (1977): 411-433.

Bouchard, Gérard and Yvan Lamonde, eds., *Québécois et Américains: la culture québécoise aux XIXe et XXe siècle*, Montréal: Fides, 1995.

Dickinson, John A., and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, second edition, Montreal and Kingston: McGill- Queen's University Press, 2000.

Gauthier, Raymonde, *Construire une église au Québec: l'architecture religieuse avant 1939*, Montréal: Libre Expression, 1994.

Grace, Robert J., *The Irish in Quebec: An Introduction to the Historiography*, Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1997.

Greer, Allan, *The Patriots and the People: the Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Guay, Donald, *La Conquête du sport: le sport et la société québécoise au XIXe siècle*, Outremont: Lanctôt Editeur, 1997.

Lamonde, Yvan, *Allégiances et dépendances: l'histoire d'une ambivalence identitaire*. Montréal: Éditions Nota Bene, 2001.

--------------------, *Histoire sociale des idées au Québec, 1760-1896, v. 1*, Montréal: Fides, 2000.

Laporte, Gilles, *Patriotes et Loyaux: leadership régional et mobilisation politique en 1837 et 1838*, Sillery: Septentrion, 2004.

Linteau, Paul-André, "Les migrants américains et franco-américains au Québec, 1792-1940: un état de question," *RHAF*, 53, 4 (printemps 2000): 561-602.

Mann, Susan, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982/2002.

McDougall, Elizabeth Ann, "The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, 1815-1842", PhD, McGill University, 1969.

Morin, Victor, "Clubs et sociétés notoires d'autrefois," *Cahiers des Dix*, 13 (1948): 109-37; 14 (1949): 187-222; 15 (1950): 185-218; 16 (1951): 233-70.

Petticlerc, Martin, "De la providence à la prévoyance: les classes populaires et la société libérale au Québec" Janice Harvey and Jean-Marie Fecteau, eds., *Agency and Institutions in Social Regulation: Toward an Historical Understanding of their Interaction*, Ste-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2005: 236-253.

Price, Lynda, *Introduction to the Social History of the Scots in Quebec (1780-1840)*, Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981.

Rajotte, Pierre, "Les pratiques associatives et la constitution du champ de production littéraire au Québec (1760-1867)," *RHAF*, 45, 4 (printemps 1992): 545-72.

Rudin, Ronald, *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980*. Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985.

Senior, Elinor Kyte, *Redcoats and Patriotes: the Rebellions in Lower Canada, 1837-38*, Ottawa: Canadian War Museum, 1985.

Watt, Steven, "Authoritarianism, Constitutionalism and the Special Council of Lower Canada, 1838-1841," MA, McGill University, 1997.


Canada

Acheson, T.W., *Saint John: the Making of a Colonial Urban Society*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Akenson, Donald Harman, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, Second Edition, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Bumsted, J.M., "Scots," Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999: 1115-42.

Bumsted, J.M., *Scots in Canada*, Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982.

Chamberlain, M.E., "The Welsh in Canada: Historical Sources," *Welsh History Review*, 19, 2 (1998).

Clarke, Brian P., *Peity and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895.* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

Cottrell, Michael, "St. Patrick's Day Parades in Nineteenth-Century Toronto: A Study of Immigrant Adjustment and Elite Control," *Histoire Sociale,* 25, 49 (May 1992): 57-73.

Cox, Allan Elton, "A History of Sports in Canada, 1868-1900," PhD, University of Alberta, 1969.

Elliot, Bruce S., "English," Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999: 463-488.

Fahey, Curtis, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991.

Goheen, Peter, "Symbols in the Streets: Parades in Victorian Urban Canada," *Urban History Review,* 18, 3 (1990): 237-43.

------------------, "Negotiating Access to Public Space in Mid-Nineteenth Century Toronto" *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24, 4 (1994): 430-449.

------------------, "Parading: A Lively Tradition in Early Victorian Toronto," Alan R.H. Baker and Gideon Biger, eds., *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective: Essays on the Meanings of Some Places in the Past,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992: 330-51.

Goodwin, Daniel C., "The Footprints of Zion's King': Baptists in Canada to 1880," G.A. Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997: 191-207.

Greenhill, Pauline, *Ethnicity in the Mainstream: Three Studies of English Canadian Culture in Ontario*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.

Houston, Cecil J. and William J. Smith, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Katz, Michael, "The People of a Canadian City," *The Invention of Canada: Readings in Pre-Confederation History*, Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994.

------------------, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West, Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Lyne, D.C., "The Irish in the Province of Canada in the Decade Leading to Confederation," MA, McGill University, 1960.

Mackay, Donald, *Flight From Famine: The Coming of the Irish to Canada*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990.

Macmillan, David S., "Scottish Enterprise and Influence in Canada, 1620-1900," R.A. Cage, ed., *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914,* London: Croom Helm, 1985: 46-79.

McGowan, Mark, "Irish-Catholics," Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999: 734-63.

----------------------, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922,* Toronto: Univesity of Toronto Press, 1999.

McNairn, Jeffrey L., *The Capacity to Judge: Public Opinion and Deliberative Democracy, 1791-1854,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Metcalfe, Alan, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987/9.

Moir, John S., *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, NP: Eagle Press Printers, 1987.

Molson, Karen, *The Molsons: Their Life and Times, 1780-2000,* Willowdale, Ontario: Firefly, 2001.

Murray, Heather, *Come Bright Improvement! The Literary Societies of Nineteenth Century Ontario,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Nelles, H.V., *The Art of Nation Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentennary*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Noël, François, *Family Life and Sociability in Upper and Lower Canada, 1780-1870,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.

Noel, Jan, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Parr, G.J., "The Welcome and the Wake, Attitudes in Canada West Toward the Irish Famine Migration," *Ontario History*, 66 (1974): 101-113.

Perin, Roberto, "Clio as an Ethnic: the Third Force in Canadian Historiography," *CHR*, LXIV, 4 (1983): 441-445.

Porter, John, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965/1970.

Redmond, Gerald, *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth Century Canada*, London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982.

Redmond, Gerald, "The Scots and Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada," PhD, University of Alberta, 1972.

Reid, W. Stanford, *The Scottish Tradition in Canada*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.

Rutherford, Paul, *A Victorian Authority: the Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Semple, Neil, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodists*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

Shaw, Matthew, *Great Scots: How the Scots Created Canada*, Winnipeg: Heartland Associates Inc., 2003.

Tulchinsky, Gerald, *Taking Root: the Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community*, Toronto: Lester, 1992.

Vaudry, Richard W., *The Free Church in Victorian Canada, 1844-1861*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1989.

Verney, Jack, *O'Callaghan: The Making and Unmaking of a Rebel*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994.

Westfall, William, "Constructing Public Religions at Private Sites: The Anglican Church in the Shadow of Disestablishment," Marguerite Van Die, ed., *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001: 23-49.

----------------------, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

Williams, Colin H., "Welsh," Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Woods, Shirley E., *The Molson Saga, 1763-1983,* Toronto: Doubleday, 1983.


United Kingdom and Ireland

Beddington, D.W., "Catholic Emancipation," John Belcham and Richard Price, eds., *A Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century History*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1994/2001.

Borsay, Peter, "All the Town's a Stage: Urban Ritual and Ceremony, 1660-1800." Peter Clark, ed., *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800*, London: Hutchinson, 1984: 228-258.

Buckner, Philip, "Whatever Happened to the British Empire?" CHA Presidential Address, 1993. www.cha-shc.ca/bilingue/addresses/1993.htm (06/08/2002).

Buckner, Philip and Carl Bridge, "Reinventing the British World," *The Round Table*, 368 (2003).

