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COMMUNITY AND IDENTITY IN NINETEENTH CENTURY MONTREAL:  
THE FOUNDING OF SAINT PATRICK'S CHURCH.

By

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Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate  
Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the MA in History

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## ABSTRACT

## COMMUNITY AND IDENTITY IN NINETEENTH CENTURY MONTREAL:

## THE FOUNDING OF SAINT PATRICK'S CHURCH

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University of Ottawa, 1999

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In 1817 Montreal's Catholic Church, under the direction of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, granted English-language services to its Irish congregation. From that time on, the Irish of Montreal enjoyed services separate from the French Canadians. This separation was emphasized with the opening of Saint Patrick's Church in 1847, purpose-built for the Irish Catholics of Montreal.

This thirty year period, understudied in relation to the city's Irish population, marks the time when the Irish of Montreal became a community, forging its identity within and without the Catholic Church. This identity was developed outside the Catholic Church through social organizations that attracted the ethnic Irish exclusively, such as the Hibernian Benevolent and Saint Patrick Societies, founded during this period. Cultural celebrations, notably those surrounding Saint Patrick's Day, were occasions where the community could share their traditions and celebrate their Irish heritage. These secular activities were not organized by the Roman Catholic Church in Montreal, but the Church was very involved. The Saint Patrick's Society included the clergy within its executive, while the cathedral of Notre Dame hosted the multi-denominational service held in honour of Saint Patrick.

The interaction of the Irish Catholics and the Catholic Church is the primary focus of this thesis, as the community expressed itself within the institution often. Once the Irish began

receiving services as a separate congregation, it began to act as a unit to press the Church authorities for changes. The Irish asked the Seminary of Saint Sulpice (and the Bishop of Montreal) for an enlargement of its church facilities in 1826, 1830, 1833, 1839 and 1841. Each request was made as a result of the Irish organizing themselves, appointing a leadership, and expressing the community's desires.

The petition of 1841 led to the decision by the Seminary of Saint Sulpice to build a new church for the Irish Catholics, dedicated to Ireland's patron Saint, Patrick. The Irish organized themselves, as the church permitted, into a fund-raising body, which, while not completely successful in its financial goals, was effective in expressing the community's urgent need for the church. The committee formed by the Irish interacted with the Seminary often, and this interaction demonstrated both the Irish community's identity, and the Seminary's attitudes towards it.

Consulted for the thesis were archives at Saint Patrick's Church, the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, and the Archdiocese of Montreal. Newspapers and Parish generated histories supplemented the primary research. Generated from these sources, in order to trace the participation of the members of the Irish community, was a Data Appendix. This Appendix demonstrates the participation and inter-relations of the Irish within the Church and the secular Irish societies.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

SPA:	Saint Patrick's Basilica, Montreal.
ASSS:	Archives du Séminaire Saint-Sulpice, Montréal.
AFND:	Archives de la Fabrique Notre-Dame, Montréal.
ACAM:	Archives de la Chancellerie l'Archévêché de Montréal, Montréal.
PAC:	Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
ASPF:	Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, Rome.

## INTRODUCTION

In order to commemorate the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Famine migration in 1997, a series of celebrations were undertaken in Quebec City under the banner of an "Irish Summer."<sup>1</sup> The impact of the migration and the suffering and death of many of its participants, defines the famine image of the Irish who chose to stay in Quebec. Indeed, it is as if those of the Famine era were the only Irish who came to Quebec. The popular media has latched on to an image of the poor starving Irish immigrant.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, historians dwell on the post-famine-era Irish, and often ignore the history of the Irish who came to Lower Canada in larger numbers between 1815 and 1846. This fascination for the "victim" obscures the history of the majority of the Quebec Irish, who had settled there before 1847.

One exception to this approach is the work of G.R.C. Keep, who in an article on the post-famine population, suggested that the pre-famine Irish community made a smooth adjustment to life in Montreal possible.<sup>3</sup> In this view, the institutions founded by the early Irish community facilitated this adjustment. Chief among these institutions was Saint Patrick's Church, which opened its doors in 1847.

Since "the Irish are particularly identifiable through their religious life," an examination of their church in Montreal is an ideal laboratory for examining Irish community life in the early

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<sup>1</sup> Rhéal Séguin, "Isle of Death Finally a Memorial," Globe and Mail (Toronto Edition), 17 March 1997, A2 & A7.

<sup>2</sup> For an example see Lynn Johnston's cartoon, Appendix 2.

<sup>3</sup> G.R.C. Keep, "The Irish Adjustment in Montreal" in Canadian Historical Review 31 #1 (1950): 40. & G.R.C. Keep, "The Irish Immigration to Montreal: 1847-1867," ( MA, McGill University, Montreal, 1948), 2.

nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> In Montreal, the Irish Catholics formed a “double minority.” Among the Anglophones the Protestants formed the majority, while among the Catholics the Francophones formed the majority.<sup>5</sup> The Church’s role was more than just religious, “it was a vital social center for its community as well.”<sup>6</sup> Within these contexts, the Catholic Church played a complex role not only as a place of worship, but also as a central institution in a diverse community. A study of the Church touches all levels of the Irish and Catholic communities; ordinary parishioner, church wardens, community leaders, priests, Superior, and Bishop.

In 1817, Irish Catholics in Montreal began to receive religious services separately, through an Anglophone priest. This step was the beginning of a relationship which eventually led to the building of a dedicated English-language church in 1847. The thirty year interval between these two dates was marked by an intense interaction between Church officials and the larger community. During these years the congregation moved to larger facilities, which were then renovated. Later, the community petitioned the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, the ecclesiastical authority in Montreal, for larger and different facilities. Along the way special masses were celebrated, and social networks were formed.

The choices and acts of the Irish community leaders and the Roman Catholic Church officials in the Seminary of Saint Sulpice and, to a lesser degree, the Bishop of Montreal, reflect the attitudes each had towards one another, and of themselves. These attitudes were evident in

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<sup>4</sup> Keep “The Irish Immigration”, 3.

<sup>5</sup> John S. Moir. “The Problem of a Double Minority: Some Reflections on the Development of the English-Speaking Catholic Church in Canada in the Nineteenth Century” in Histoire Sociale- Social History 7 (April 1971): 53-67.

<sup>6</sup> Edward R. Kantowicz, “Ethnicity” in Encyclopedia of American Social History, Cayton, Gorn & Williams, ed., (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1993), 457.



the organization of the Irish community in pressing for their needs within the Church, and the Church's role within the Irish community's organizations.

This thesis examines the creation of Saint Patrick's Church as a way of gaining a better understanding of the development of the Irish Catholic community in Montreal from 1817 to 1847. The study examines the interaction of the Catholic Church leaders and the Irish community leaders in the context of population growth, social development, and power struggles. Special attention is paid to the factors which led to the support of both the Irish community and the Roman Catholic Church leaders in the establishment of Saint Patrick's Church. What were the motivations for the separation of the Anglophone Catholics from the Francophone Catholics? Was the Catholic Church responding to the needs of its Irish members, or was it attempting to separate the two language groups? Did the Irish Catholics act as a cohesive unit, or did they merely define themselves as Irish because outside groups defined them that way?

## 1.2 Established Studies

The questions at the foundation of the building of Saint Patrick's Church have not yet been adequately addressed despite the fact that the Irish in Canada have been the subject of many historical monographs in the last two decades.<sup>7</sup> Many works have been written about the Famine immigration, including the recent additions spurred by the celebration of its 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1997. The year of 1847 often serves as a focus for the discussion of Irish

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<sup>7</sup> Its popularity as a topic was remarked upon Gerald Stortz as being a "growth industry." Gerald J. Stortz, "The Irish in Canada: an Update" in Immigration History Newsletter XVII #2 (1985): 8.

emigration and settlement.

While most studies examine the Irish from the late 1840s, there is some literature on the earlier period of Irish emigration to Canada. Saint Patrick's Church has had one book and a few articles written on aspects of its history. Saint Patrick's of Montreal- the Biography of a Basilica was written by journalist Alan Hustak. It is not a scholarly approach to history, but rather, as the author explains, a "highly subjective layman's account of the church where I have worshiped off and on for 30 years."<sup>8</sup> The author alludes to having used primary sources from Saint Patrick's and other Church archives, but they are never directly cited. Quotes abound in the text, but their origins are unclear. Footnotes are used only to list the names of the members of listed organizations.

Among the scholarly articles written on Saint Patrick's is that by Luc Noppen, on the church's historical and cultural significance. The article concentrates on Saint Patrick's physical characteristics: including its location, size, style and decoration.<sup>9</sup> Another article by Gerald Berry, Bishop of Halifax, highlights the dismemberment of the parish of Notre Dame in 1866, and its effect on Saint Patrick's Church.<sup>10</sup>

Histories of Montreal's Irish community share the tendency to concentrate on the latter half of the nineteenth century. In addition to Keep's research on Montreal's Irish, D.C. Lyne's

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<sup>8</sup> Alan Hustak, Saint Patrick's of Montreal- the Biography of a Basilica, (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1998) 9.

<sup>9</sup> Luc Noppen, "Église Saint-Patrick" in Les Chemins de la Mémoire- Monuments et Sites Historiques de Québec, Jean Lavoie, dir., (Québec: La Commission des Biens Culturels, 1991), 72-74.

<sup>10</sup> Gerald Berry, "A Critical Period in Saint Patrick's Parish, Montreal, 1866-1874" in Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report XI, (1944), 117-128.

1960 thesis used Montreal as a microcosm of Canadian Irish communities, and concentrated on the ten year period prior to Confederation.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, D.S. Cross examined the Irish in Montreal from 1867 to 1896.<sup>12</sup>

Histories of Quebec's Catholic Church do not often take into account the presence of the English language minority. Such is the case with Histoire du Catholicisme Québécois V. II Réveil et Consolidation, 1840-1898 by Nive Voisine and Philippe Sylvain. This work does not even mention the strain caused by the Famine victims to the Church's charitable institutions, let alone the challenge presented by the presence of non-French Catholics to the prevailing Ultramontanist of the period.<sup>13</sup>

General church histories do offer more information, such as Construire une Église au Québec- L'Architecture Religieuse avant 1939. This work discusses Saint Patrick's Church in relationship to other church buildings of the time, and highlights the decisions made about its physical attributes in relation to the circumstances of construction.<sup>14</sup>

In Ronald Rudin's The Forgotten Quebecers the Irish are included as a part of the Quebec Anglophone community.<sup>15</sup> However, the Irish, who made up roughly half of Quebec's

<sup>11</sup> Donald Colman Lyne, "*The Irish in the Province of Canada in the Decade Leading to Confederation*" (MA Thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1960).

<sup>12</sup> Dorothy Suzanne Cross. "The Irish in Montreal, 1867-1896," (MA Thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1969).

<sup>13</sup> Philippe Sylvain & Nive Voisine, Histoire du Catholicisme Québécois V. II Réveil et Consolidation, 1840-1898, Nive Voisine, ed., (Les Éditions du Boréal, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> Raymonde Gauthier, Construire une Église au Québec- L'Architecture Religieuse avant 1939, (Montreal: Libre Expression, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> Ronald Rudin, The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec 1759-1980, (Quebec: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1985).

Anglophone population in the nineteenth century, merit only an occasional mention in the book.

Saint Patrick's is not ignored completely in relation to histories of Montreal or the Province of Quebec, nor are the Irish in the relation to the history of Canada. However, when it comes to the Irish in Quebec, and specifically the Irish Catholics of Montreal there is very little written. Moreover, what has been written about Saint Patrick's is fraught with difficulties. The established research is one-sided and simplistic, especially with respect to the relations between the French Canadians and the Irish Catholics. When describing Irish-French Canadian relations Rudin emphasizes hostility based primarily on economic rivalry, although he does note occurrences of intermarriage and various acts of charity.<sup>16</sup> Rudin uses the founding of Saint Patrick's as an example of poor ethnic relations with the church. "The battle for the establishment of an English-Catholic parish was even more arduous [in Montreal] since the opponent was Bishop Bourget."<sup>17</sup> Rudin leaves the details of this "battle" to the imagination.

Alan Hustak also regarded the founding of Saint Patrick's in a negative light. He believed that the church was built, and the community used, in order to further the rivalry between the Seminary and the Bishop. "Because of their sheer numbers, the English-speaking Roman Catholics were used as convenient pawns in the power struggle between Joseph-Vincent Quiblier, . . . and his rival, . . . archbishop in Quebec City, Bernard Claude Parent."<sup>18</sup> The closer threat to the Seminary was the Bishop of Montreal, and Saint Patrick's was "a supersymbolic [sic] gesture to establish the Sulpicians as the overwhelming presence in Montreal's Catholic

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 110-111.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 113.

<sup>18</sup> Hustak, 18.

community.”<sup>19</sup>

In his history of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, Brian Young depicts Saint Patrick's church as a part of the obligation of the Seminary. “Heavy immigration, clerical pressure for dismemberment of the Parish, and demands for ethnic and suburban church facilities led to the Seminary's sponsorship of Saint Patrick's.”<sup>20</sup> These sources do not agree, nor do they truly elaborate on the complexity of the situation.

The primary sources available to researchers to examine the circumstances of Saint Patrick's construction are rarely cited. Only Brian Young and Raymonde Gauthier cite primary sources. In some cases even secondary sources are not cited. For a topic which “is potentially a very rewarding topic of study”, according to Donald Akenson, this is unsatisfactory.<sup>21</sup>

### 1.3 Sources

The focus of research for this thesis was on the Catholic Church of Montreal of the period between 1817-1847. In addition to the National Archives of Canada which holds copies of some of the Bishop of Montreal's correspondence for the relevant period, four church archives were consulted: Saint Patrick's Basilica, the Fabrique of Notre Dame, the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, and the Archdiocese of Montreal. These archives are rich in information on the Irish community, its actions within the Church, and the Catholic Church's actions and responses

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>20</sup> Brian Young, In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution 1816-1876, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 160.