Clark, Peter, *British Clubs and Societies c. 1580-1800: the Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Cohen, Anthony B., *Symbolising Boundaries: Identity and Diversity in British Cultures*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.

Colley, Linda, "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument," *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (Oct. 1992): 309-329.

----------------, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837,* New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992.

----------------, "Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain, 1750-1830" *Past and Present*, 113 (1986): 97-117.

----------------, "The Apotheosis of George III, Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation, 1760-1820" *Past and Present*, 102 (1984): 94-129.

Colls, Robert and Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880-1920,* London: Croom Helm, 1986.

Curtis, L. Perry, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1971.

Devine, T.M., *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2000,* London: Penguin, 1999.

Edie, Carolyn A., "The Public Face of Royal Ritual: Sermons, Medals, and Civic Ceremony in Later Stuart Coronations," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly,* 53, 4 (1990): 311-336.

Frazer, T.G. ed., *The Irish Parading Tradition: Following the Drum*, London: Macmillan Press, 2000.

Fry, Michael, *The Scottish Empire*, East Lothian, Scotland: Tuckwell Press, 2002.

Gibson, John G., *Traditional Gaelic Bagpiping, 1745-1945,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998.

Gorsky, Martin, "Mutual Aid and Civil Society: Friendly Societies in Nineteenth Century Bristol," *Urban History,* 25, 3 (1998): 302-22.

Hall, Catherine, *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, New York: Routledge, 1992.

Harris, Bob and Christopher A. Whatley, "To Solemnize His Majesty's Birthday: New Perspectives in Loyalism in George II's Britain," *History,* 83, 271 (1998): 397-419.

Herman, Arthur, *How the Scots Invented the Modern World: The True Story of How Western Europe's Poorest Nation Created Our World and Everything*, New York: Three Rivers Press, 2002.

Hill, Jacqueline, "National Festivals, the State and 'Protestant Ascendancy' in Ireland, 1790-1829," *Irish Historical Studies,* 24, 93 (May 1984): 30-51.

Hobsbawm, Eric, "Introduction: Inventing Tradition" Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983/2000: 1-17.

Hoppen, K. Theodore, *Ireland Since 1800: Conflict and Conformity*, London and New York: Longman, 1989.

Malcolm, Elizabeth, *'Ireland Sober; Ireland Free' Drink and Temperance in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986.

Morgan, Marjorie, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Morris, R.J., "Clubs, Societies and Associations" F.M.L. Thompson, ed., *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950 v. 3: Social Agencies and Institutions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990: chapter eight.

Morris, R.J. and Richard Rodger, *The Victorian City- a Reader in British Urban History, 1820-1914*, London and New York: Longman, 1993.

Morris, R.J., *Class, Sect and Party: the Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820-1850*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.

---------------, "Civil Society and the Nature of Urbanism: Britain, 1750-1850," *Urban History*, 25, 3 (1998): 279-301.

---------------, "Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: an Analysis" *Historical Journal*, 26, 1 (1983): 95-118.

Newman, Gerald, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987.

Robbins, Keith, *Great Britain: Identity, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness*, London and New York: Longmans, 1998.

Smout, T.C., *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950*, London: Fontana Press, 1986/1990.

Storch, Robert D., "The Problem of Working-Class Leisure. Some Roots of Middle-Class Moral Reform in the Industrial North, 1825-50," A.P. Donajgrodzki, ed., *Social Control in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, London: Croom Helm, 1977.

Tosh, John, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Edinburgh: Pearson Education Ltd., 2005.

Wenke, Silke, "Gendered Representations of the Nation's Past and Future," Tom Lampert, trans., Ida Bloom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall, eds., *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Oxford: Berg, 2000: 63-80.

United States

Bodnar, John, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Erickson, Charlotte, *Invisible Immigrants: the Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America*, Miami: University of Miami Press, 1972.

Conzen, K.N., D.A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, G.E. Pozzetta, and R.J. Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A.," *Altreitalie* (Aprile 1990): 37-62.

Glassberg, David, *American Historical Pageantry : The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century*, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Putnam, Robert D., *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon and Shuster, 2000.

Ryan, Mary, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1989: 131-53.

----------------, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City During the Nineteenth-Century*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1997.

Thernstrom, Stephan, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1990.

Waldstreicher, David, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: the Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820*, Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wilentz, Sean, "Artisan Republican Festivals and the Rise of Class Conflict in New York City, 1788-1837" Michael H. Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz, eds., *Working-Class America: Essays on Labor, Community and American Society*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983: 37-77.

General

*The Book of Common Prayer,* Oxford and London: Oxford University Press, nd.

Dietler, Michael, "Rituals of Consumption, Comensal Politics and Power in African Contexts," Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden, eds., *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power,* Washington and London: Smithsonian Press, 2001: 65-114.

Fabre, Geneviève, "Lieux de fête et de commémoration," *Revue française d'études américain,* 51 (fèv 1992): 7-17.

Farmer, David Hugh, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978/2003.

Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society,* Thomas Burger, trans., Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991/2000.

Isajiw, Wsevolod, "Social Incorporation," Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999: 1186-95.

----------------------, "Definitions and Dimensions of Ethnicity," Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999: 413-22.

----------------------, "Sociological Studies- Definitions of Ethnicity: New Approaches," *Ethnic Forum,* 13, 2 (1993-4): 9-15.

MacLennan, Hugh Dan, "Shinty`s Place and Space in World Sport" www2.umist.uk/sport/maclennan.html (07/03/2004). Published by the British Society of Sports History, *Sports Historian* 18, 1 (May 1998): 1-23.

Stourzh, Gerald, "Ethnic Attribution in Multiethnic States: The Case of Austria, 1867-1918," *Actes/ Proceedings 18$^{th}$ International Congress of Historical Sciences,* 1995, Montréal: UQAM, 1995: 43-4.

Visser, Margaret, *The Rituals of Dinner,* Toronto: Harper Perennial, 2000.

## Web Sites

Grand Lodge of Quebec (masons)
  http://glquebec.org/glq/glqfaq.htm   (09/02/2004)

Philip Buckner
  www.cha-shc.ca/bilingue/addresses/1993.htm    (06/08/2002)

Guy Fawkes
  http://bonfire.org/guy/bonfire.php     (24/6/2004)

May Day
  www.historic-uk.com/cultureuk/mayday.htm        (24/6/2004)

Robbie Burns
  www.tartan.tv/ttv/localuserpate.asp?page=2100002534     (17/9/2004)
  www.worldburnsclub.com/begin/robert_burns.htm        (17/9/2004)

Shinty
  www2.umist.uk/sport/maclennan.html          (07/03/2004)

Saint David
  http:// countylearning.de/englisch/infostdavidengl.htm       (04/04/2004)

APPENDIX ONE

DATABASE

The following are examples of the data based created in the process of researching this thesis. Every time a person's name was listed in the newspaper in relation to an association, a petition, an event or any other public act, it was noted. This allowed the creation of a database with the names of the most involved, and the moderately involved citizens of Montreal. In addition census data, jury lists, biographies, and other material was consulted which provided other information about some of these 3811 people.