<sup>21</sup> Donald Harman Akenson, The Irish Diaspora- A Primer, (Toronto: P.D. Meany co Inc, & Belfast: the Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, 1993), 266.

to the congregation. General information, not necessarily related to the immediate topic, but relevant as it concerned the position of these respective groups and as a part of Montreal society, was also available from these repositories.

Since the founding of the Church, Saint Patrick's Parish and the Catholic Church of Montreal have published anecdotal histories which have described the history and features of Saint Patrick's Church, and of related institutions. They serve in this thesis as both primary and secondary sources, depending on the date and content of the passages, and the historical question being considered. As secondary sources, the anecdotal histories provide opinions of the authors on issues addressed in the thesis. Since the opinions are not explicitly connected to any primary sources, caution must be exercised when using this material. To some extent, the authors' opinions can be checked for consistency through comparison of the various histories, keeping in mind the author and the purpose of each publication. In the case of the details of the community's worship in the early years, these histories provide the only available evidence.

The anecdotal histories also provide information about the Irish community as it existed in Montreal, at the time of its publication. The memories the community has of its history are a distinct but related topic to the history itself. These memories are shaped both by the details of the time, and by later events. The relations between the Church and the Irish community shaped the image of their history at the point of the various publication dates of the anecdotal histories. The community's changing identity is reflected in the changing perceptions of the founding of their Mother church. The anecdotal histories illustrate how intimately the past and the present are intertwined.

There are three types of anecdotal histories used in this thesis. The first type includes the

souvenir brochures which have been produced over this century by Saint Patrick's for the purpose of commemorating an important anniversary, or to inform interested visitors of the significance of the church's physical characteristics. The earliest was a pamphlet printed in 1917 on the occasion of Saint Patrick's seventieth anniversary.<sup>22</sup> The hundredth anniversary in 1947 likewise produced a souvenir.<sup>23</sup> It was written by one of the Church's priests, Gerald McShane, with a member of the congregation, John Loye. The year 1967 saw another souvenir booklet, written by Robert Lipscombe.<sup>24</sup> The most recent endeavour was published in 1996.<sup>25</sup> Each of these booklets give a short history of the church, but the emphasis is on the physical attractions of Saint Patrick's. There are large glossy photographs of the church in all but the first booklet. Stained glass windows and artwork are the primary focus.

The four pamphlets produced by the congregation to publicize and promote the community's religious organizations and members make up the second type of parish-generated history. In 1866 the Irish congregation published a statement concerning the dismemberment of the Parish of Notre Dame, of which Saint Patrick's was then a part.<sup>26</sup> This statement provides a history of the community in relation to the legalities of Saint Patrick's establishment, in order to support the community's stance.

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<sup>22</sup> "1847 = 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Number = 1917" in St. Patrick's Message II. # 7, 17 March 1917.

<sup>23</sup> John Loye & Gerald J. McShane, The Story of One Hundred Years- St. Patrick's Church Montreal 1847-1947, (Montreal: Plow & Watters Ltd, 1947).

<sup>24</sup> Robert Lipscombe, The Story of Old St. Patrick's Montreal Canada, (Montreal: Helio Gravure Inc, 1967).

<sup>25</sup> Patricia Miller, Montreal- St. Patrick's Basilica, (Montreal: St. Patrick's Basilica, 1996).

<sup>26</sup> Saint Patrick's Congregation Committee, The Case of St. Patrick's Congregation as to the Erection of the New Canonical Parish of St. Patrick's Montreal, (Montreal: John Lovell, 1866).

The Golden Jubilee of the Saint Patrick's Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society was commemorated by a publication in its honour in 1890.<sup>27</sup> Included in the history of the society were descriptions of Montreal's Irish Catholic community. Another golden jubilee in 1887, that of two of Saint Patrick's priests (Toupin and Dowd), was commemorated with a pamphlet.<sup>28</sup> Yet another golden jubilee, that of the Saint Patrick's Orphan Asylum, in 1902 merited a pamphlet, and a re-telling of the Irish community's history.<sup>29</sup>

The final type of anecdotal history was generated by the Catholic Church: the Seminary of Saint Sulpice and the Diocese of Montreal. Works of this type include a history of the Diocese, written under the auspices of Montreal's Archbishop, Paul Bruchesi.<sup>30</sup> Olivier Maurault, a member of the Sulpician order, wrote many histories concerning Montreal's Catholics, including one on the Irish.<sup>31</sup> The 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Seminary was commemorated with a book edited by Maurault.<sup>32</sup>

Saint Patrick's Church does not have a formal archives, but does possess some

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<sup>27</sup> Souvenir of the Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's Total Abstinence & Benevolent Society 1840-1890, (Montreal: Dominion Illustrated Co, 1890).

<sup>28</sup> J.J. Curran, ed., Golden Jubilee of the Reverend Fathers Dowd and Toupin with Historical Sketch of Irish Community of Montreal, (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1887).

<sup>29</sup> J.J. Curran, ed., Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, the Works of Fathers Dowd, O'Brien & Quinlivan with Biographies and Illustrations, (Montreal: Catholic Institution for Deaf Mutes, 1902).

<sup>30</sup> Le Diocèse de Montréal à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle, (Montreal: Eusèbe Senécal & Cie, 1900).

<sup>31</sup> Olivier Maurault, La Congrégation Irlandaise de Montréal. Corrected handwritten copy belonging to Gerald McShane, c. 1922. SPA. Olivier Maurault, Le Vieux Séminaire de Montréal, (Montréal: Seminary of Saint Sulpice, 1925). Olivier Maurault, La Paroisse- Histoire de l'Eglise Notre-Dame de Montréal, (Montreal & New York: Louis Carrier & Cie, Les Éditions du Mercure, 1929).

<sup>32</sup> Olivier Maurault, Le Troisième Centenaire de Saint-Sulpice, (Montreal: [Le Devoir] 1941).



documents relating to its early history. The most important source obtained at Saint Patrick's church was a Minute Book of the committee started by the Irish community in January 1841 to push for the construction of Saint Patrick's. The date 1841 is embossed on its spine, but the minutes were kept until 1844. Its value comes both from its actual contents, and an analysis of the frequency of meetings.

The other contemporary document at Saint Patrick's Basilica is a diary of church services. The Church lore attributes it to Father John Joseph Connolly, who was the first priest at Saint Patrick's, but who also served the community at the Recollet. That this diary is actually by Connolly is unclear. The entries are written in several different hands, and the year it begins in, 1840, was actually one year before Connolly's ordination. The diary lists the banns read at services, special events held, and announcements made from the pulpit. It ends in December 1844, but provides the details of the service, and the information that the Church disseminated to its Irish congregation.

Later material was also available from the dismemberment of the Parish in 1866, and the dispute over the assigning of the construction debt to the congregation in 1884. These papers belonged to Father Patrick Dowd, who used the information contained therein to support the Saint Patrick's congregation's position in these disputes. Included within this collection are the reminiscences of three of the Parish's members in 1884, which provide an insight into the events surrounding the building of Saint Patrick's church. These three men were asked by Dowd to recall these events in order to establish a specific argument, which therefore colours their writings. Time can also dim recollections; these men were adults in the 1840s, thirty-three years later they were seniors. Interestingly, and as an example of this, the remarks made by Thomas

Hewitt about the committee meetings in 1841, do not accord with Minutes of these meetings

The Seminary of Saint Sulpice was responsible for the spiritual welfare of all Catholics in Montreal, and as such generated a great deal of paper in its administrative capacity. The Archives contain relevant documents which range in date from 1822, when the Seminary received permission to hold a religious service for Saint Patrick's Day, to 1884, and the dispute with the congregation over the church's debt. These documents provide information concerning the relationship between the Irish and the Seminary, and the relationship of the Seminary with the Bishop. The most important document at the Seminary is the three versions of a petition dated 1833, from the Irish congregation at the Recollet. One of these petitions included the signatures of 590 members of the congregation. Correspondence, financial accounting, and architectural drawings complete the Seminary's Archive collection for this period.

A petition dated 1826 was discovered at the Archives of the Fabrique of Notre Dame. This is now the earliest known petition of the Irish community. The Fabrique's archives also contain a complete set of the deliberations of the Fabrique, the assemblies of the church wardens. The church wardens, hereafter referred to by their French name, Margailliers, because of its usage in the sources, met several times a year to discuss church business. This business included church construction projects, renovations, distribution of Masses, and other administrative matters. The paperwork generated by the actual construction of Saint Patrick's is held at the Fabrique. These include the pay sheets for the construction workers, and receipts for work done by these workers and by the architect. The pay sheets date from 1843 to 1845.

The Archives of the Archdiocese of Montreal hold the correspondence between the

Bishop and various people, including other priests, seminarians, and officials in Rome. These letters date from the early 1820s to the 1880s. The bulk of the file labelled "Seminary of Saint Sulpice 1843-70" contains matters of disagreement between the two authorities over the Irish population and Saint Patrick's Church.

Additional evidence on the Irish community was gathered through three Montreal newspapers: the Montreal Gazette published continuously during the period of study, 1817 to 1847; the Irish Vindicator and Canadian Advertiser, which began publishing in 1828, and became the Vindicator and Canadian Advertiser in 1833, and which is extant to 1837; and the Montreal Transcript and Commercial Advertiser which began publishing in 1836, and continued publishing throughout the period of study. Beyond providing a secular perspective on church-related events and issues, newspapers also provided evidence on the Irish community's social activities. Each of these papers reported on the meetings of Irish social organizations, and on events such as the annual Saint Patrick's Day celebrations.

#### 1.4 Data Appendix

In an effort to study the members of the Irish community, a Data Appendix was created, listing 349 members of the Irish community. This list does not name every Irish man or woman in Montreal, but rather, lists those who actively participated in one form or another in the activities of the community. Only one woman is named in the Data Appendix, that of Miss Gibb who made a significant contribution to Saint Patrick's building fund. The names have been gathered from the primary sources. The Irish associated societies were regularly featured in the newspapers. The names of the members of the Executives were often published. The names of

those in the committees' members who made representations to the Seminary and Bishop were included in the Data Appendix.

The petition of 1833 posed a problem. The writing of the names was not always legible. The names which appear in the Data Appendix for the 1833 petition, are only those which also appear in other sources as well. The same criterion was used to confirm the names which appeared on the long list of small donations made to the building fund.<sup>33</sup> Each name had to have first appeared in another capacity, in other sources to appear in the Data Appendix.

The Data Appendix demonstrates the variety of interests held by the Irish community in Montreal. It also demonstrates the inter-relationship of these societies and the Catholic Church.

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<sup>33</sup> See Appendix 4.

## CHAPTER 2 SETTING THE STAGE

### 2.1 Montreal

Formerly speaking, Montreal was founded in 1642 by Paul de Chomedy de Maisonneuve on behalf of the Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal. This society and thus Montreal (then known as Ville-Marie), were established to evangelize the Native peoples in New France.<sup>34</sup> The missionary society collapsed in the 1650s, but the settlement at Ville-Marie did not. Its religious purpose was replaced by more secular activities.

Montreal prospered as a commercial centre. The fur trade was responsible for much of this success. Montreal's geographic location was another factor. Downstream, on the Saint Lawrence River, it proved to be convenient for both the merchants and the fur trappers. The port of Montreal, even before improvements made in the nineteenth century, allowed trade goods to arrive in the spring from France, and to leave with the previous year's furs.<sup>35</sup>

The conquest of New France by the British in 1759-60 changed the cultural and political life of Montreal, but not its role as a commercial centre. The most obvious sign of British dominion over New France, now known as Quebec, was the influx of British immigrants. The colony was no longer only French and Catholic in orientation. The British were not a heterogenous group, being composed of English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish nationalities, and several Protestant denominations along with Roman Catholics. These groups would alter the

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<sup>34</sup> Robert Prévost, Montréal A History, trans. By Elizabeth Mueller & Robert Chodos, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993).

<sup>35</sup> J.I. Cooper, Montreal: The Story of 300 Years, (Montreal: L'Imprimerie de Lamirande, 1942), 35-6.

city's political, cultural and religious life.

## 2.2 Montreal's Irish

There is evidence to suggest that there were Irish in New France prior to the Conquest. This early Irish community came to the colony through the mercenaries hired by the French Army, and British colonial captives, the result of the frequent skirmishes between the two colonial powers, and who chose to remain in New France.<sup>36</sup> It was after the Conquest, that the Irish settled in more significant numbers.<sup>37</sup>

Statistics for the period are very sketchy. The early census questions were not specific enough to determine accurately the specific population groups in Montreal. Raoul Blanchard in his study of French Canada used a mix of statistical methods in order to overcome these problems and to depict Montreal's Irish population growth in Montreal over a hundred year period. The population for 1820 came from a count made by Talbot. The 1830's number came from the count made of Montreal's Catholic population, subtracting the number of French from the total number of Catholics, assuming that all Anglophone Catholics were Irish. 1844 and 1851's numbers came from censuses taken, using the number of Irish born, and adding to it half of the native born Anglophone population, on the assumption that they were Irish.<sup>38</sup>

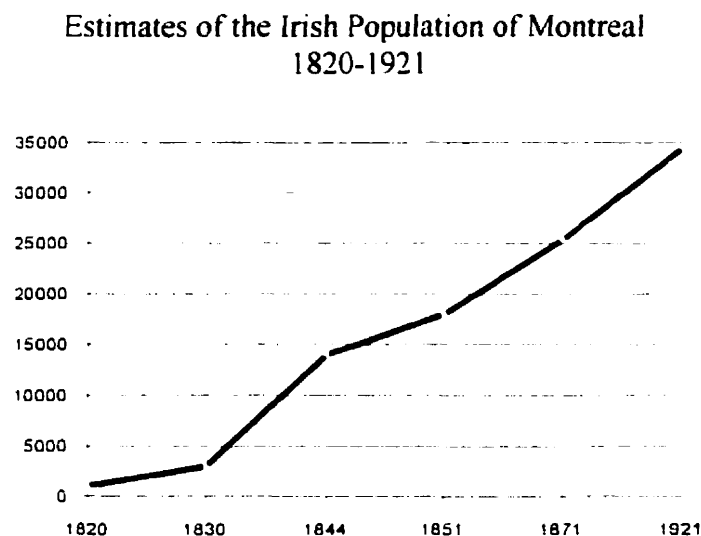
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<sup>36</sup> Hélène Grenier, "Les étrangers sous la régime français" in Les marginaux, les exclus, et l'autre au Canada aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, André Lachance, ed., (1996), 216. Through the naturalization records and the francized names, the Irish and other non-French appear in the colony. The Irish such as Teague Cornelius O'Brien became a part of the French Canadian population, adopting French sounding names such as Tec Corneille Aubry.