The categories used in the database are as follows: "idunique" (the number assigned to the individual); "frstname" (first name); "lastname" (last name); "title"(form of address used in sources ie Mr., Miss, etc.); "sex" (gender); "byear" (birth year); "bpl" (birthplace); "ethnicity"; "marst" (marital status); "myear" (year of marriage); "spofnam" (spouse's first name); "spolnam" (spouse's last name); "dyear" (year of death); "faith"; "churchpo1" (church position held and year); "churchpo2"; "churchpo3"; "caus_dth" (cause of death); "occup" (occupation); "occupyr" (year occupation was held); "as1" (association where membership was held); "as1yr1" (first year position was held); "as1po" (position held); "as1yr2" (second year position was held); "as1yr2po" (position held in second year); using same format for fourteen associations; "pet1" (first petition signed); "petyr" (year petition was signed; "pet2" (second petition signed); "pet2yr" (year second petition signed); using same format for seven petitions; "event1" (first event participated in); "letter1" (first letter signed in newspaper); "letteryr" (year letter was signed); using same format for six letters; "eventyr" (year of first event); "eventpost" (position held in event); used same format for

## Record 1

| Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| idunique | 8 | spofnam | | as1yr1 | 1841 | as1y6po | | as2yr4po | | as3yr4po | | as4yr4po | | | | | |
| frstname | John | dyear | | as1yr1po | director | as1y7 | | as2y5 | | as3yr5 | | as4yr5 | | 281 | | | |
| lastname | Armour | faith | | as1yr2 | 1845 | as1y7po | | as2y5po | | as3yr5po | | as4yr5po | | | | | |
| Title | | churchpo | | as1y2po | honorary dir | as2 | SAS | as3 | Thistle Curli | as4 | Lay assoc | as5 | Scottish Fa | | | | |
| sex | M | churchpo | | as1y3 | | as2yr1 | 1842, 1843 | as3yr1 | 1844, 1848 | as4yr1 | 1845, 1846 | as5yr | 1847 | | | | |
| byear | | churchpo | | as1y3po | | as2yr1po | standing co | as3yr1po | committee | as4yr1po | | as5post | committee | | | | |
| bpl | | caus_dth | | as1y4 | | as2yr2 | 1844-46, 18 | as3yr2 | 1845 | as4yr2 | | as5yr2 | | | | | |
| ethnicity | | occup | baker | as1y4po | | as2yr2po | secretary | asyr2pos | manager | as4yr2po | | as5yr2po | | | | | |
| marst | | | | as1y5 | | as2yr3 | 1848 | as3yr3 | | as4yr3 | | as5y3 | | | | | |
| myear | | occyear | | as1y5po | | as2y3po | committee | as3yr3po | | as4yr3po | | as5yr3po | | | | | |
| spofnam | | as1 | Mercantile Library Assoc | as1yr6 | | as2yr4 | | as3yr4 | | as4yr4 | | as8 | Canada Su | | | | |

| Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as6yr | 1843 | as8yr1po | | as11 | | as13yr | | pet3 | | letteryr | | event1 | |
| as8yr1po | committee | as8y2 | | as11yr1 | | as13y1p | | pet3yr | | letter2 | | eventyr | |
| as8yr2 | | as8y2po | | as11yr1p | | as13y2 | | pet4 | | letter2yr | | eventpos | |
| as8yr2po | | as9 | | as11y2 | | as13y2p | | pet4yr | | letter3 | | event2 | |
| as8yr3 | | as8yr1 | | as11y2p | | as14 | | pet5 | | letter3yr | | event2yr | |
| as8yr3po | | as8yr1po | | as12 | | as14yr | | pet5yr | | letter4 | | event2po | |
| as7 | | as10 | | as12yr1 | | as14y1p | | pet6 | | letter4yr | | event3 | |
| as7yr | | as10yr1 | | as12yr1p | | pet1 | Protectionis | pet6yr | | letter5 | | event3yr | |
| as7yr1po | | as10yr1p | | as12y2 | | petyr | 1849 | pet7 | | letter5yr | | event3po | |
| as8 | | as10y2 | | as12y2p | | pet2 | | pet7yr | | letter6 | | event4 | |
| as8yr1 | | as10y2p | | as13 | | pet2yr | | letter1 | | letter8yr | | event4yr | |

| Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| event4po | | eventyr | |
| event5 | | event6pd | |
| event5yr | | monume | to Lord Metcalfe |
| event5po | | monume | 1847 |
| event6 | | monume | |
| event6yr | | monume | |
| event6po | | notes | |
| event7 | | | |
| event7yr | | | |
| event7po | | | |
| event8 | | | |

## Record 2

| Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| idunique | 86 | spofnam | | as1yr1 | 1835 | as1y6po | President | as2yr4po | | as3yr4po | | as4yr4po | | | | | |
| frstname | Hugh | dyear | | as1yr1po | assistant se | as1y7 | | as2y5 | | as3yr5 | | as4yr5 | | | | | |
| lastname | Allan | faith | | as1yr2 | 1836-1838 | as1y7po | | as2y5pd | | as3yr5po | | as4yr5po | | | | | |
| Title | | churchpo | | as1y2po | secretary | as2 | Montreal C | as3 | Montreal H | as4 | Scottish Fa | as5 | Montreal Hi | | | | |
| sex | M | churchpo | | as1yr3 | 1840, 1842, | as2yr1 | 1844, 1845 | as3yr1 | 1848, 1849 | as4yr1 | 1847 | as5yr | 1847 | | | | |
| byear | | churchpo | | as1y3po | manager | as2yr1po | member | as3yr1po | director | as4yr1po | member | as5post | director | | | | |
| bpl | Glasgow | caus_dth | | as1y4 | 1841 | as2yr2 | 1846, 1850 | as3yr2 | 1850 | as4yr2 | | as5yr2 | | | | | |
| ethnicity | Scottish | occup | | as1y4po | standing co | as2yr2po | President | asyr2pos | President | as4yr2po | | as5yr2po | | | | | |
| marst | | | | as1y5 | 1847 | as2yr3 | 1850 | as3yr3 | | as4yr3 | | as5y3 | | | | | |
| myear | | occyear | | as1y5po | 2nd VP | as2y3po | rink commit | as3yr3po | | as4yr3po | | as5yr3po | | | | | |
| spofnam | | as1 | SAS | as1yr6 | 1848, 1849 | as2yr4 | | as3yr4 | | as4yr4 | | as6 | | | | | |

| Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as6yr | | as8yr1po | | as11 | | as13yr | | pet3 | | letteryr | 1849 | event1 | aid for Que |
| as8yr1po | | as8y2 | | as11yr1 | | as13y1p | | pet3yr | | letter2 | | eventyr | 1845 |
| as6yr2 | | as8y2po | | as11yr1p | | as13y2 | | pet4 | | letter2yr | | eventpos | |
| as8yr2po | | as9 | | as11y2 | | as13y2p | | pet4yr | | letter3 | | event2 | |
| as6yr3 | | as9yr1 | | as11y2p | | as14 | | pet5 | | letter3yr | | event2yr | |
| as8yr3po | | as9yr1po | | as12 | | as14yr | | pet5yr | | letter4 | | event2po | |
| as7 | | as10 | | as12yr1 | | as14y1p | | pet6 | | letter4yr | | event3 | |
| as7yr1 | | as10yr1 | | as12yr1p | | pet1 | Bridge over | pet6yr | | letter5 | | event3yr | |
| as7yr1po | | as10yr1p | | as12y2 | | petyr | 1846 | pet7 | | letter5yr | | event3po | |
| as8 | | as10y2 | | as12y2p | | pet2 | protectionis | pet7yr | | letter8 | | event4 | |
| as8yr1 | | as10y2p | | as13 | | pet2yr | 1849 | letter1 | call for orde | letter6yr | | event4yr | |

| field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|
| event4po | | event8yr | |
| event5 | | event8po | |
| event5yr | | monume | to Lord Elgin |
| event5po | | monume | 1847 |
| event6 | | monume | |
| event6yr | | monume | |
| event6po | | notes | |
| event7 | | | |
| event7yr | | | |
| event7po | | | |
| event8 | | | |

| field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|
| idunique | 247 | spofnam | Chaboillez |
| frstname | Antoine-Olivier | dyear | 1872 |
| lastname | Berthelet | faith | Catholic |
| Title | HON | churchpo | marguiller ND 1824 |
| sex | M | churchpo | |
| byear | 1798 | churchpo | |
| bpl | PQ | caus_dth | |
| ethnicity | French Canadian | occup | |
| marst | married | occyear | |
| myear | 1821 | as1 | British & Canadian Scho |
| spofnam | Marie-Émelie | | |

| as1yr1 | 1822, 1823 | as1y6po | | as2yr4po | | as3yr4po | | as4yr4po | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as1yr1po | committee | as1y7 | | as2y5 | | as3yr5 | | as4yr5 | |
| as1yr2 | | as1y7po | | as2y5po | | as3yr5po | | as4yr5po | |
| as1yr2po | | as2 | Montreal fir | as3 | St Vincent d | as4 | SJB | as5 | SPCK |
| as1yr3 | | as2yr1 | 1830 | as3yr1 | 1848 | as4yr1 | 1843 | as5yr | 1824 |
| as1yr3po | | as2yr1po | member | as3yr1po | member | as4yr1po | committee | as5post | committee |
| as1yr4 | | as2yr2 | | as3yr2 | | as4yr2 | | as5yr2 | |
| as1yr4po | | as2yr2po | | as3yr2po | | as4yr2po | | as5yr2po | |
| as1yr5 | | as2yr3 | | as3yr3 | | as4yr3 | | as5yr3 | |
| as1yr5po | | as2yr3po | | as3yr3po | | as4yr3po | | as5yr3po | |
| as1yr6 | | as2yr4 | | as3yr4 | | as4yr4 | | as6 | Montreal di |

| as6yr | 1850 | as8yr1po | | as11 | | as13yr | | pet3 | | letteryr | 1840 | event1 | celebrate bi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as6yr1po | patron | as8y2 | | as11yr1 | | as13y1p | | pet3yr | | letter2 | | event1yr | 1842 |
| as6yr2 | | as8y2po | | as11yr1p | | as13y2 | | pet4 | | letter2yr | | eventpos | member |
| as6yr2po | | as9 | | as11y2 | | as13y2p | | pet4yr | | letter3 | | event2 | heir fund |
| as6yr3 | | as9yr1 | | as11y2p | | as14 | | pet5 | | letter3yr | | event2yr | 1842 |
| as6yr3po | | as9yr1po | | as12 | | as14yr | | pet5yr | | letter4 | | event2po | committee |
| as7 | | as10 | | as12yr1 | | as14y1p | | pet6 | | letter4yr | | event3 | heir temper |
| as7yr1 | | as10yr1 | | as12yr1p | | pet1 | bridge over | pet6yr | | letter5 | | event3yr | 1842 |
| as7yr1po | | as10yr1p | | as12y2 | | petyr | 1846 | pet7 | | letter5yr | | event3po | steward |
| as8 | | as10y2 | | as12y2p | | pet2 | | pet7yr | | letter6 | | event4 | bouchervill |
| as8yr1 | | as10y2p | | as13 | | pet2yr | | letter1 | congrats to | letter6yr | | event4yr | 1843 |

| field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|
| event4po | | event8yr | |
| event5 | Quebec fire | event8po | |
| event5yr | 1845 | monume | |
| event5po | relief comm | monume | |
| event6 | Laprairie fir | monume | |
| event6yr | 1846 | monume | |
| event6po | relief comm | notes | |
| event7 | | | |
| event7yr | | | |
| event7po | | | |
| event8 | | | |

| field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|
| idunique | 732 | spofnam | |
| frstname | Denis | dyear | |
| lastname | Cotterell | faith | Catholic |
| Title | | churchpo | |
| sex | M | churchpo | |
| byear | | churchpo | |
| bpl | | caus_dth | |
| ethnicity | Irish | occup | |
| marst | | occyear | |
| myear | | as1 | SPS |
| spofnam | | | |

| as1yr1 | 1835 | as1y6po | | as2yr4po | | as3yr4po | | as4yr4po | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as1yr1po | committee | as1y7 | | as2y5 | | as3yr5 | | as4yr5 | |
| as1yr2 | 1826, 1837 | as1y7po | | as2y5po | | as3yr5po | | as4yr5po | |
| as1yr2po | charitable c | as2 | HBS | as3 | Montreal In | as4 | RC church s | as5 | RC total ab |
| as1yr3 | 1838, 1842 | as2yr1 | 1845 | as3yr1 | 1841 | as4yr1 | 1841 | as5yr | 1842 |
| as1yr3po | committee | as2yr1po | assistant tre | as3yr1po | member | as4yr1po | collection ci | as5post | treasurer |
| as1yr4 | 1839, 1840, | as2yr2 | 1829 | as3yr2 | | as4yr2 | 1841 | as5yr2 | |
| as1yr4po | committee | as2yr2po | committee | as3yr2po | | as4yr2po | acting com | as5yr2po | |
| as1yr5 | 1841 | as2yr3 | | as3yr3 | | as4yr3 | | as5yr3 | |
| as1yr5po | committee | as2yr3po | | as3yr3po | | as4yr3po | | as5yr3po | |
| as1yr6 | | as2yr4 | | as3yr4 | | as4yr4 | | as6 | St Pat's chu |

**Record 1 (continued)**

| field | value | field | value | field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as6yr | 1841 | as8yr1po | member | as11 | | as13yr | |
| as6yr1po | committee | as8y2 | | as11yr1 | | as13y1p | |
| as6yr2 | 1841 | as8y2po | | as11yr1p | | as13y2 | |
| as6yr2po | penny collectors | as9 | Irish elector | as11y2 | | as13y2p | |
| as6yr3 | | as9yr1 | 1834 | as11y2p | | as14 | |
| as6yr3po | | as9yr1po | member | as12 | | as14yr | |
| as7 | Recollet temperance soc | as10 | | as12yr1 | | as14y1p | |
| as7yr1 | 1846 | as10yr1 | | as12yr1p | | pet1 | RC committ |
| as7yr1po | member | as10yr1p | | as12y2 | | petyr | 1833 |
| as8 | Friends of Ireland | as10y2 | | as12y2p | | pet2 | |
| as8yr1 | 1829 | as10y2p | | as13 | | pet2yr | |

| field | value | field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| pet3 | | letteryr | 1842 | event1 | heir temper |
| pet3yr | | letter2 | address to | eventyr | 1842 |
| pet4 | | letter2yr | 1842 | eventpos | steward |
| pet4yr | | letter3 | Irish RC co | event2 | |
| pet5 | | letter3yr | 1845 | event2yr | |
| pet5yr | | letter4 | | event2po | |
| pet6 | | letter4yr | | event3yr | |
| pet6yr | | letter5 | | event3po | |
| pet7 | | letter5yr | | event4 | |
| pet7yr | | letter6 | | event4yr | |
| letter1 | Irish addres | letter6yr | | | |

| field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|
| event4po | | event8yr | |
| event5 | | event8po | |
| event5yr | | monume | |
| event5po | | monume | |
| event6 | | monume | |
| event6yr | | monume | |
| event6po | | notes | |
| event7 | | | |
| event7yr | | | |
| event7po | | | |
| event8 | | | |