<sup>37</sup> The term Irish used in this thesis, unless otherwise stated, refers to both those of Irish birth and Irish descent, and those of all religious denominations.

<sup>38</sup> Raoul Blanchard, L'ouest du Canada Français Vol. I "Montréal et sa région", (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin Ltée, 1953), 257 & 9. See Chart 1.

CHART 1



Source: Blanchard, 257-259

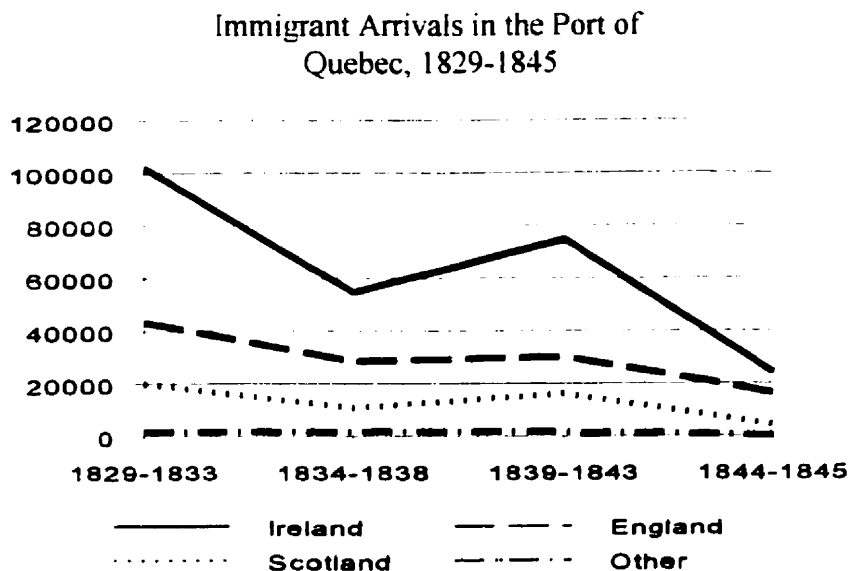
These numbers make assumptions about the ethnicity of the native born English-speaking population and the religion of the *Irish* population in Montreal. If anything, these statistics underestimate Montreal's Irish population. Regardless, they provide a convincing picture of rapid growth. The number of Irish passing through Montreal, especially in the later part of this study, was quite large. The Irish arriving in the port of Quebec far outnumbered other immigrant groups.<sup>39</sup> Thus Blanchard concluded that "la prééminence britannique qui affecte Montréal entre 1820 et 1871 est avant tout une affaire irlandaise."<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> See Chart 2.

<sup>40</sup> Blanchard, 259.

CHART 2



Source: Raymond Boily, *Les Irlandais et le canal Lachine- La grève de 1843*, (Ottawa: Les Éditions Lemeac Inc. 1980), 18.

### 2.3 The Seminary of Saint-Sulpice

The order of priests known as the Society of Saint-Sulpice, known also as the Sulpicians, was integral to Montreal's economic and religious life. Described by historian J.I. Cooper as "the master builders of Montreal" the Sulpicians assumed a dual role as Seigneur and pastor.<sup>41</sup> In 1663 they were granted the Seigneurie of the Island of Montreal, and another one further up the river. Another grant in 1717 down river, made the Seminary a major landowner.<sup>42</sup>

The Sulpicians' wealth came from other sources besides land. Their members often came from wealthy families, and because they were not obliged to turn this wealth over to the

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<sup>41</sup> Cooper, 24.

<sup>42</sup> Young, 7.



order, they were free to spend it as they chose. Many, both in the Paris Mother House, and in Montreal, contributed funds to the enrichment of the Montreal mission. These financial contributions, coupled with the careful management of their seigneurial revenues, aided the Montreal Sulpicians in their work in Montreal.<sup>43</sup>

The Sulpicians controlled the church within its seigneurial boundaries, even after the appointment of a Bishop in 1674. Trusted by successive Bishops in Quebec City, they were never visited by the Bishops' representatives as other regions were.<sup>44</sup> After the British Conquest, the Seminary found itself in a precarious position. The Quebec Act of 1774 guaranteed the Catholics the freedom to worship, but the properties held by the Seminary were not protected. The Paris Mother House turned over the properties held in New France to the Montreal Seminary in 1775, but the Seminary itself was not recognized as a secular institution, so its ability to operate as a property owner was compromised.

The Seminary continued to act, despite its difficulties in both its capacity of landowner, maintaining and improving its properties, and as Curé of Montreal, seeing to Montreal's spiritual needs and training priests. To accomplish these varied tasks, the Seminary developed an administrative structure. The head of the Seminary was its Superior. The Superior was elected for five year terms by its Assembly of Twelve. The Assembly was made up of members of the Seminary who were elected by their fellow assemblymen for life terms. It met a few times a year for extraordinary business. The Consulting Council had four members, elected by the

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<sup>43</sup> Prévost, 172.

<sup>44</sup> Lucien Lemieux, L'établissement de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada 1788-1844, (Ottawa: Éditions Fides, 1968), 143.

Assembly, and met regularly for decisions of ordinary business. The Superior presided over both the Assembly and the Council.<sup>45</sup> During the period under study, the post of Superior was held by three French-born men: Jean-Henri-Auguste Roux, Joseph-Vincent Quiblier, and Pierre-Louis Billaudèle.

The Fabrique of Notre-Dame was the Parish Council of Notre Dame. It met several times a year to discuss the spending of Parish funds on churches and schools. It was made up of members of the congregation, elected to the post by other Marguilliers. The Fabrique was theoretically separate from the Seminary, but it was highly influenced by the wishes of the Seminary.<sup>46</sup> The Superior attended the meetings of the Fabrique. A further exercise of control over the Fabrique was through the Procurator of the Seminary, its treasurer, who also acted as treasurer for the Fabrique. He held the power to veto any of the expenses approved by the Fabrique.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Young, 13.

<sup>46</sup> Richard Chabot, Le Curé de campagne et la contestation locale au Québec (de 1791 aux troubles de 1837-38), (Montreal: Hurtubise HMH, Ltée, 1975), 42 & 77.

<sup>47</sup> Young, 24.

## MAP 1

Montreal 1815



Sources: Based on Joseph Bouchette Map which appears on p 79, Jean Claude Robet, Atlas Historique de Montreal, (Montreal: Éditions Libre Expression, 1994). Using scale of map in Mark H. Choko, The Major Squares of Montreal, trans by Kathe Ross, (Montreal: Meridian Press, 1990), 23.

1. Seminary of Saint Sulpice and Notre Dame Church
2. Recollet Church
3. Chapelle Bonsecours
4. Grey Nunnery
5. Presbyterian Burial Ground
6. Harbour Gate Island

## CHAPTER 3 EVENTS

### 3.1 1817

In 1817, Father Richards, one of the priests of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, and a convert to the faith, learning that a few Catholics, speaking English were to be found in the city, sent them word to assemble on a certain Sunday in the Bonsecours, and that he would address them in their own language. He found the numbers so small that an adjournment was made to the Sacristy, where he delivered his instruction.<sup>48</sup>

The beginnings of the Irish Catholic community are thus described in one of the many anecdotal histories written after the fact, by members of the community and by the Montreal Catholic Church about Saint Patrick's. These histories offer the only currently available description of that community prior to the 1820s. There are no records in the Church archives which either support or question these descriptions.

These anecdotal histories are problematic, in as much as their sources of information are not indicated. What is clear is that the date of 1817, and the surrounding narrative, are taken as "truth" by the present-day Irish community, and by twentieth-century historians.<sup>49</sup> The story of the 'discovery' of the Irish varies somewhat among the various histories, but the main elements are similar.

The year 1817 is used as the key date in all but one of these histories. One nineteenth century history uses the date of 1815 as the time when "the Irish were first assembled by

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<sup>48</sup> Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, 103.

<sup>49</sup> J.I. Cooper's history of Montreal refers to the story of the Irish worshipping at the Bonsecours under Father Richards until the 1830s. Montreal- the Story, 70. Hustak in his history of Saint Patrick's also mentions the small number of faithful who met at the Bonsecours. Hustak, 18.

themselves, as a people, in the little church of [Notre Dame de] Bonsecours by the lamented Father Richards."<sup>50</sup> However, other sources indicate that the year 1815 was most likely not correct, as Father Richards did not join the Seminary of Saint Sulpice as a priest until February of 1817.<sup>51</sup> 1817 is also set as the date when the Irish in Quebec City first began to receive English services.<sup>52</sup> Thus, in the absence of primary evidence indicating otherwise, the year 1817 stands as beginning of English language services.

The story of the founding of English services is also problematic concerning the priest responsible for the Irish congregation, Father Richards. He is an enigmatic figure in the histories of the community, and his story is tinged with religious romanticism. According to Robert Lipscombe, Richards came to Montreal, an American Methodist preacher, filled with a great desire to convert the Gentlemen of the Seminary.<sup>53</sup> This mission was abandoned when he converted to Roman Catholicism. He became a priest, and returned to the Seminary as a member of the order. He served with the Seminary until his death from typhus in 1847, caught while tending the Famine Irish in the fever sheds of Montreal. The mystery about Father Richards concerns his life before his arrival in Montreal in 1807. Two places of birth are given for him: Baltimore and Alexandria, Virginia.<sup>54</sup> There is further confusion with Father Richards'

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<sup>50</sup> The Case of St. Patrick's, 19. See Map 1 for locations of Catholic Worship in 1815.

<sup>51</sup> Henry Gaultier, La Compagnie Saint-Sulpice au Canada, (Montreal: Séminaire Saint-Sulpice, 1912), 85.

<sup>52</sup> Marianna O'Gallagher, Saint Patrice de Québec- la construction d'une église et l'implantation d'une paroisse, trans. Guy Dore, (Quebec: La Société Historique de Québec, 1979), 30.

<sup>53</sup> Lipscombe, 3.

<sup>54</sup> Baltimore: Gaultier La Compagnie, 85. Alexandria: Lipscombe, 4.

name. He is known in the histories as Father Richards, Jackson John Richards and John Richard Jackson.<sup>55</sup> He signed documents discovered at the Church archives simply as Richard.<sup>56</sup>

The confusion over Father Richards makes his role in the discovery of the Irish congregation suspect. The histories wrote of the presence of the Irish Catholics among the French Canadians as if it was a discovery, but did Father Richards *discover* the Irish or was he made aware of them, and given them into his care by the Seminary. Richards had only just returned to Montreal after his ordination, and thus would not have had special knowledge of the population of the city and the needs of the Irish community. Priests already serving the Catholics in Montreal would most likely have been aware of the small English-speaking population worshipping in their churches. Having an English speaking priest join their order might have led the Sulpicians to assign the Irish at the Bonsecours to Richards' care. The credit of discovering the Irish might just be an addition to the many stories associated with this well-liked, and religiously-devout priest who died in his service to this community. His life as well as his death was as a perfect devout Catholic, serving God with the ultimate sacrifice.

The early religious life of the Irish Catholics of Montreal is only evident through these secondary sources. It is hard to ascertain the size of the population from them. The general consensus is that the English-speaking Catholics, generally referred to as Irish, as the majority of them were, numbered between 30 to 50 people. Many authors use the Montreal Directories of

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<sup>55</sup> Fr. Richards: among others- Patricia Miller. John J. Richards: Les prêtres de Saint-Sulpice au Canada- grandes figures de leur histoire, (Ste-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992), 270. John R. Jackson: McShane & Loye, 5.

<sup>56</sup> For example: 31 mai 1843, "Supplique de la Fabrique pour bâtir la futur [sic] église de S. Patrice", 901.145, 843, ACAM.

the period to determine the numbers of Irish Catholics. This population is hard to separate from the Irish Protestants who also made their home in Montreal. According to G.R.C. Keep, an 1819 directory lists “74 obviously Irish names.”<sup>57</sup> However, a family name is not an indication of religion. Moreover, many names which occur in Ireland such as Martin are also names familiar in other countries, and they therefore make the determination of ethnicity difficult.<sup>58</sup>

Evidence of a population of the Irish Catholics at the time comes from a request made by an Irishman named Ryan.<sup>59</sup> He wrote to the Fabrique of Notre Dame in February 1819 to ask permission from them to rent one of the houses attached to the Recollet Church. His aim was to establish “a respectable classical academy and as a Roman Catholic he looks [ed] entirely to the French gentlemen for patronage and support.”<sup>60</sup>

Whether this request was approved or not is unclear from the Fabrique’s minutes. Mr. Ryan’s request does indicate that an Irish (or English-speaking) Catholic population, requested that a school be established in church facilities. Mr. Ryan must have had expectations of a viable student body to open a school. His religion played a part in his appeal to the Fabrique; it is not unlikely that it was also important to the school, especially as he looked to the French gentlemen for patronage.

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<sup>57</sup> Keep, “The Irish Immigration”, 49.

<sup>58</sup> Directories were not consulted for this thesis because of this difficulty.

<sup>59</sup> The assumption that he was Irish was made on the basis of his name, which is one of the twelve most common surnames in Ireland. Edward MacLysaght, Irish Families- Their Names, Arms and Origins. (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1972), 29.

<sup>60</sup> Mr. Ryan, Montreal, 11 February 1819, to the Fabrique of Notre Dame de Montréal, Boîte 3, Chemise 4, AFND.

## ILLUSTRATION 1

Chapelle Bonsecours  
c. 1880



Notre-Dame-de-Bonsecours as it would have looked when the Irish worshipped there in the early nineteenth century.  
Source: C 24183, PAC. From Les Vieilles Eglises de la province de Québec, 1647-1800, (Québec, 1925), 30  
National Library of Canada.



### 3.2 1820s

The 1820s were a time of intense growth and change for Montreal. The city's population was growing rapidly, including the Irish Catholics. The Catholic church had to deal with this increase. Their flock was burgeoning, out-growing the facilities and personnel of the Seminary. The Catholic church was also undergoing great change as well. This change was because of the increasing numbers, and the changing attitudes of the clergy.

In 1800, Montreal's population was estimated at 9000 persons.<sup>61</sup> This number grew to around 20 000 in 1819.<sup>62</sup> Through the decade the Irish (determined by place of birth) tripled from 1000 in 1820 to 3000 in 1830.<sup>63</sup> This significant increase was a result of the ever-increasing immigration to British North America. Montreal, with its role as a commercial centre, was a magnet for those who chose not to, or were unable to work in agriculture.

Within the heart of this commercial and population growth there was the Seminary of Saint Sulpice. It had yet to settle its legal status with regards to its Seigniorial holdings, staying in what must have seemed like a perpetual legal limbo. The Seminary's role as religious master of Montreal's Catholic community was unchallenged until 1820. It was in that year that the Bishop of Quebec, Joseph-Octave Plessis received permission from the Pope to divide the responsibilities within his See to facilitate its administration. The Sulpician Jean-Jacques Lartigue was appointed as his auxiliary and Bishop of Telmesse (*in partibus*). His principle

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<sup>61</sup> Prévost, 197.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid 214.

<sup>63</sup> Robert Grace, The Irish in Quebec- An Introduction to the Historiography, (Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1993), 64. See Chart 1.

responsibility was for the Montreal region.

To the Sulpicians, this appointment was a direct threat to their authority. No longer were they to be left to their own judgement concerning the religious life of Montreal. This new Bishop would be able to over-rule decisions that before were made by them. That Lartigue was a Sulpician did not matter to the Seminary since it was his position that was a threat to the Seminary's power.

The Seminary of Saint Sulpice and the Fabrique of Notre Dame fought the Bishop at every turn. One of the areas of conflict with the newly appointed Bishop was over the use of the church of Notre Dame. As Notre Dame was the largest Catholic church in Montreal, the Bishop believed it to be the perfect place to establish himself, and oversee Montreal's religious affairs. The Marguilliers of Notre Dame did not feel the same way, so the episcopal throne was removed from the church while Lartigue was away.<sup>64</sup> In justifying this act, the Fabrique's lawyer O'Sullivan cited the change that the chair would signify to the church. The chair would make the church a cathedral, and such a change without the approval of the Marguilliers acting as the owners, on behalf of the parishioners, was illegal.<sup>65</sup> It was also a highly significant and public act- the removing the Bishop's chair from Notre Dame, since the congregation could not fail to notice its absence.

The actions of the Fabrique and the many letters written to Rome concerning the appointment indicate that the Sulpicians would have preferred that Lartigue choose a parish

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<sup>64</sup> Léon Pouliot, Monseigneur Lartigue et son temps tome I Les années de préparation (1799-1840. (Montréal: Éditions Beauchemin, 1955), 57.

<sup>65</sup> 1821, "Mémoire de Mr. O'Sullivan avocat, son opinion sur consultation du Marguilliers LaRocque, sur l'ingérence de Lartigue dans la Fabrique de Notre-Dame", 901.019, 821-2, ACAM.

south of the Saint Lawrence, outside of Montreal, for the seat of the bishopric.<sup>66</sup> Were he to stay in Montreal, it would appear that the Sulpicians were less powerful, and not in charge of the Montreal Parish.<sup>67</sup> The Bishop rather than residing in the Sulpician's Seminary, stayed at the Hôtel Dieu.<sup>68</sup> The Bishop, however, did wish to reside in Montreal and he was equally desirous to establish there his episcopal seat. Without the cooperation of the Sulpicians, the use of any of the three existing Catholic churches was out of the question. Thus began the building of a new Catholic church in Montreal- the Bishop's Cathedral.

The cornerstones for Saint-Jacques-le-majeur were laid and blessed in May 1823, and the church was opened in September 1825. It was a large building with room for around 3000 worshippers.<sup>69</sup> Only a year after the Bishop had begun his church, the Sulpicians began construction of a new Notre Dame to replace the existing one, built in 1672. The new Notre Dame was considerably larger than Lartigue's Saint Jacques Cathedral, measuring 3198 square metres to Saint Jacques' 1100 square metres.<sup>70</sup> Despite this massive difference in size, Notre Dame was only 500 seats larger in capacity.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> During the 1820s and into the 1830s, supporters of the Seminary wrote to anyone of authority in the Catholic Church, from the Bishop of Quebec to Rome itself, against Bishop Lartigue. The Bishop's supporters did likewise. A whole file at the Archdiocese of Montreal is devoted to complaints from those in the Seminary's camp made against the Bishop from 1820-1835. To judge by the language used by the letter writers, the struggle for ecclesiastical power in Montreal was fierce and divisive. 901.019, ACAM.

<sup>67</sup> Lemieux, 141.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. See Map 2.

<sup>69</sup> Prévost, 212.

<sup>70</sup> Measurements for St. Jacques are from Prévost 212, Notre Dame's from Gauthier, 233. St. Jacques= 50 m x 22 m; Notre Dame= 256 ft (78.0288 m) x 136 ft (41.45 m). Square meterage determined by multiplying the length by the width.

<sup>71</sup> Notre Dame Basilica Pamphlet, nd. Young lists the church's capacity at 4968, page 160.

The spate of church building could be seen simply as fulfilling the needs of the Catholics of Montreal. The city's growing population was served by only three churches: Notre Dame, the Bonsecours Chapel, and the Recollet church of Saint Helen's. These churches were becoming insufficient for the numbers of Catholics of Montreal.<sup>72</sup> However, the short period of time between the laying of the two churches' cornerstones must also be seen as a part of the conflict between the Seminary and the Bishop. The proximity of the two events were not coincidental. The massive size of Notre Dame church, compared to the Cathedral of Saint Jacques must also be seen as a part of the battle with the Bishop. That its size should be almost three times that of the Bishop's Cathedral, is a statement of the Sulpicians determination to dominate Montreal's religious life.

The conflict between the Seminary and the Bishop caused a great deal of difficulty for the Bishop in carrying out the tasks set out for him by his Bishop. In 1826 he wrote to his bishop, Bernard Claude Panet to explain his progress on fund-raising for the Seminary at Nicolet, but that there was great difficulty involved because of the Seminary's influence.<sup>73</sup> The conflict between the two Montreal ecclesiastical authorities obviously had significant consequences for the work of both the Bishop and of the Seminary.

But what of the Irish community? While disagreements were going on between the Bishop and the Seminary, the Irish Catholics were practising their faith at the Bonsecours, under

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<sup>72</sup> Lemieux, 124.

<sup>73</sup> "Quant à la souscription pour Nicolet, je la mettrai en vogue autant qu'il serra [sic] en mon pouvoir: mais aux [sic] l'opposition que le Séminaire de Montréal a toujours eu pour cet établissement, vous avez peu de choses à attendre de notre ville, et meme de plusieurs campagnes dont les curés sont sous son influence." Lartigue à Panet, 25 novembre, 1826. RLL 4, p.180, ACAM.

the Reverend Father “Richards”. The Irish shared their church, known to the community as the “Bosco”<sup>74</sup> with the French Canadians. This sharing of facilities was described by the J.J. Curran in 1902, as somewhat undesirable because “as usual, in like cases, a little friction occasionally arose between the two classes.”<sup>75</sup> This is the only source which states that there was discord between the two groups during this period. Incidents of friction between the two groups which occurred later on in the nineteenth century, could have influenced the author’s view of Irish-French Canadian relations.

The pressures of having two different congregations in one church must have been an inconvenience to both groups. Worshiping at the Bonsecours Chapel was described as a “double inconvenience of being too small and too distant for those living west of Place D’Armes.”<sup>76</sup> Bonsecours was and is a small church, and as the two churches of Notre Dame and Saint Jacques were under construction through most of the decade, the Roman Catholics of Montreal were yet to benefit from the expanded facilities. The Bonsecours had been renovated in 1816 to accommodate two new galleries for its increasing congregation, but the population was essentially still using churches built to meet the needs of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.<sup>77</sup> These churches despite some alterations over the years, were not meant to deal with such a large population, one that was still growing.

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<sup>74</sup> Robert Rumilly, Histoire de Montréal, (Montreal: Fides, 1970), 143.

<sup>75</sup> Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick’s Orphan Asylum, 105.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> J-M., Leleu, Histoire de Notre-Dame-de-Bonsecours à Montréal, (Montreal: Cadieux & Derome, 1900), 51. Illustration I.

The second inconvenience of distance for the Irish population was also significant.

While the community by later accounts appears to have been fond of the “Bosco”, it was situated quite a distance from where the majority of the population lived.<sup>78</sup> Montreal in the 1820s was still an area with farmland, and this farmland surrounded the concentration of population. Its urban core was not that large, and straddled the Island’s shoreline. For the Irish, as for others, choosing to live in Montreal proper, meant choosing a profession other than agriculture. In the case of Montreal, the *Irish* were associated with the work of a labourer<sup>79</sup>. They found this work in the burgeoning industries, and most noticeably on the Lachine Canal which was under construction in 1824 and 1825.<sup>80</sup> The Irish also worked as merchants and in professions.

The Lachine Canal was the area where the labour was employed. The map of Montreal of this period shows that the businesses which required low skilled labour were situated around the canal area.<sup>81</sup> Among the businesses in the Saint Ann’s and Recollet Suburbs (those closest to the Lachine Canal) were the Eagle Foundry, and a grist mill. The Irish lived near where they worked, and businesses catering to the service of this population did likewise. The area known as Griffintown was to take on an Irish personality.

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<sup>78</sup> See Map 2.

<sup>79</sup> Boily, 16.

<sup>80</sup> Serge Courville, ed., Atlas historique du Québec- population et territoire, (Ste Foy: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, 1996), 87. Guy Pinard, Montréal son histoire son architecture, (Montréal: Les Éditions La Presse, 1986), 167.

<sup>81</sup> See Map 2.

## MAP 2

Montreal 1839



Sources: Based on map in Newton Bosworth, The Early History and Present State of the Island of Montreal, (Montreal: William Grieg, 1839/ Toronto: Coles Publishing, 1974), insert. Using scale of map in Choko, 23.

1. Notre Dame and Seminary
2. Bonsecours
3. Hôtel Dieu
4. Lachine Canal
5. Recollet Church
6. Grist & Smut Mill
7. Eagle Foundry
8. Nail & Card Factory
9. Pearl and Potash Insp.

The walk west from Griffintown to the Bonsecours Chapel, to attend Mass was indeed far, approximately 5 km. Winter would have exacerbated the inconvenience of the hilly journey. With these conditions it was natural that the community would desire a change, or seek an alternative to the apparent discomfort of worship at the Bonsecours.

One alternative was not to worship at the Bonsecours at all. The major part of the Roman Catholic Mass was said in Latin, with the sermon being the only part of the service delivered in the vernacular. This being the case, many might have opted to attend mass in the church nearer to their homes at the Old Recollet church of Saint Helen's, even with a French sermon. The church had been abandoned by the Recollets after the Conquest in 1760 and had served as a church for various Protestant denominations, until it was reacquired by the Seminary for Catholic worship.

There is no direct evidence to indicate that the Irish worshipped at the Recollet in the early 1820s, but there is some indication that they did so. Mr. Ryan's request of 1819 for the use of a building that was attached to the Recollet church for the establishment of an academy, might be considered a sign of Irish use of the Recollet, as locating a school far from the homes of the students was not a sensible plan. Likewise, in 1822, Father Richards was given permission to establish an English school in the lower house of the Recollets.<sup>82</sup> That Father Richard's name was attached to the request is significant, because of his association with the Irish community. From these examples of the community requesting to use the Recollet, the impression is that they were orienting themselves around the church of Saint Helen's even

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<sup>82</sup> 19 mai 1822, Livre "B" Délibérations des Assemblées de Marguilliers du 9 août au 15 décembre 1833, 258, AFND.



though the English language services were still held at the Bonsecours.

With such obvious preference for the Recollet area it is not surprising that the English language services were moved to the Recollet church. Secondary sources generally place this move some time between 1829 and 1831. Most state 1830 as the time of this move, citing the renovations made to the church in 1830 as the signal for the creation of the Recollet as “the spiritual home of the English-speaking Catholics of Montreal.”<sup>83</sup> This date is very late for what must have been a fairly crowded Bonsecours church. Church sources point to a much earlier date of Irish habitation of the Recollet. The Irish must have received English language services at the Recollet from around 1825.

In 1824, the Fabrique of Notre Dame authorized the expenditure of 30 *piastres* for work on the Recollet church.<sup>84</sup> This renovation was put into the hands of a Marguillier and Father Richard. Again, his close association with the Irish community implies the ultimate end of these repairs to be the creation of an Irish church.

The most telling evidence, however, for the earlier assigning of the Recollet church for Irish worship is the petition of 1826. This petition addressed to the Marguilliers of the Fabrique, and signed by the members of a committee of parishioners of the Recollet indicates that the Irish community was already using the church for its English language services. In petitioning the wardens, the “Irish Roman Catholics of Montreal” first thank them “for your devoting them as a place of worship the Recollet church.”<sup>85</sup> The Irish Catholics had made their first move, and had

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<sup>83</sup> Loye & McShane, 10. Curran Fathers Dowd..., 8.

<sup>84</sup> 12 dec., 1824. Livre “B”, 277, AFND.