**Record 2 — idunique 2281**

| field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|
| idunique | 2281 | spofnam | |
| firstname | John Samuel | dyear | |
| lastname | McCord | faith | Anglican |
| Title | | churchpo | CC warden 1827-31 |
| sex | M | churchpo | |
| byear | | churchpo | |
| bpl | Montreal | caus_dth | |
| ethnicity | Irish | occup | |
| marst | married | occyear | |
| myear | | as7 | Natural history society |
| spofnam | | | |

| field | value | field | value | field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as1yr1 | 1828, 1829 | as1y6po | | as2yr4po | | as3yr4po | |
| as1yr1po | recording s | as1y7 | | as2y5 | | as3yr5 | |
| as1yr2 | 1835 | as1y7po | | as2y5po | | as3yr5po | |
| as1yr2po | 2nd VP | as2 | Montreal as | as3 | Fire society | as4 | Waverly Inst |
| as1yr3 | 1841 | as2yr1 | 1827 | as3yr1 | 1830 | as4yr1 | 1833 |
| as1yr3po | library com | as2yr1po | steward | as3yr1po | member | as4yr1po | committee |
| as1yr4 | 1838, 1839 | as2yr2 | 1827 | as3yr2 | 1830 | as4yr2 | |
| as1yr4po | correspondi | as2yr2po | committee | as3yr2po | president | as4yr2po | |
| as1y5 | | as2y3 | | as3yr3 | | as4yr3 | |
| as1yr5po | | as2yr3po | | as3yr3po | | as4yr3po | |
| as1y6 | | as2yr4 | | as3yr4 | | as4yr4 | |

| field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|
| as4yr4po | | | |
| as4yr5 | | | |
| as4yr5po | | | |
| as5 | Montreal ra | | |
| as5yr | 1833 | | |
| as5post | | | |
| as5yr2 | | | |
| as5yr2po | | | |
| as5y3 | | | |
| as5yr3po | | | |
| as6 | SPS | | |

**Record 2 (continued)**

| field | value | field | value | field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as6yr | 1835 | as8yr1po | member | as11 | Horticultural | as13yr | 1827 |
| as6yr1po | auditor of accounts | as8y2 | | as11yr1 | 1848 | as13y1p | member |
| as6yr2 | 1836 | as8y2po | | as11yr1p | director, pr | as13y2 | |
| as6yr2po | managing committee | as9 | Protestant b | as11y2 | 1850 | as13y2p | |
| as6yr3 | | as9yr1 | 1846 | as11y2p | director | as14 | |
| as6yr3po | | as9yr1po | trustee | as12 | SPCK | as14yr | |
| as7 | Constitutional associatio | as10 | Montreal ey | as12yr1 | 1824 | as14y1p | |
| as7yr1 | 1835 | as10yr1 | 1837 comm | as12yr1p | committee | pet1 | against Mar |
| as7yr1po | member | as10yr1p | | as12y2 | | petyr | 1837 |
| as8 | free mason | as10y2 | | as12y2p | | pet2 | |
| as8yr1 | 1823 | as10y2p | | as13 | brother in la | pet2yr | |

| field | value | field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| pet3 | | letteryr | 1840 | event1 | St George's |
| pet3yr | | letter2 | | eventyr | 1833 |
| pet4 | | letter2yr | | eventpos | represente |
| pet4yr | | letter3 | | event2 | St Pats day |
| pet5 | | letter3yr | | event2yr | 1835 |
| pet5yr | | letter4 | | event2po | steward |
| pet6 | | letter4yr | | event3 | |
| pet6yr | | letter5 | | event3yr | |
| pet7 | | letter5yr | | event3po | |
| pet7yr | | letter6 | | event4 | |
| letter1 | congrats to | letter6yr | | event4yr | |

| field | value | field | value |
|---|---|---|---|
| event4po | | event8yr | |
| event5 | | event8po | |
| event5yr | | monume | |
| event5po | | monume | |
| event6 | | monume | |
| event6yr | | monume | |
| event6po | | notes | |
| event7 | | | |
| event7yr | | | |
| event7po | | | |
| event8 | | | |

**Record 1**

| Field | Value |
|---|---|
| idunique | 2345 |
| frstname | Peter |
| lastname | McGill (McCutcheon) |
| Title | |
| sex | M |
| byear | |
| bpl | Scotland |
| ethnicity | Scottish |
| marst | married |
| myear | |
| spofnam | |
| dyear | |
| faith | Presbyterian |
| churchpo | £25 to St Pats church 184 |
| caus_dth | |
| occup | merchant |
| occyear | |
| as1 | Montreal assemblies |
| as1yr1 | 1827 | as1yr1po committee. |
| as2 | SAS | as2yr1 1835 president; as2yr2 1836-40 president; as2yr3 1841-5 president |
| as3 | | as3yr1 1823 VP |
| as4 | British & Ca | as4yr1 1822 committee |
| as5 | Reunion of t | as5yr 1822 member |
| as6 | Montreal au | |

| Field | Value |
|---|---|
| as8yr | 1828, 1830 | as8yr1po VP; as8yr2 1836 president |
| as7 | lay association of presbyt | as7yr1 1845, 1846 president |
| as8 | free mason | as8yr1 1846 provincial g |
| as9 | House of in | as9yr1 1836, 1843 member |
| as10 | Canadian a | as10yr1 1847 member |
| as11 | Board of tra | as11yr1 1848 president |
| as12 | Montreal di | as12yr1 1850 president |
| as13 | Constitution | as13yr 1837 chair; as13y2 1838 member |
| as14 | SPCK | as14yr 1824 VP |
| pet1 | call for emi | petyr 1847 |
| pet2 | 1848 | |
| pet3 | against reb | pet3yr 1849 |
| letteryr | 1837 |
| letter2 | congrats to | 1847 |
| letter3 | congrats to | 1840 |
| letter4 | address to | 1838 |
| letter5 | committee t | 1825 |
| letter1 | against Mar |
| event1 | St George's | eventyr 1833 representati |
| event2 | Bouchervill | 1843 aid for resid |
| event3 | Quebec fire | 1845 aid for |
| event4 | Scottish fa | 1847 |

| Field | Value |
|---|---|
| event4po | committee |
| event5 | heir ball | event5yr 1842 committee |
| event6 | London Exh | event6yr 1850 participant |
| event7 | |
| event8 | |
| mohome | Lord Metcalfe | 1847 |
| monume | Richardson memorial | 1831 |
| notes | |

**Record 2**

| Field | Value |
|---|---|
| idunique | 2526 |
| frstname | George |
| lastname | Moffat |
| Title | HON |
| sex | M |
| byear | 1787 |
| bpl | Durham England |
| ethnicity | English |
| marst | married |
| myear | 1816 |
| spofnam | Sophia MacRae |
| dyear | 1865 |
| faith | Anglican |
| churchpo | £25 to St Pats church 184 |
| occup | merchant |
| as1 | SGS | as1yr1 1834, 1835, President; as1yr2 1839, 1840 President |
| as2 | Reunion of t | as2yr1 1822 committee |
| as3 | Friends of t | as3yr1 1822 member |
| as4 | Mercantile l | as4yr1 1841 director |
| as5 | SPCK | as5yr 1819 district com |
| as6 | Montreal hi | |

| Field | Value |
|---|---|
| as8yr | 1844-6 | as8yr1po director |
| as7 | Montreal board of trade | as7yr1 1844-7 president |
| as8 | Montreal assemblies | as8yr1 1845 committee |
| as9 | Montreal re | as9yr1 1845 steward |
| as10 | Canadian a | as10yr1 1847 member |
| as11 | British Ame | as11yr1 1849 president |
| as12 | Montreal di | as12yr1 1850 patron |
| as13 | Constitution | as13yr 1838 member |
| as14 | Beaver Clu | as14yr 1814 member |
| pet1 | support Wm | petyr 1844 |
| pet2 | merchant to | pet2yr 1846 |
| pet3 | 1838 | member |
| support St L | 1846 |
| call for emi | 1847 |
| protectionis | 1849 |
| letteryr | 1837 |
| letter2 | congrats to | 1840 |
| letter3 | address to | 1843 |
| letter4 | congrats to | 1847 |
| letter5 | call for orde | 1849 |
| letter6 | address to | 1838 |
| letter1 | against Mar |
| event1 | St Georges | eventyr 1833 participant |
| event2 | celebrate bi | event2yr 1842 participant |
| event3 | heir ball | event3yr 1842 committe |
| event4 | Bouchervill | event4yr 1843 |