<sup>85</sup> “Lettre du [sic] Irlandais, 5 juillet 1826 RE- Récollet grand” Boite 3, chemise 17, ASSS.

established themselves a centre of religious worship and community.

The petition of 1826 brings forward other issues beyond establishing the date for when the Irish community began to worship at the Recollet. The petition is the first act found of the Irish Catholics acting as a community, and expressing their desire for recognition as such. The petition, coming so soon after receiving the larger and exclusive facilities of the Recollet church was interestingly timed- having a new church was not enough. The main question brought forth by the petition is the actual size of the Irish Catholic population. The statistics previously mentioned give only the numbers of Irish born, but this did not take into account the children born in Canada to these immigrants, and Irish born does not mean only Catholic. How big a church did the Irish congregation require to meet the requirements of its number? The petition asks that the Fabrique enlarge the Recollet church, and cites the population as the reason for the request:

... the Recollet church which your petitioners from their present increase find to be too small. That your petitioners have every reason to anticipate a progressive increase in their religious body. . . . That your petitioners therefore humbly expect you will take into consideration the comparative difference between the present limits of the church and its almost unlimited congregation.<sup>86</sup>

The request made by this committee talks of this growth, as it pertains to their own community. The Irish Catholics appeared, certainly to their own eyes, to be growing. This growth was expected to continue, and to continue at an extraordinary rate, hence an “unlimited congregation.” The community had expectation of being an ever greater presence in the future.

Included with the petition was an estimate for the enlargement of the church. It is

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

unclear if this estimate was generated by the “Irish Roman Catholics of Montreal” or by the Fabrique in response to the petition. The estimate was for an additional two aisles to the Recollet church, with each aisle measuring 36 feet square and 30 feet high.<sup>87</sup> As the Recollet was demolished in 1867, its exact size and capacity are unknown. It can be assumed that the actual Recollet church was equal in length to the proposed aisle additions. The additional two aisles would have added to the capacity of the church, and would have accommodated the expected growth. Thirty six square feet for each aisle does not seem that large, and if a drawing of the church as it appeared prior to any renovations can be used to gauge its size, it was not a large church to begin with.<sup>88</sup>

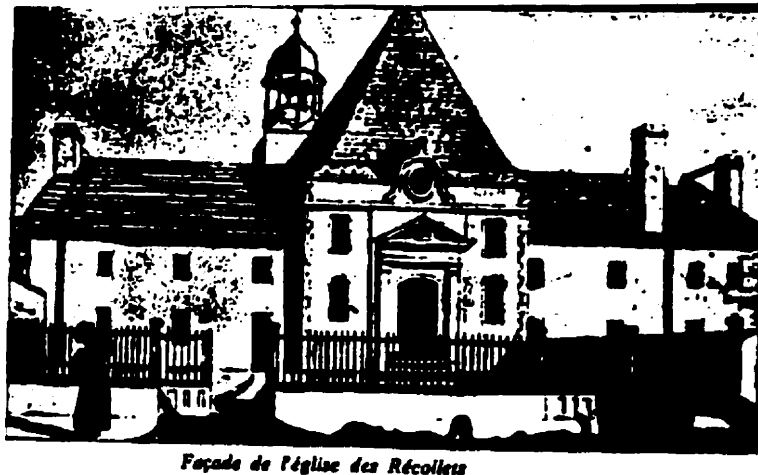
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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> See Illustration 2. Léon Trépanier, Les Rues du Vieux Montréal au Fil du Temps, (Ottawa: Éditions Fides, 1968), 85.

## ILLUSTRATION 2

Recollet Church, 1692



Source: Trépanier, 85.

The reaction of the Fabrique to this petition indicates the weight which such a request held within the church. The petition itself was not mentioned in the Fabrique's minutes of 1826, nor was any response to its concerns about size dealt with, following the submission of the petition. In January of that year the Fabrique had authorized a Father Quesnel to increase the number of pews in the Recollet church.<sup>89</sup> The petition was dated only six months later, which indicates that this increase of pews was not sufficient to fulfill the Irish congregation's perceived needs at the Recollet.

The Bonsecours Chapel and the Recollet church were owned and controlled by the Fabrique of Notre Dame, and the priests who worked in them were members of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice. Because of the close relationship between the Fabrique and the Seminary, any action taken by one had the sanction of the other, and as the Seminary was the power in the

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<sup>89</sup> 22 jan 1826, Livre "B", 284, AFND.

relationship, the actions of the Fabrique were the actions of the Seminary. The arrival of the Bishop into Montreal ecclesiastical life impacted on the worship of those speaking English. The erection of Saint Jacques provided Bishop Lartigue with a platform to serve the Catholics of Montreal.

The new cathedral was a distinct parish of its own, completely separate from the Parish of Notre Dame.<sup>90</sup> The details of its construction and operation were therefore the responsibility of the Bishop of Telmesse. In 1824 Lartigue wrote to the Bishop of Quebec outlining his plans for Saint Jacques. He planned on staffing the cathedral with three priests; one was to serve as his secretary, the other two would serve as priests for the congregation. He had very specific qualifications in mind for them. One would be a Canadian of serious disposition to carry himself with honour in Montreal. The other priest was to be of merit, and to speak English in order to preach and care for the increasing numbers of Irish Catholics, who were suffering the most.<sup>91</sup>

Lartigue spoke of increasing numbers of Irish Catholics coming into Montreal, and therefore asked for an Anglophone priest. The requested priest would have been in addition to the two English speaking priests of the Seminary already serving the Irish community at the Recollet.<sup>92</sup> The Bishop speaks of a need to serve the Irish population, but as stated previously, the Irish lived around the Recollet church. Saint Jacques was situated a great distance east of the

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<sup>90</sup> 29 août 1824, Livre "B", 273, AFND.

<sup>91</sup> "Assez bien l'anglais pour prêcher avec l'honneur dans cette langue car c'est maintenant la classe nombreux [sic] des Irlandais Catholiques qui est ici la plus souffrante; et il faudrait un homme de parols [sic] et de mérite, capable de la soigner." Lartigue à Plessis, 5 juin 1824, RLL 3, 36, ACAM.

<sup>92</sup> Fathers Richard and Patrick Phelan. Englishman Father Larkin joined the Seminary in 1827. "Listes des Dates d'Ordination des Sulpiciens venus au Canada 1659-1899" Section 28, Tiroid 107 #1, ASSS.

Recollet in the Saint Louis suburbs. This area was not an area of Irish settlement, in fact it was predominantly French Canadian.<sup>93</sup> So the offering of English services did not seem a very necessary addition to the church's repertoire.

Why would Lartigue feel it necessary to provide services for a community which did not reside in the Bishop's parish? It is evident even at the earliest period, that the religious needs of the Irish were met by the Seminary. The Bishop, being a new presence in Montreal, was not the obvious person to whom the Catholics would turn to in times of need. Lartigue was probably attempting to create a friendly gesture, to secure a relationship with the Irish community. Despite their "double minority" status, the Irish were still British citizens, and to offend them was to risk the wrath of the rest of the British population, especially those in authority. Having a priest in the Cathedral who could communicate with the Anglophone community, regardless of whether they worshipped there or not, was a political move.

The Irish, according to Lartigue were suffering. This is a popular image of the Irish as an object of charity, and is featured in the Seminary sources describing the establishment of Saint Patrick's and of the services procured for this early Irish community. In relieving the Irish in the city, Lartigue was demonstrating Christian kindness in helping those less fortunate than himself.

The Catholic church as a whole in Montreal underwent drastic changes in the 1820s. The introduction of a Bishop into the authority structure of the Montreal church began a battle of sorts, where the Seminary defended its authority against the intrusion of the Bishop. The building of the new Notre Dame and the Cathedral of Saint-Jacques-le-majeur were used as a play of one-up-manship. The £55,700 cost of building Notre Dame put the Fabrique heavily into

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<sup>93</sup> Choko, 112.

debt, a debt which lasted well into the 1880s.<sup>94</sup> It was a rather extravagant gesture to build a church larger than the Bishop's. These relations between the ecclesiastical authorities impacted on the Roman Catholics of Montreal, beyond having to help pay for the new building projects.

The Irish community of Montreal underwent some changes in the 1820s. With their increase in numbers Irish Catholics were able to obtain a church of their own, the Recollet, which was close to their homes, and which provided services in the English language. The additional services offered by the Bishop at his newly erected Cathedral, while not strictly necessary in light of the Cathedral's location, were indicators of the prominent position the Irish played within the Catholic church, at least in the Bishop's opinion. The petition of the committee of the Recollet congregation in 1826 indicate a beginning of community organization. Some members of the congregation organized themselves and petitioned the Fabrique to meet their present and future needs.

The Irish organization extended beyond their religious life. From what can be gleaned from the Irish Vindicator & Canada General Advertiser, a newspaper created by and for the Irish community, there were a few groups which met regularly and which identified themselves as Irish. The Friends of Ireland in Canada, also known as the Society of the Friends of Ireland, began in September 7, 1828, as a reaction to the news in Britain of Daniel O'Connell's election to Parliament. Because of the Test Act, which prevented Catholics from holding public office in Britain, the Catholic O'Connell was unable to take his seat. The Friends of Ireland were dedicated to "raising a fund to aid that distinguished body the Catholic Association of Ireland

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<sup>94</sup> Young, 160.

[O'Connell's organization], in the noble cause of civil and religious liberty.”<sup>95</sup> It was composed of some prominent members of Montreal's Irish community including John Donnellan and Dr. Daniel Tracey.<sup>96</sup>

Three meetings of this group were covered in the Vindicator. The Friends of Ireland met in December 1828 to discuss the honouring of fellow Irishman Jocelyn Waller, who had passed away earlier that year.<sup>97</sup> The society also met on Saint Patrick's Day “to enjoy in social intercourse [sic] the day on which Irishmen acknowledge themselves indebted for the greatest blessings under heaven that men can be said to possess.”<sup>98</sup>

The Friends of Ireland in Canada attracted both the Irish and Canadian-born. There were those of Irish birth living in Canada, who were still interested in the affairs of their homeland. Dr. Daniel Tracey, listed in the Vindicator as a member, was one.<sup>99</sup> He was born in King's County (now called Offaly County) in Ireland in 1794. He moved to Montreal in 1825.<sup>100</sup> Even those born in Canada maintained connections to Ireland. J.P. Sexton, another member, was an example of this. He was born in Quebec in 1808, to an Irish-born father.<sup>101</sup> Both men, as others,

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<sup>95</sup> Jack Verney, O'Callaghan- The Making and Unmaking of a Rebel, Carleton Library Series #179, (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994), 37.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. See Appendix 1.

<sup>97</sup> Irish Vindicator & Canada General Advertiser, 16 December 1828.

<sup>98</sup> Irish Vindicator & Canada General Advertiser, 20 March 1829. 3.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> France Galarneau, “Tracey, Daniel” in Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada Volume VI de 1821 à 1835, (University of Toronto Press/ Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1987), 864.

<sup>101</sup> Carman Miller, “Sexton, John Ponsonby” in Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume X, (University of Toronto Press/ Les Presses d'Université Laval, 1972), 646.



found a common ground with their Irish heritage and an interest in the political situation in Ireland. The society did not last very long. With the Test Act repealed in May 1829, the Society's purpose had been achieved. The Society wound up its affairs on the news of this event.<sup>102</sup>

The Hibernian Benevolent Society is the other organization which found itself listed in the pages of the Vindicator, during the 1820s. Its founding predates that of the Friends of Ireland, although it was only after 1829 that it began to regularly appear in the city's newspapers "The Society's single aim was to ameliorate the distress among immigrants resulting from their poverty. Its first concern was to raise sufficient money to permit it to fulfill its second, that of spending it in whatever ways its officers deemed to be the most beneficial for the Irish poor."<sup>103</sup>

The names of its members are revealed from the first mention of the Hibernian Benevolent Society in the Vindicator. It was an advertizement which provided an overview of the Society's annual general meeting and the election of the society's officers. Once again Dr. Tracey and J.P. Sexton, previously seen as Friends of Ireland, were elected as Vice President, and Committee member.<sup>104</sup>

From the petition of 1826 and these two societies, the Irish were creating an identity within Montreal both in the Catholic church and the city at large as Irish. They were organizing socially and politically, expressing their desires and meeting their needs through group action.

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<sup>102</sup> Verney, 38.

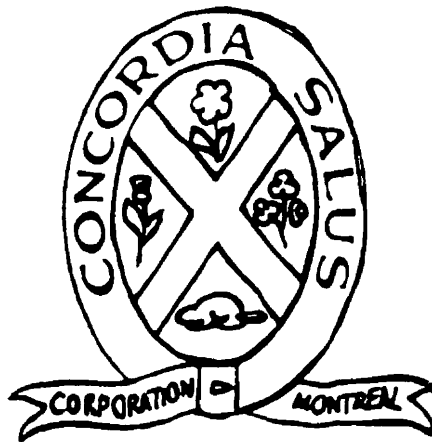
<sup>103</sup> Ibid (from the Canadian Courant, 13 November 1823).

<sup>104</sup> Irish Vindicator & Canada General Advertiser, 24 February 1829, 3.

### 3.3 1830s

#### ILLUSTRATION 3

Montreal's Coat of Arms



Source: Historic Montreal Past and Present, (Montreal: Henry Morgan & Co. Ltd. 1935), inside cover

The Irish were becoming a force within Montreal on account of their increasing numbers. The significance of the Irish in the life of Montreal was commemorated with the placement of shamrocks in its coat of arms, granted in 1832.<sup>105</sup> This decade was a decade of growth for the Irish population in Montreal. The majority of immigrants arriving in Quebec were Irish.<sup>106</sup>

The 1830s saw the rapid growth of the Irish population but the growth of its community organizations and the emergence of its community leaders. Newspapers were one aspect of this community growth. There were two newspapers in the 1830s which aligned themselves directly

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<sup>105</sup> Grace, 66. See Illustration 3.

<sup>106</sup> Boily, 18. See Appendix 6.

with the Irish community, going as far as including their allegiance in their names.

The Irish Vindicator was founded in 1828 by Dr. Daniel Tracey. Created as “an advocate of a suffering and long oppressed people”<sup>107</sup>, the newspaper was designed to represent the needs and opinions of the Irish people. As to any distinction between the Irish of Montreal, or those remaining in Ireland, there seems to be none made in the paper. The newspaper featured both groups in its pages. The front pages discussed the events and issues of Ireland, while the later pages dealt with more domestic news. Of the era’s newspapers read for this thesis, the Vindicator was the best source for evidence on Montreal’s Irish community.

The tumultuous 1830s are reflected in the pages of the Vindicator. Tracey used the pages of the Vindicator to denounce the situation in Ireland, of British rule there, and drew parallels with the French Canadians under British rule.<sup>108</sup> July 1829 the Irish Vindicator took the new name of the Vindicator, dropping the reference to its ethnicity. The paper published this explanation:

Since the decision of the Catholic question up to the present hour the title of our journal has been a matter of objection to many, and by none have we been urged to lay aside that mark of distinction, which circumstances and the æra of our commencement required, so warmly, as by our countrymen. In compliance with sentiments by which we would always feel anxious to be guided, and sensible that the same opinions, supporting the interests and rights of the people can be as well, if not better, maintained under an appellation which will apply to all indiscriminately in the Province, we have thought it more advisable not to persist in our nationality,

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<sup>107</sup> Irish Vindicator and Canada General Advertiser 12 December 1828.

<sup>108</sup> Maurice Lemire, “Les Irlandais et la Rébellion de 1837-8” in British Journal of Canadian Studies 10 #1, (1995): 4.

however pleased with it ourselves.<sup>109</sup>

The Catholic question mentioned was the issue of the British Test Act , which prevented Catholics there from many aspects of public life. It had been repealed that year. The Vindicator had dedicated many of its front pages to the subject of Catholic Emancipation, and thus had difficulties attracting a readership following its resolution. The newspaper's readership had apparently turned to its pages for the express purpose of keeping track of events concerning this issue, once the issue was resolved, the readers felt no need to continue reading the paper..

The paper also was dependant on the financial and moral support of the Friends of Ireland, which had disbanded with the repeal of the Test Act.<sup>110</sup> The paper was subsequently bought out, and its mandate altered to reflect its new ownership. It now attempted to appeal to a wider audience, one greater than those of Irish extraction. It is clear from the above quotation that the new ownership had given the Vindicator a new political agenda: to expand its readership to include more than just the Irish. To do so meant dropping its visible affiliation with one segment of the population.

The next year saw little mention of Montreal's Irish community within its pages. Even the celebration of Saint Patrick's Day, normally a highlight of the day's news, was omitted from mention. The day was commemorated in Montreal that year, and an accounting of it appeared in the Montreal Gazette<sup>111</sup>, but not in the newspaper created especially for the Irish community. The following years the paper returned to its usual coverage of the community without any

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<sup>109</sup> Vindicator and Canada Advertiser 28 July 1829.

<sup>110</sup> Verney, 48.

<sup>111</sup> Montreal Gazette 18 March 1830.

comment on the omission.<sup>112</sup>

In 1832 the founder of the Vindicator, Dr. Tracy died, one of the many victims of the cholera epidemic. He was replaced by Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, who moved to Montreal from Quebec City. He too was politically active. He ran the newspaper until 1837, when because of his role in the Rebellion, he was forced to flee to the United States. Until then, and despite the newspaper's name change, the paper remained a voice for the community.

Advertisements for various community activities and organizations appeared in the Vindicator, as did accounts of their events throughout this period. The paper continued also with its policy of writing about Irish issues, and in keeping with O'Callaghan's politics, more domestic issues.

The other newspaper which associated itself with the Irish community was the Irish Advocate. It was published in 1835-6 by a M. McGoran & Co. Its prospectus, published in the Quebec Mercury, proclaimed it to be a moderate reformer, combatting revolutionary ideas, which included colonial independence and responsible government, while denouncing the abuses of colonial administration.<sup>113</sup> The paper was "temporarily created to draw Irish support from the Vindicator and Canadian Advertiser, a stalwart proponent of the Patriote cause."<sup>114</sup> Its relationship with the Irish community can only come from speculation as no copies of it are now extant. The paper was edited by J.P. Sexton, a successful lawyer, and member of the Irish

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<sup>112</sup> The reporting of Saint Patrick's Day celebrations were also absent from its pages in 1837.

<sup>113</sup> André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, La presse Québécoise des origines à nos jours, (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973), 85.

<sup>114</sup> "Sexton, John Ponsonby", 647.

community.<sup>115</sup> The temporary nature of the newspaper could not have encouraged a rapport with the Irish community despite its Irish leadership and name. But, its creation emphasized the strength and identity of the community.

The Gazette, the Vindicator and the Transcript all reported on the community's activities, political, social and religious. There were many types of groups which attracted the Irish in Montreal to their ranks. The social organizations mentioned concern only the men of the Irish community, and not the women. If women were involved in them, it was in an unofficial capacity and therefore not evident through the newspapers. These groups identified themselves as Irish in their names, and thus, in some way, reflected the interests of the community.

The Friends of Ireland in Montreal first met in March 1831. It was a different organization from the one which had appeared in the 1828 Vindicator. It had begun in response to "late important intelligence from Ireland and other parts of Europe."<sup>116</sup> However, judging from the membership, the stated aims of the Society, and the obvious similarities of the names, this group was much like the one before. The president of the Friends of Ireland in Canada was William Campbell. He later served as Vice President for the Friends of Ireland in Montreal. Dr. Tracey was a member of both the earlier Society and of the newer one, signing their resolutions in 1831.<sup>117</sup> These resolutions, signed by Tracey and seven other "respectable Irishmen" were a part of an organizing meeting to form a society "to sympathise with the people of Ireland in their

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<sup>115</sup> See Appendix 1. Previously mentioned as a member of the Friends of Ireland in Canada in 1828. He was also a member of the Hibernian Benevolent Society and the Saint Patrick's Society.

<sup>116</sup> Vindicator, 11 March 1831.

<sup>117</sup> Vindicator, 15 March 1831, 3.

present distresses- to co-operate with them in such measures as may be deemed essential to their benefit.”<sup>118</sup> This new Society also desired to be more than just a forum for the politics of Ireland, but “also [to] consider itself a centre of union for Irishmen in Canada.”<sup>119</sup>

Mention of this club ceased after 1832, as apparently short lived as its predecessor- the Friends of Ireland in Canada. The Irish Literary Association was another apparently short lived group, whose existence was acknowledged only once in the Vindicator and no where else. In fact it acted as a spawn for the Friends of Ireland in Montreal. It was during a meeting of the Irish Literary Association that the Friends of Ireland were called to meet together.<sup>120</sup>

The Hibernian Benevolent Society was a much longer lived Society, founded in 1823 and surviving as a group until 1851.<sup>121</sup> The group was made up of both Protestant and Catholic Irish members. From the forty two names which appeared in the newspapers listed as members of the Hibernian Benevolent Society, six of them appear to have been Catholic.<sup>122</sup> They met quite frequently during the 1830s, as judged by the notices of meetings, and the minutes of such, which were published in the Montreal newspapers.

The minutes for the Society which appeared in the newspapers merely listed the newly elected officers, no resolutions or acts of the Society. The group was responsible for the

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Vindicator, 11 March 1831.

<sup>121</sup> Lyne, 94.

<sup>122</sup> See Appendix 1. Catholicism was determined through membership of the Catholic Temperance Society, signatures on Church petitions, or biographies which stated so.

organization of the dinner celebrations for Saint Patrick's Day in 1834 and 1835.<sup>123</sup> Other than these two occasions, the activities of the Hibernian Benevolent Society are not apparent from the newspapers.

The Saint Patrick Society was founded in 1834 to be an organization much like that of the Hibernian Benevolent Society. Due to a fire in 1872, which destroyed the Society's offices, its early records are no longer extant.<sup>124</sup> Its organization, membership, and activities were also featured in the newspapers of the day and can be known in the same way as the Hibernian Benevolent Society. Much more is known about the Saint Patrick's Society than the Hibernian Benevolent Society because the Society is still in existence, and because it was given more in depth coverage in the newspapers. This coverage included its resolutions and more descriptive accounts of its activities.

Looking at the positions to which the Society elected members, it becomes apparent that the Saint Patrick's Society was oriented towards charitable acts. Among the usual officers expected in any kind of organization, such as President, Treasurer, and Secretary, the Society also elected a Committee of Charity.<sup>125</sup> The presence of this committee would indicate the Society's charitable purpose. This committee however, is not the only indication of this. The Society was featured in the newspapers, and unlike the Hibernian Benevolent Society, its resolutions were also published. The Society stated in 1837 that "a retrospective view of the various combined causes, yearly prove from its beneficial influence, based upon the most

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<sup>123</sup> Vindicator, 18 March 1834. Vindicator, 20 March 1835.

<sup>124</sup> Cross, 158.

<sup>125</sup> Transcript, 4 March 1837.



philanthropic principles, devoted to acts of charity.”<sup>126</sup>

There was more to the Saint Patrick’s Society than the performance of charitable acts. It appears to have served both a social function and an improving one, citing the beneficial influence of charitable acts. The Management Committee reported in the same year as the comment on charitable work, on the more general philosophy of the Saint Patrick’s Society:

A retrospective view of the various events which marks its progress, the Committee feels a just pride in alluding to the high character of the Society has attained, the energy and perseverance displayed by its officers in the discharge of arduous and onerous duties, and the generous spirit of emulation evinced by every member, to promote, as far as lay within his power, that harmony, mutual forbearance, and good feeling, so essential to the prosperity, and so identified with the future existence of the Society.<sup>127</sup>

The Saint Patrick’s Society was clearly a social group which saw its purpose as an organization which provided more than social interaction. The high character of the Society was important, and obviously achieved through “arduous and onerous duties” and “generous spirit”- charitable works. The Society was concerned with its image as a group of men who were active, concerned citizens, who lived in peace with their neighbours. The wording also implies the self-improvement of the Society’s members, through charitable works.

The Hibernian Benevolent Society and the Saint Patrick’s Society were very similar. The Saint Patrick’s Society even assumed the responsibility for organizing the Saint Patrick’s Day Dinner celebrations in 1837, a job that the Hibernian Benevolent Society had previously

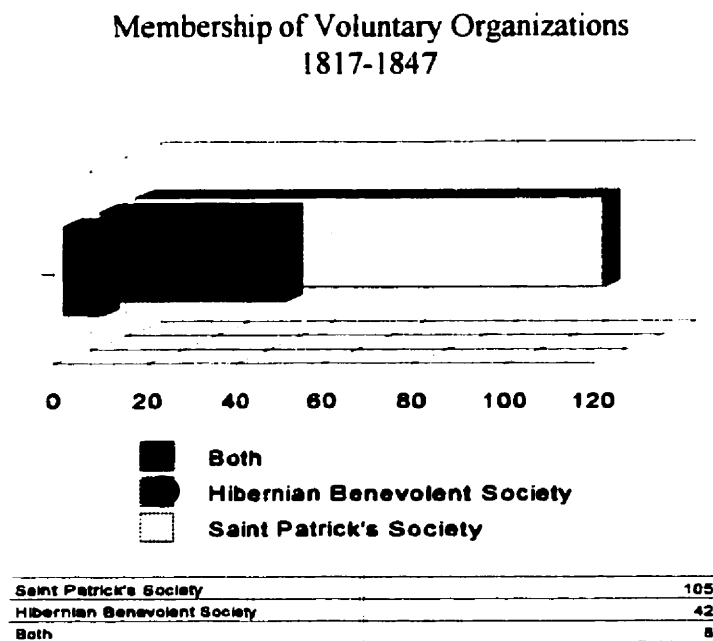
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<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

performed.<sup>128</sup> This reinforces the notion that both organizations were of a similar purpose. This leads to the question of why would there be two organizations that specifically oriented to the Irish community, which performed similar acts? The answer is that the two groups did not attract the same membership. Of the hundred and five individuals identified in the newspapers as members of the Saint Patrick's Society, and the forty-two identified as members of the Hibernian Benevolent Society, there are only eight who belonged to both.<sup>129</sup> The community was large enough and varied enough to support two organizations of similar natures.

CHART 3



The Saint Patrick's Society appears to have been more popular, or at least more populous

<sup>128</sup> Transcript, 4 March 1837.

<sup>129</sup> See Chart 3 & Appendix 1.

than the Hibernian Benevolent Society, with one hundred and five names attached to its roster during the period between 1834 to 1847. Of its members, sixteen were identifiable as Roman Catholics, although many more might also have shared this religion.<sup>130</sup> The Saint Patrick's Society was certainly helped in this with the position in their officers of Chaplain, a job held in this period, by the Reverend Father Patrick Phelan.<sup>131</sup> Father Phelan joined the Sulpicians of Montreal in 1825, and spent the next seventeen years as the spiritual leader of Montreal's Irish Catholics.<sup>132</sup> Father Phelan took over this flock when Father Richards was given the job of Curé of Notre Dame.

The Catholic church was very involved in the affairs of the Irish community. It was through the community's organizations that the church kept in contact with its Irish flock. Father Phelan's presence among the Officers of the Saint Patrick's Society was one way for the church to be a part of its parishioners' social life. This was a paternalistic approach, offering moral guidance for all aspects of their lives.