**Record (event fields):**

| Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| event4po | aid for | event8yr | 1850 |
| event5 | Quebec fire | event8po | participant |
| event5yr | 1845 | monume | Richardson memorial |
| event5po | committee | monume | 1831 |
| event6 | St Johns fir | monume | Lord Metcalfe |
| event6yr | 1846 | monume | 1847 |
| event6po | relief comm | notes | |
| event7 | honour JG | | |
| event7yr | 1849 | | |
| event7po | participant | | |
| event8 | London exh | | |

**Record 2539:**

| Field | Value |
|---|---|
| idunique | 2539 |
| frstname | John |
| lastname | Molson |
| Title | Jr |
| sex | M |
| byear | |
| bpl | Montreal |
| ethnicity | English |
| marst | married |
| myear | |
| spolnam | |
| dyear | |
| faith | |
| churchpo | £25 St Pats church 1841 |
| churchpo | |
| churchpo | |
| caus_dth | |
| occup | merchant |
| occyear | 1832 |
| as1 | SGS |

| Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as1yr1 | 1835 | as2 | Constitution | as3 | Montreal ey |
| as1yr1po | 2nd VP | as2yr1 | 1835, 1838 | as3yr1 | 1847, 1848 |
| as1yr2 | 1836, 1837 | as2yr1po | member | as3yr1po | committee |
| as1yr2po | 1st VP | | | | |
| as1yr3 | 1838 | | | | |
| as1yr3po | president | | | | |
| as1yr4 | 1847, 1846 | | | | |
| as1yr4po | steward | | | | |

**Record (continued, as6–event fields):**

| Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| pet1 | for Union bil | event1 | United irish |
| pet1yr | 1841 | event1yr | 1847 |
| pet2 | move capita | eventpos | subscriber |
| pet2yr | 1843 | event2 | Quebec fire |
| pet3 | | event2yr | 1845 |
| pet3yr | 1849 | event2po | aid for |
| protectionis | | event3 | Lap raine fir |
| letter1 | congrats to | event3yr | 1846 |
| letter2 | congrats to | event5po | relief comm |
| letter2yr | 1840 | | |
| letteryr | 1843 | | |

**Record (event fields):**

| Field | Value |
|---|---|
| event4po | |
| event5 | |
| event5yr | |
| event5po | |
| event6 | |
| event6yr | |
| event6po | |
| event7 | |
| event7yr | |
| event7po | |
| event8 | |
| monume | Lord Metcalfe |
| monume | 1847 |
| monume | Richardson Memorial |
| monume | 1831 |
| notes | |

**Record 3708:**

| Field | Value |
|---|---|
| idunique | 3708 |
| frstname | H.H. |
| lastname | Whitney |
| Title | |
| sex | M |
| byear | |
| bpl | |
| ethnicity | English |
| marst | |
| myear | |
| spolnam | |
| dyear | |
| faith | |
| churchpo | |
| churchpo | |
| churchpo | |
| caus_dth | |
| occup | |
| occyear | |
| as1 | SGS |

| Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as1yr1 | 1848 | as2 | Thistle curli | as3 | Board of tra |
| as1yr1po | charitable c | as2yr1 | 1845 | as3yr1 | 1846-48 |
| as1yr2 | 1850 | as2yr1po | manager | as3yr1po | board of ar |
| as1yr2po | treasurer | as2yr2 | 1848 | | |
| | | as2yr2po | president | | |

## Record (top form)

| Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as6yr | | as8yr1po | | as11 | | as13yr | | pet3 | | deepen Lac | letteryr | event1 | St Georges |
| as6yr1po | | as8y2 | | as11yr1 | | as13y1p | | pet3yr | 1847 | letter2 | | eventyr | 1850 |
| as6yr2 | | as8y2po | | as11yr1p | | as13y2 | | pet4 | navigation l | letter2yr | | eventpos | director |
| as6yr2po | | as9 | | as11y2 | | as13y2p | | pet4yr | 1848 | letter3 | | event2 | |
| as6yr3 | | as9yr1 | | as11y2p | | as14 | | pet5 | protectionis | letter3yr | | event2yr | |
| as6yr3po | | as9yr1po | | as12 | | as14yr | | pet5yr | 1849 | letter4 | | event2po | |
| as7 | | as10 | | as12yr1 | | as14y1p | | pet6 | | letter5 | | event3 | |
| as7yr1 | | as10yr1 | | as12yr1p | | pet1 | | pet6yr | move capita | letter5yr | | event3yr | |
| as7yr1po | | as10yr1p | | as12y2 | | petyr | 1843 | pet7 | | letter6 | | event3po | |
| as8 | | as10y2 | | as12y2p | | pet2 | support St L | pet7yr | | letter6yr | | event4 | |
| as8yr1 | | as10y2p | | as13 | | pet2yr | 1846 | letter1 | | | | event4yr | |

## (continued)

| Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| event4po | | event8yr | |
| event5 | | event8po | |
| event5yr | | monume | |
| event5po | | monume | |
| event6 | | monume | |
| event6yr | | monume | |
| event6po | | notes | |
| event7 | | | |
| event7yr | | | |
| event7po | | | |
| event8 | | | |

## Record (middle form)

| Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| idunique | 3589 | spoham | | as1yr1 | 1835, 1837 | as1y6po | | as2y4po | | as3yr4po | | as4yr4po | |
| firstname | Isaac | dyear | | as1yr1po | steward | as1y7 | | as2y5 | | as3yr5 | | as4yr5 | |
| lastname | Valentine | faith | Jewish | as1yr2 | 1838-1840 | as1y7po | | as2y5po | | as3yr5po | | as4yr5po | |
| Title | | churchpo | rabbi Spanish & Portugu | as1y2po | steward | as2 | Constitution | as3 | German so | as4 | | as5 | |
| sex | M | churchpo | | as1yr3 | | as2yr1 | 1835, 1838 | as3yr1 | 1835 | as4yr1 | | as5yr | |
| byear | | churchpo | | as1yr3po | | as2yr1po | member | as3yr1po | committee | as4yr1po | | as5post | |
| bpl | | caus_d | | as1yr4 | | as2yr2 | | as3yr2 | 1836 | as4yr2 | | as5yr2 | |
| ethnicity | English, German | occup | gentleman | as1yr4po | | as2yr2po | | asyr2pos | dinner com | as4yr2po | | as5yr2po | |
| marst | | | | as1yr5 | | as2yr3 | | as3yr3 | | as4yr3 | | as5y3 | |
| myear | | occyear | 1832 | as1yr5po | | as2yr3po | | as3yr3po | | as4yr3po | | as5yr3po | |
| spoham | | as1 | SGS | as1yr6 | | as2yr4 | | as3yr4 | | as4yr4 | | as6 | |