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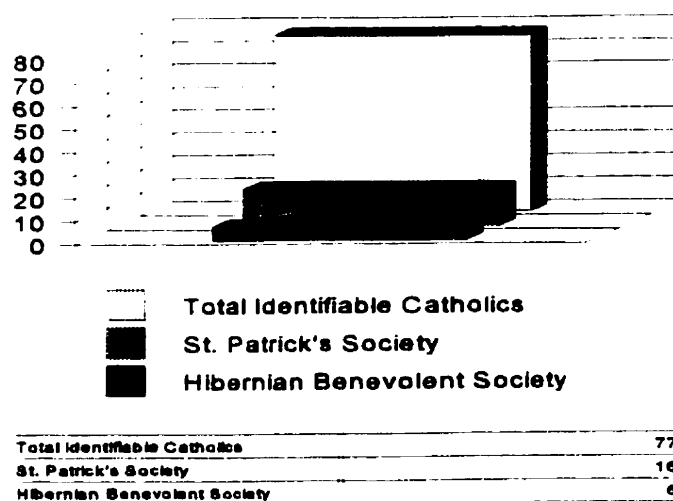
<sup>130</sup> See Chart 4 & Appendix 1. Catholicism was determined by the same standards as Chart 3.

<sup>131</sup> Transcript, 15 February 1838.

<sup>132</sup> J.E. Robert Choquette, "Phelan, Patrick" in Dictionnaire Biographique du Canada Volume VIII, 780.

CHART 4

### Catholic Participation in Irish Social Organizations 1817-1847



The most obvious connection of the church with the Irish community was in the celebration of Saint Patrick's Day. Every March 17<sup>th</sup> the Irish celebrate the feast of their Patron Saint. In modern times the Saint's day is commemorated by the wearing of the green, and the withdrawing to local bars to drink copious amounts of alcohol, especially green beer. Everyone is Irish for a day. The Irish community, then as now, held a parade through the streets of Montreal. It also held a celebratory dinner, which had some resemblance to the drinking parties held today. Newspapers of the era, for the most part, describe these dinners as dignified affairs with speeches and fine food.

The Roman Catholic church played a large role in the celebration of Saint Patrick's Day. Its commemoration lay in the original and religious purpose of the feast. As far back as 1822 the

Seminary celebrated Saint Patrick's Day with a special English language service.<sup>133</sup> The services for Saint Patrick's Day were not held at the Bonsecours or the Recollet Church in the 1830s, but at Notre Dame. The celebration of the Irish Patron Saint in what was often referred to as the "French church,"<sup>134</sup> was an unusual choice for such an Irish celebration.

The services held at Notre Dame, were services intended for all denominations- Protestant and Catholic. The service itself was a mass, said by a member of the Seminary. In some years it was the Reverend Larkin, in others the Reverend Phelan. From the newspaper accounts of the annual celebrations it seems that the Irish community began their commemoration of the Saint's day with a procession, or parade, which wound its way through the Montreal streets ending at Notre Dame. This parade was intended to be a show, and as a result those organizing it invited the Saint George, Saint Andrews, and German Societies to participate in the event, such as in 1837.<sup>135</sup> It seems likely that these other cultural organizations were invited in other years as the scale of the parade grew, especially in the 1840s. Despite the presence of these other ethnicities, there is no doubt that these events were intended as an Irish celebration.

Take for example, the celebrations of 1835, as described in the Montreal Gazette. According to the newspaper there was a procession before the service, and one immediately after, organized by the Saint Patrick's Society. The members "assembled at Sword's [hotel] this

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<sup>133</sup> 14 mars 1822, "Rescrit de la Congrégation des Rites qui Permet de célébrer [sic] solennellement la fête de Saint-Patrice dans l'église Notre Dame", T95; 96; 97 Section 27 Dossier 3 #36, ASSS.

<sup>134</sup> Montreal Transcript and Commercial Advertiser, 31 August 1843.

<sup>135</sup> Transcript, 4 March 1837.

morning at eight, in considerable numbers, and proceeded in a body to the parish church."<sup>136</sup>

They were accompanied by the band of the 24<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Following the service at the Parish church (another name for Notre Dame), the Society went back through the streets to their committee rooms at the Swords Hotel. "The Society. . . returned to their committee room, from the window of which was displayed a rich and elegant green banner, bearing the appropriate device of the Irish harp and wreath, with the motto *Erin Go Bragh*. The exhibition of this national standard was received with hearty cheers by the assembled populace."<sup>137</sup>

The church service, as stated before, was held before a mixed religious congregation, the only unifying element being the Irish heritage of those present. The service was a Catholic service, a "grand High Mass".<sup>138</sup> The sermon was preached by a Catholic priest on various subjects such as the house of industry, and the story of Patrick's conversion of Ireland to Christianity.<sup>139</sup> This form of commemoration of the holiday seems to have been accepted by the Protestant Irish community, who attended these services. The church of Notre Dame was well attended by the Irish community, which filled its "ample space."<sup>140</sup> These people left the building speaking well of the experience. The sermon for example, "has been well spoken of by our Protestant brethren present."<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Gazette, 17 March 1835, 2.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Vindicator, 18 March 1831.

<sup>139</sup> Gazette, 17 March 1835, 2.

<sup>140</sup> Irish Vindicator and Canada Advertiser, 20 March 1832.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

Saint Patrick's Day celebrations continued on into the evening. The various societies, depending on the year, organized elaborate dinners to honour Saint Patrick's Day. The dinners were not always held on that day, if March 17<sup>th</sup> were a Sunday, and one year it was not held at all, due to illness in Montreal.<sup>142</sup> These elaborate dinners had innumerable speeches and toasts. The event was open to all Irish, regardless of their faith, but judging from the toasts made, the event attracted more Catholics than Protestants.

The following toasts were given from the chair and drank with enthusiastic applause- . . . His Majesty King George the Fourth. . . His Excellency Sir James Kempt. . . the Gallant and Good Marquis of Anglesea [former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland]. . . Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association. . . the day. . . Rev'd Mr. Phelan. . . His Lordship the Bishop of Telmesse and RC Clergy of Lower Canada. . . The Rev'd Mr Esson and our Dissenting Brethren. . .<sup>143</sup>

The order that these toasts appear is very telling, in that the Friends of Ireland in this year honoured what was essentially the Catholic portion of the population and representatives of the Catholic Irish issues of the day first. It began with the Marquis of Anglesea, a pro-emancipation Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, then a Catholic Irish leader and his association, the Montreal priest Phelan and his Bishop before honouring a Protestant minister, who was apparently present at the dinner. His dissenting Irish brethren are honoured after him. The Protestants were therefore acknowledged, but the priority was placed with the Catholics.

Saint Patrick's Day is not the only cultural celebration associated with the Irish. Orangeman's Day, celebrated on July 12<sup>th</sup>, commemorates William of Orange's (William III) victory over James II in 1690 at the Battle of the Boyne, and his subsequent control of Ireland.

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<sup>142</sup> Transcript, 4 March 1837.

<sup>143</sup> Irish Vindicator and Canada Advertiser, 20 March 1829.

This holiday is closely associated with the Protestant Irish, and was never commemorated by the Irish Roman Catholics. In Ireland today, the day is commemorated in a sectarian manner, often leading to conflict and death. There is very little evidence that this day was celebrated in Montreal with any pomp, as exhibited by Saint Patrick's Day celebrations. A mention in newspapers of its celebration does occur in 1825, when an "Orange row" occurred during the festivities: "On the 12<sup>th</sup>, being the anniversary of some great event among the 'King William Boys' a number of Irish celebrated the day according to 'use and want'."<sup>144</sup> The description of the day contrasted with the more favourable descriptions of Saint Patrick's Day which appeared in the Gazette. The fact that a fight occurred during the celebration that particular year, might have coloured its coverage or ensured its inclusion. Its commemoration otherwise was not included in the newspapers during the period under study.

While Orangeman's Day might not have been a great event in Montreal, the Orange Order existed in British North America. The Order was founded in Ireland in 1795, and was "pledged to maintain the Protestant succession."<sup>145</sup> This pledge was only window dressing for pro-Protestant, and very anti-Catholic leanings. The order was very active in Ontario, but not as much in Quebec. The Order as an organization was not evident in the newspapers, but the use of the term Orange was. It was used in describing some members of Montreal's Irish community.

It was just prior to the celebrations of Saint Patrick's Day in 1835, that specific references to the Orangemen of Montreal appear. The March 13<sup>th</sup> issue of the Vindicator that year had several articles concerning the planning for the upcoming events. Both the dinner and

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<sup>144</sup> Montreal Gazette, 16 July 1825.

<sup>145</sup> J.P. Kenyon, ed., Dictionary of British History, (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1992), 267.



the church service were in danger of some kind of disruption because of the participation of these 'Orangemen'. The service, held as usual at Notre Dame, was being planned and organized by people whom the unknown author of the article felt were disreputable, to say the very least:

Tuesday next the festival of the Patron Saint of Ireland has been taken possession of by the Orange faction of this city. who with a few of their deluded dupes, propose to give a public dinner in the evening in celebration of the day, to walk in procession in the morning to the Parish Church, headed by the Military of the Garrison.

The collectors are already appointed. They are, as we understand, Messrs Doyle, Begly, and Rossiter. It is a source of general regret that a more proper selection was not made, as it is notorious that Messrs Doyle & Co have made themselves already too obnoxious by heading an Orange Mob at the last West Ward election. Collectors of this description cannot expect to get much from the Irish Catholics of this city.<sup>146</sup>

The accusations that the Messrs Doyle, Begly, and Rossiter were members of the Orange 'faction' is intended to discredit the gentlemen concerned. The tone of the article alone leads to this impression. The above gentlemen were closely associated with the Catholic church, and it is likely then that these men were Catholic. Begly was a member of the Catholic Temperance Society, while Rossiter and Doyle are two names associated with the later Saint Patrick's church building committee.<sup>147</sup> It also seems unlikely that the Catholic Church officials would permit non-Catholics to collect monies during a Catholic mass.

The Saint Patrick's Dinner was likewise predicted to be a disaster:

Everyone has heard of the Frenchman who learned from Johnson's dictionary, that oats were in Scotland the food of men, and in England the food for horses, and who

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<sup>146</sup> Vindicator and Canadian Advertiser, 13 March 1835.

<sup>147</sup> See Appendix 1.

consequently felt a great curiosity to attend a meeting called for the consumers of oats, in order that he might witness with what decorum a meeting between Scotch men and English horses would be conducted.

Now as we do not believe such a meeting would be one half as ludicrous as the assemblage of Tories and Orangemen who intend to dine in honor of Saint Patrick, on Tuesday, at the Theatre. Oh! These Tories are good at a trick. An Irishman dining at that table will have to wash himself many times before he becomes a true Irishman.

The Ladies they say are to look down from the boxes. We Hope the women will decline the invitation. A drunken debauch is not a scene for ladies' eyes.<sup>148</sup>

Again, very harsh words are used to describe and ridicule this proposed scene of conflict. Saint Patrick's Day celebrations were expected to be unpleasant. The descriptions here also lead to the idea that the Orangemen were not really Irish, not worthy of such an appellation.

The edition of the Vindicator which followed Saint Patrick's Day did not report on any such disasters occurring. In fact, the dinner held at the Theatre was not reported on at all. There was another dinner held at the home of E.E. Rodier, Esq, and organized by the Hibernian Benevolent Society, which was reported in the pages of the Vindicator. Its highlights filled two pages of the paper.<sup>149</sup> The dinner held at the Theatre was not ignored in the Montreal Gazette. This dinner was apparently sponsored by the Saint Patrick's Society. It was "an imposing spectacle rarely witnessed in Montreal."<sup>150</sup> Had the event held at the Theatre been the predicted spectacle, its description as such would have appeared in the both newspapers. Newspapers have always been keen to publish stories of disaster and controversy. It was most likely a result

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<sup>148</sup> Vindicator and Canadian Advertiser, 13 March 1835.

<sup>149</sup> Vindicator and Canadian Advertiser, 20 March 1835.

<sup>150</sup> Montreal Gazette, 17 March 1835, 2.

of conflict between the two Irish societies.

What becomes obvious from the celebration of Saint Patrick's Day, even with the rivalry between societies, is that it was a community celebration by the Irish community, irrespective of religious denominations. These celebrations centred on a religious event, and so involved religious ministers. In Montreal, Saint Patrick's Day was centred on the Catholic Church, and it was through the church that it was commemorated. The community organizations while secular in nature, included the Catholic church in its secular celebratory dinners with their toasts to the Catholic Church and its personages. It included the church by staging its marches to or from the Notre Dame church.

This increasing Irish awareness and the creation of its community and social groups in Montreal was reflected in its relations with the Catholic Church. The community was still using the Recollet church as its centre of worship. Saint Patrick's Day celebrations aside, it was at the Recollet where Irish Catholics celebrated their spiritual life. The growth of their social and cultural life was accompanied by an increase of their numbers, who were in turn, gathering every Sunday at the Recollet to hear Mass.

## ILLUSTRATION 4

Recollet Church  
1867



Recollet Church photo taken prior to its demolition in 1867. The facade is that of the old Notre Dame Church, from renovations made in 1830. Note the change in roofing, which would indicate the area of addition. For comparison see Illustration 2.

Source: PA 51793, PAC.

There came a point where the Church was no longer able to accommodate them. From the petition of 1826, it was clear that the Recollet church was not that large. By 1830 the Recollet Church had insufficient room to house its existing congregation. In January of that year the community asked the Seminary to effect some kind of repairs to the church. Who made the request is not clear, nor are the exact nature of the repairs to the church. What is clear is that the repairs were going to involve a lot of money, and the Seminary was loath to part with the funds to finance them.

In consequence of the extraordinary expenses for repairs of the repairs [sic] of the Recollet Church and the low state of our funds, the very Reverend Mr. Roux of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice in Montreal, has granted permission to the Reverend Mr. Richard, as Chaplain to the Irish Congregation in said Church, to sing High Mass occasionally here for all such person or persons, as may hereafter require it, and to receive the same retribution for it, that is usually given in the Bonsecour [sic] Church, provided however that the profits arising from such Masses shall be scrupulously appropriated to the rise of the said Recollet Church.<sup>151</sup>

By granting a High Mass to a chapel of ease such as the Recollet, the Seminary was making the Irish congregation responsible for the repairs to its church. What is curious about this granting of the right to sing High Mass, beyond the obvious lack of detail on the “extraordinary expenses for the repairs” and the type of repairs under consideration, is the granting of the permission itself. Its granting in 1830 implies that it was not previously available at the Recollet, but was available at the other chapel of ease, the Bonsecours.