## Record (bottom form)

| Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| as6yr | | as8yr1po | | as11 | | as13yr | | pet3 | | letteryr | | event1 | St Andrews |
| as6yr1po | | as8y2 | | as11yr1 | | as13y1p | | pet3yr | | letter2 | | eventyr | 1834 |
| as6yr2 | | as8y2po | | as11yr1p | | as13y2 | | pet4 | | letter2yr | | eventpos | participant |
| as6yr2po | | as9 | | as11y2 | | as13y2p | | pet4yr | | letter3 | | event2 | |
| as6yr3 | | as9yr1 | | as11y2p | | as14 | | pet5 | | letter3yr | | event2yr | |
| as6yr3po | | as9yr1po | | as12 | | as14yr | | pet5yr | | letter4 | | event2po | |
| as7 | | as10 | | as12yr1 | | as14y1p | | pet6 | | letter4yr | | event3 | |
| as7yr1 | | as10yr1 | | as12yr1p | | pet1 | | pet6yr | | letter5 | | event3yr | |
| as7yr1po | | as10yr1p | | as12y2 | | petyr | | pet7 | | letter5yr | | event5po | |
| as8 | | as10y2 | | as12y2p | | pet2 | | pet7yr | | letter6 | | event4 | |
| as8yr1 | | as10y2p | | as13 | | pet2yr | | letter1 | | letter6yr | | event4yr | |

## (continued)

| Field | Value | Field | Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| event4po | | event8yr | |
| event5 | | event8po | |
| event5yr | | monume | |
| event5po | | monume | |
| event6 | | monume | |
| event6yr | | monume | |
| event6po | | notes | |
| event7 | | | |
| event7yr | | | |
| event7po | | | |
| event8 | | | |

APPENDIX TWO

SOCIETIES FORMED IN MONTREAL

<u>Leisure Societies formed in Montreal by date of Foundation</u>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bachelor's Club | 1795 | Balls |
| Assembly | 1800-1832 | Balls |
| Montreal Curling Club | 1807-present | Sport |
| Philharmonic Society | 1810-1834 | Music |
| Montreal Rifle Corps | 1822-1825 | Sport |
| Montreal Cricket Club | 1822-1847 | Sport |
| Orphean Society | 1823-1825 | Music |
| Montreal Races | 1824-1840 | Sport |
| English Amateurs | 1825-1829 | Theatre |
| Gentlemen Amateurs | 1828-1840 | Theatre |
| Gymnasium Society | 1828 | Sport |
| Montreal Social Assembly | 1828-1835 | Balls |
| Amateurs of the 79th | 1829 | Theatre |
| Canada Sporting Club | 1829-1830 | Sports |
| Canadian Amateurs | 1829-1848 | Theatre |
| Garrison Amateurs | 1829-1843 | Theatre |
| Montreal Hunt | 1829-1850 | Sport |
| Buskin Club | 1830-1836 | Theatre |
| Montreal Fox Hunt | 1830-1848 | Sport |
| City Amateurs | 1831-1835 | Theatre |
| Civilian Amateurs | 1831 | Theatre |
| Friends of Harmony | 1831 | Music |
| Montreal Handel & Haydn Society | 1831 | Music |
| Scotch Amateurs | 1831 | Theatre |
| Turf Club | 1832-1844 | Sport |
| Amateurs of the Caledonian. . . | 1832-1835 | Theatre |
| Montreal Fox Hounds | 1832-1848 | Sport |
| Amateurs of the 24th | 1833-1835 | Theatre |
| Thespian Club | 1834 | Theatre |
| Amateurs of the 32nd | 1835-1837 | Theatre |
| Chess Club (1) | 1835-1837 | Sport |
| Dramatic Amateurs | 1835-1836 | Theatre |
| Garrick Amateurs | 1835 | Theatre |
| Harmonic Society | 1835 | Music |
| Canadian Dramatic Amateurs | 1836 | Theatre |
| Tandem Club | 1836-1841 | Sport |
| Juvenile Amateurs | 1837 | Theatre |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Military Amateurs | 1838-1840 | Theatre |
| Her Majesty's Servants | 1840 | Theatre |
| Montreal Snow Shoe Club | 1840-1850 | Sport |
| Caledonian Curling Club | 1841 (1850) | Sport |
| Chess Club (2) | 1841-1845 | Sport |
| Montreal Quoit Club | 1841-1846 | Sport |
| Thistle Curling Club | 1842-present | Sport |
| Choral Society | 1843 | Music |
| Junior Curling Club | 1843 | Sport |
| Montreal Choral Society | 1843-1845 | Music |
| Montreal Harmonic Society | 1843-1844 | Music |
| Olympic Club | 1843-1845 | Sport |
| Montreal Aquatic Society | 1844 | Sport |
| Montreal Swimming Club | 1844-1849 | Sport |
| Regatta Club | 1844-1850 | Sport |
| Thistle Quoit Club | 1846 | Sport |
| Montreal Gymnasium | 1846 | Sport |
| Aurora Cricket Club | 1847-1848 | Sport |
| Burnside Cricket Club | 1847 | Sport |
| Sock & Buskin Club | 1847 | Theatre |
| Club de Quadrille | 1848 | Balls |
| Montreal Trotting Club | 1848- | Sport |
| Montreal Philharmonic Society | 1849 | Music |
| Montreal Professional Music Society | 1849 | Music |
| Germania Musical Society | 1850 | Music |
| Montreal Rifle Club | 1850 | Sport |
| Montreal Skating Club | 1850 | Sport |
| Garrick Club | 1850 | Theatre |

## Religious Societies Formed in Montreal by Date of Formation

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| British & Foreign Bible Society | 1813-1849 | Improvement |
| District Committee for Quebec Diocesan... | 1819 | Church Admin. |
| Society for Propogating Christian Knowledge | 1819-1840 | Missionary |
| Bible Society | 1820-1847 | Improvement |
| Ladies Bible Association | 1824-1829 | Improvement |
| Montreal Aux. Religious Tract Society | 1824-1841 | Improvement |
| Sunday School Union | 1825-1831 | School |
| Montreal Aux. Wesleyan Missionary | 1828-1850 | Missionary |
| Canada Education & Home Missionary | 1829-1835 | Missionary |
| Montreal Catholic Institution | 1830 | Improvement |
| Temperance Society | 1830-1840 | Improvement |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| American Presbyterian Society | 1831- | Church Admin. |
| Canada Scriptures Readers Society | 1831 | Improvement |
| Ladies Missionary Society | 1831 | Missionary |
| Ladies under Saint Anne | 1831 | Missionary |
| Ladies Baptist Dorcas Society | 1833 | Charity |
| Diocesan School Society | 1834 | School |
| Pastoral Aid Society | 1834-1844 | Charity |
| Montreal Wesleyan Methodist Sunday School | 1835 | School |
| Society for Propogating the Gospel Among Indians and Settlers | 1836-1840 | Missionary |
| Baptist Missionary Society | 1837-1845 | Missionary |
| Episcopal Sunday School | 1838 | School |
| Friendly Union | 1838 | Improvement |
| Colonial Missionary Society | 1841 | Missionary |
| Church Society | 1842 | Church Admin. |
| French Canadian Missionary Society | 1842-1850 | Missionary |
| Gospel Ministers Association | 1842 | Improvement |
| Juvenile Missionary Society | 1842 | Missionary |
| St. Maurice Street Congregational Sabbath School Society | 1842-1845 | School |
| Lay Association of the Presbyterian Church | 1844-1848 | Improvement |
| Congregational Missionary Society | 1846-1849 | Missionary |
| Montreal Baptist Association | 1846 | Improvement |
| Wesleyan Sabbath School Society | 1846 | School |

## Professional Societies Formed in Montreal by Date of Formation

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Medico-chiurgical Society | 1843-1850 | Doctors |
| Montreal Medical Students Society | 1846 | Doctors |
| Montreal Society of Artists | 1847 | Artists |
| Pathological Society | 1850 | Doctors |

## Social Associations Formed in Montreal by Date of Formation

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Loyal Orange Order | Pre 1800- | Secret |
| Freemasons | Pre 1800- | Secret |
| Beaver Club | 1785-1824 | Dinner |
| Greybeard Club | 1794 | Dinner |
| Early Club | 1824-1826 | |
| Union Club | 1836-1839 | Men's |
| Independant Order of Odd Fellows | 1843-present | |

## National Societies Formed in Montreal, by Date of Formation

| | |
|---|---|
| Hibernian Benevolent Society (1) | 1823- |
| Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste | 1834-present |
| St. Patrick's Society | 1834-present |
| St. Andrew's Society | 1835-present |
| German Society | 1835- |
| St. George's Society | 1835- |
| Hebrew Philanthropic | 1847- |
| Hibernian Benevolent Society (2) | 1847 |
| Hibernian Universal Benevolent Society | 1847 |
| Young Men's St. Patrick's Society | 1848-1850 |

## Improvement Societies Formed in Montreal, by Date of Formation

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Montreal Branch of Agricultural Society | 1791-1792 | Educational |
| Robin Hood Society | 1791-1792 | Debate |
| Montreal Library | 1796-1841 | Literary |
| Montreal Philosophical Apparatus | 1810 | Educational |
| Florist Society | 1811-1815 | Educational |
| Montreal Agricultural Society | 1819-1847 | Educational |
| Montreal Horticultural Society | 1818-1826 | Educational |
| British & Canadian School Society | 1822-1850 | Educational |
| Farmer's Club | 1825-1826 | Educational |
| St. Lawrence Association | 1825 | Educational |
| Society for Promotion of Education and Industry | 1826 | Educational |
| Natural History Society | 1827-1850 | Educational |
| Infant School Society | 1828-1835 | Educational |
| Mechanic's Institute | 1828-present | Educational |
| Linnean & Horticultural Society | 1829 | Educational |
| Recollet School Society | 1830-1831 | Educational |
| Irish Literary Association | 1831 | Literary |
| Montreal Young Men's Society | 1831-1836 | Moral |
| Philomathic Society | 1832-1833 | Educational |
| Young Men's Temperance Society | 1832-1834 | Temperance |
| Beef Steak Club | 1833 | Educational |
| Montreal Temperance Society | 1833-1848 | Temperance |
| Waverly Institute | 1833 | Literary |
| Agricultural Society for the District of Montreal | 1834 | Educational |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Clerical Association of Lower Canada | 1836-1837 | Educational |
| St. James Street Temperance Society | 1836-1837 | Temperance |
| Canada Sunday School Union | 1837-1844 | Educational |
| Lower Canadian Association | 1838 | Educational |
| Friendly Union | 1840 | Moral |
| Roman Catholic Temperance Society | 1840-1850 | Temperance |
| Scottish Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts | 1840-1850 | Educational |
| Mercantile Library Association | 1841-1850 | Educational |
| Juvenile Temperance Society | 1842-1847 | Temperance |
| Christian Mutual Improvement Society | 1843 | Moral |
| Montreal Law Student's Society | 1843-1850 | Debate |
| Montreal Instruction Society | 1843-1844 | Educational |
| Phrenological Society | 1843-1846 | Educational |
| Ministerial Association for suppression of intemperance | 1844 | Temperance |
| Rechabites | 1844-1850 | Temperance |
| Shakespeare Club | 1844-1850 | Debate |
| Humane Society | 1846 | Educational |
| Athenaeum Society | 1847-1850 | Debate |
| Debating Club | 1847 | Debate |
| Montreal Horticultural Society (2) | 1847-1850 | Educational |
| International Art Union | 1848-1849 | Educational |
| Lower Canada Agricultural Society | 1848-1850 | Educational |
| Home Industry | 1849 | Educational |
| Church Loan Library Association | 1849 | Literary |
| Montreal Peace Society | 1849 | Moral |
| St. Patrick's Institute | 1849 | Literary |
| Addison Literary Society | 1850 | Literary |
| Montreal Botanical Society | 1850 | Educational |
| Young Men's Total Abstinence Society | 1850 | Temperance |

## Political Societies Formed in Montreal, from Date of Formation

| | |
|---|---|
| Friends of the Reunions of the Canadas | 1822 |
| Friends of Ireland (1) | 1828-1829 |
| Friends of Ireland (2) | 1831 |
| Constitutional Association | 1834-1838 |
| Doric Society | 1834-1837 |
| Montreal Irish Repeal | 1841-1844 |
| Defensive League | 1844 |
| L.P.S. | 1844-1847 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Free Trade Association | 1846 | |
| Annexation Association | 1849 | |
| British American League | 1849 | |
| Early Shop Shutting Association | 1849-1850 | |
| Montreal Association for Home Industry | 1849 | |

## Philanthropic Societies Formed in Montreal, from Date of Formation

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Montreal Friendly Society | 1793-1837 | Service |
| Montreal Fire Society | 1800 | Service |
| Female Society | 1816-1821 | Non-denominational Charity |
| Society for the Relief of Immigrants | 1818 | Non-denominational Charity |
| Committee for the Relief of Distressed Emigrants and Other Protestant Poor of this City | 1819 | Non-denominational Charity |
| House of Industry (1) | 1819-1843 | Improvement |
| Montreal Dispensary (1) | 1819 | Non-denominational Charity |
| Emigrant Society | 1820-1843 | Non-denominational Charity |
| Garrett Benevolent Society | 1822 | |
| Phoenix Volunteer Fire Club | 1825-1834 | Service |
| Montreal Fire Club | 1828-1829 | Service |
| St. Lawrence & Atlantic Fire Club | 1828-1829 | Service |
| Benevolent Association | 1829 | Non-denominational Charity |
| Dorcan Society | 1829-1832 | Denominational Charity |
| Fire Society | 1830-1839 | Service |
| Ladies Sewing Society | 1830-1832 | Non-denominational Charity |
| Montreal Orphan Asylum | 1830-1900 | Service |
| Ladies of the Roman Catholic Church | 1831 | Denominational Charity |
| Montreal Gaol Association | 1831 | Improvement |
| Ladies Benevolent Society | 1832- | Non-denominational Charity |
| Penitent Females Refuge Society | 1836-1837 | Improvement |
| Benevolent Society | 1837 | Non-denominational |

| | | Charity |
|---|---|---|
| Catholic Orphan Asylum | 1840- | Service |
| Dorcas Society of Christ Church | 1841-1849 | Denominational Charity |
| Flood Committee | 1841 | Non-denominational Charity |
| Ladies of St. John's Benevolent Society | 1841 | Denominational Charity |
| Montreal Fuel Association | 1841 | Non-denominational Charity |
| Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum | 1841-2 | Service |
| Lying-in Hospital | 1843-1848 | Service |
| Stranger's Friend Society | 1843-1846 | Protestant Charity |
| Univeristy Lying-in Hospital | 1843-1849 | Service |
| Magdalen Asylum | 1844-1849 | Improvement |
| Montreal Eye & Ear Institution | 1844-1850 | Service |
| Montreal Lying-in Hospital | 1845-1846 | Service |
| Church of England Poor | 1847 | Denominational Charity |
| House of Industry (2) | 1847 | Improvement |
| Ladies of St. Patrick Orphan Asylum | 1847-1848 | Service |
| Montreal Typographic Society | 1847 | Charity |
| Fireman's Benevolent Society | 1848-1850 | Charity |
| St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum | 1848-1850 | Service |
| Montreal Dispensary (2) | 1850 | Service |

## Unknown and Mutual Societies formed in Montreal, from Date of Formation

| | |
|---|---|
| Social Caractacians Lodge | 1792 |
| Bedford Society | 1811 |
| Luskin Club | 1830 |
| Montreal Mechanics Mutual Protection Society | 1833 |
| Permanent Committee of Montreal | 1834 |
| Mutual Protection Society Against Fire Depredations | 1836 |
| North American Colonial Association of Ireland | 1841 |
| Britons Club | 1849 |