The singing of High Mass was a very impressive service which involved a great deal of

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<sup>151</sup> 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, p. 2, ASSS.

pomp and ceremony. High Mass was not a regular service, so when it was said, it would be expected to bring in extra donations during collection. This would be borne out by the proviso for the disposition of the profits towards the repairs of the church.

The funds raised by the introduction of High Mass apparently were also insufficient to the task, just as the funds of the Seminary were. In June 1830, the matter was brought up for discussion during a meeting of the Fabrique of Notre Dame. Here more details are provided concerning the intentions of the Irish community towards the remodelling of their church:

The Irish Catholics of Montreal have proposed to elongate the Recollet Church, and to have with this extension one or two Rood screens and to advance the necessary funds towards it. . . and ask that stone from the old Notre Dame and its great doorway of stone also be given to make the front of the said extension.<sup>152</sup>

The Irish wished to elongate the church substantially to accommodate the increasing numbers of attendees. This was expected to cost a great deal of money. This was money that the community was unable to raise on its own hence the move by the Seminary in granting the singing of High Mass and the approach to the Fabrique in June. The Fabrique was asked to support the task when the sum expended exceeded £100, and to provide materials salvaged from the old Notre Dame church, which after the opening of the new Notre Dame in 1829 was being dismantled.<sup>153</sup> The amount of money the community received from the Fabrique was £500, under the supervision of two of the Marguilliers- Messrs Berthelet and Souigny, and on the

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<sup>152</sup> “Les catholiques irlandais ayant proposé de faire allonger l’Eglise des Récollets, de faire dans cet allong[sic] un ou deux jubés et d’avancer les deniers nécessaires à cet effet. . . et aussi demmandent que la pierre de taille dite portail en pierre leur soit donnée pour faire le front de ladite allong.” Livre ‘B’, 6 juin 1830, p. 324-5, AFND. See Illustration 4.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid*, 324.

understanding it would be repaid by the congregation through its collection. They also received the old stone they required from the old Notre Dame along with any other objects they might require.<sup>154</sup>

The community asked for one or two Rood screens in the elongation. Since it is not a defined unit of measure, the size of the renovation is unclear from these primary sources. It seems rather irresponsible to grant such large sums of money on the basis of such vague descriptions, but the minutes of the Fabrique tended only to mention the decisions of the body, and left out much of the details of discussion. Monique Montbriand, in an article about the Recollet Church, stated that in 1830 “the old facade was demolished and elongated with an additional twenty feet. This addition was closed off by the reconstituted facade of the old Notre Dame church.”<sup>155</sup> How much of an enlargement twenty feet was for the Recollet church is impossible to know, since the Recollet’s size is unknown. Twenty feet should have accommodated several rows of benches, and consequently quite a number of parishioners.

This extension to the Recollet church was still insufficient for the needs of its growing Irish congregation. In 1833 the situation apparently worsened, leading to the congregation organizing itself again and petitioning the Catholic Church for a resolution. In fact, the community submitted three petitions, all dated January 1833: one was addressed to Bishop Lartigue, and two to the Superior and the Gentlemen of the Seminary. One of the petitions

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 325.

<sup>155</sup> “Alors que son ancienne façade est démolie et qu’une allonge de 20 pieds est ajoutée. Cette allonge est fermée par la façade reconstituée sur place de l’ancienne église Notre Dame.” Monique Montbriand, “L’église des Récollets à Montréal (c.1703-1867)” in Cahier de la Société Historique de Montréal Vol 2, #2-3 (Mars/juin 1983): 132.

addressed to the Seminary included the signatures of five hundred and ninety members of the congregation of the Recollet Church, while the other was signed only by five people, a committee of the above congregation.

The five men who signed as the committee of the “Irish and other Roman Catholics of this city speaking the English language”<sup>156</sup> in the petition addressed to the Seminary, were not exactly the same men who signed the petition addressed to the Bishop. The Bishop’s petition was signed by six men, having only three in common with the Seminary’s petition. These three men were P.N. Rossiter, Andrew Doyle, and Denis Cotterell.<sup>157</sup> According to both petitions these men “were appointed and constituted a deputation by and on the part of the said meeting to wait upon your Reverence(s) to expose the facts contained and set forth in this petition.”<sup>158</sup>

The petition to the Seminary, signed by the congregation was meant to impress. The entire petition and its signatures were on one large piece of paper (composed of several smaller pieces of paper glued together) which by its size leaves an impression of urgency and strength. The number of signatures of course also was meant to impress. The majority of those who signed the petition, described as “forming a considerable portion of the congregation attending Divine Service in the Recollet Church,” were men.<sup>159</sup> These men were probably the heads of households. The few women who signed the petitions, signed for the most part, not with their

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<sup>156</sup> January 1833, Petition to Quiblier and Seminary from Irish community for a church, Section 27, route 2, T-97, #189, ASSS.

<sup>157</sup> Rossiter and Doyle were the same two who were accused of being Orangemen in the Vindicator of 1835.

<sup>158</sup> Section 27, Voûte 2, T-97, #187& 189. ASSS.

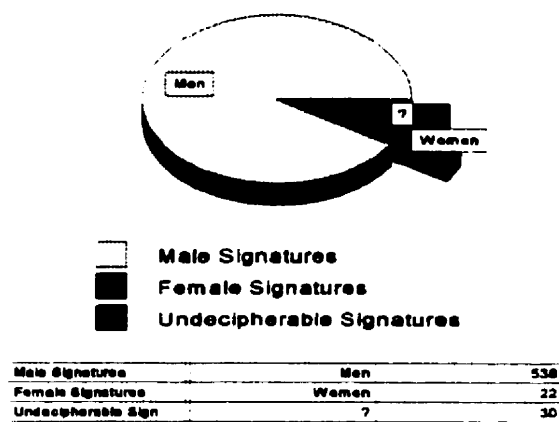
<sup>159</sup> Ibid, #189. See Chart 5.



first and last names, but rather as widows, for example “Widow Braget”.<sup>160</sup> This reinforces the belief that the petitioners were heads of households as women were regarded as heads of household only on the death of their husbands. The number of signatures, if they were heads of households, suggests that the Catholic Irish population was significantly larger than 600 people.

#### CHART 5

Petition Signatures, 1833



The content of the three petitions were very similar. Each petition began with an introduction, stating that the members of the Irish and other English speaking Catholics of Montreal had met together and had set themselves up to put their concerns to the church authorities. This was then followed by an accounting of the problems the community was experiencing with the services held at the Recollet.

The first concern was the size of the Recollet church and the inconveniences that it caused as a result:

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid, #188.

That the said church has for many years past been too limited in extent, and incommodious in other respects to contain or accomodate [sic] the persons in habit of attending thereat, and at this particular period, is not capable of containing one half the persons composing its said congregation: in consequence whereof disorder and confusion not unfrequently occur in the unsuccessful attempt made by all to assist at Divine Services therein.<sup>161</sup>

This point of the smallness of the Recollet is then emphasized by the following:

That from the preceding disclosed causes, the aisles of the said Church at an early period in the morning, and previously to the commencement of the Holy Sacrifice therein performed, are occupied to repletion by persons who from necessity place themselves therein, but who nevertheless prevent the holders of pews from obtaining access to their seats, and compel many to remain out of doors and attempt an observance of the rites of their Holy Religion in the street, whereby they are subject to frequent interruption in their devotion, often exposed to the ridicule of the irreligious, and totally deprived from benefiting from Sermons and other religious instruction. What the same causes the occasion the utmost confusion at the period the Blessed Sacrament is administered, communicants being obliged to force their way from different parts of the Church, and too frequently trample parts of the crowd collected in the aisles, a circumstance as indecorous with deference to the solemnity of the occasion, as it is painful to the feelings of those thus forced into contact.<sup>162</sup>

The Recollet church, through these descriptions, pictured of one which was full to overflowing. Its congregation were forced to endure conditions which were unacceptable, virtually fighting through the people to receive the various rites of the church. The crowding affected both the poorer members of the congregation, and the richer members, who had the wherewithal to purchase pews in the church. The emphasis of these complaints wisely

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid, #187, #188, & #189.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

concentrates on the difficulty in receiving Communion and Church services rather than the discomfort that these conditions must have caused. The above conditions were not the only concern of Montreal's English speaking Catholics. These paragraphs, discussing the Recollet church are followed by other types of complaints in regards to church services:

That the hour of eight o'clock AM at the said church is extremely inconvenient to all the constituents of your petitioners, and one at which domestics and persons under the controul [sic] of others, find it impossible to attend it being a period when their services are indefresibly [sic] required by their employers.

That the constituents of your petitioners being unacquainted with the French language do not comprehend the Sermons and religious doctrines from time to time delivered in that language, in the other Roman Catholic churches in this city, and can consequently derive little if any advantage in the event of their attendance.<sup>163</sup>

This community obviously felt that it was not being well-served by the Catholic Church, either for those within its own church, and for those who worshipped outside of the Recollet church. The concern still was for the ability of the faithful to receive the rites and services of the church. The language of these complaints expressed no criticism, just fact. The point of these three petitions was to remedy these problems. The community had a very clear solution to what was considered the major problem- the inadequate facilities at the Recollet church. Here again, all three petitions are in agreement:

That to remedy the evils and inconvenience above mentioned the constituents of your petitioners are desirous to build in this city at their own expense, a Roman Catholic church to be called Saint Patrick's church, and the temporalities thereof to be vested in certain persons and their successors to be named hereafter by the constituents of your

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

petitioners in trust for the said congregation.<sup>164</sup>

The petition to the Seminary, which was signed by the congregation, offered the same solution, but couched it differently:

[we] beg leave to solicit your concurrence in approving, aiding, and assisting them either to enlarge the said Recollet Church or build on its place; that may be sufficiently large enough to contain the actual increasing Irish congregation. Your petitioners who feel disposed to contribute to according their means to the erection of said church, either by voluntary subscription or otherwise.<sup>165</sup>

This particular petition does not use the name Saint Patrick, yet it still offers a solution to the difficulties experienced by the congregation- rebuild the Recollet, or build a new church on the Recollet site, at the expense of the community itself. All the community asked for was permission. As for the other difficulties, it is only in the petition to the Bishop that a further request was made, and that was for more priests:

That your petitioners are also desirous of obtaining a regularly educated clergyman speaking the English language to take charge of the congregation, who hereby bind themselves to provide for the said clergyman such salary as may be adequate to his support.<sup>166</sup>

The request for an English-speaking priest to the Bishop is in direct contradiction to the part of the text in the signed petition to the Seminary, in which the congregation expresses its satisfaction with the Gentlemen: “That it is the unanimous desire of the congregation and your petitioners [sic], to remain under the spiritual guidance and direction of your Reverences; and

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid, #189 & #187.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, #188.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, #187.

consequently require no other clergyman than those whom the Bishop and you shall be pleased to appoint, to aid and assist you for the spiritual interest of your petitioners.”<sup>167</sup> No priests are asked for, the congregation merely places its faith in the Seminarians.

So what is the significance of these three petitions? Firstly, the addressing of the petitions to both the Bishop and the Seminary, rather than the Seminary alone is significant, since appeals prior to this were directed only to the Seminary. The conclusion of the text of the petitions differed between recipients. The Bishop was asked to provide more priests, the Seminary was merely given an reaffirmation of the loyalty of their Irish congregation, and their faith in the ability of the Gentlemen to provide for them. This might have been a political move, a way to stay in the good graces of both the Bishop and the Seminary, who, while not actively in conflict at this period, were not on the best of terms. It was a way to ensure that their request was granted by either one party or the other. The varying request might also have represented the perceived limits of both parties. The Bishop did not receive a petition with numerous signatures, so the main thrust of these requests must have been towards the Seminary.

Secondly, it is clear that the twenty feet that had been added to the Recollet in 1830 was insufficient even at that date for the population’s needs. The Church “has for many years past been too limited in extent, and incommodious in other respects to contain or accomodate [sic] the persons in habit of attending thereat.”<sup>168</sup> From the description of the aisles being full, and pew holders unable to reach their assigned pews, with some parishioners preferring the outdoors to escape the crush inside, these petitions present a picture of suffering greatly for the sake of

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid, #188.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. #187-189.

religion. The French-speaking population now had more than adequate facilities with the new Notre Dame and the Bishop's Cathedral of Saint James, and this must have played a role in the Irish dissatisfaction with their own crowded facilities. It must have provided a sharp contrast between the large new churches, and the old 17<sup>th</sup> century Recollet.

Lastly, the petition shows, through the complaint about the services conducted by French-speaking priests at other churches, that the English-speaking Catholics did not only worship at the Recollet, but also used the other Catholic churches for worship. The histories of Saint Patrick's never mentioned this, rather they refer to the Recollet as the exclusive place of worship for the Irish, and this was obviously not the case. It also leads to the assumption that many Irish attended churches in other localities because they lived in those areas, or that the conditions were bad enough at the Recollet that some Anglophones were going to other churches that provided no English instruction just to avoid these conditions.

The petitions proposed a solution to the authorities of the Catholic Church, to either expand the Recollet even further, or to build a new church in its place. The church did not respond to this request, as far as their records indicate. The Archdiocese's archives no longer even contain the petition sent to the Bishop. It is only known through a copy made by the Bishop's then Secretary Ignace Bourget, which now resides at the Seminary alongside the two other petitions. Nowhere within the minutes of the meetings of the Fabrique of Notre Dame is the petition discussed as either being under consideration, or even as having been received. The city's newspapers were equally silent about any activity of the collection of signatures, or of any results.

If the conditions at the Recollet were as bad and as longstanding as the petitions of 1833

intimate, why was it at this point when the Irish met and circulated their petition? A lot of the decision could be associated with the activities of the Irish community in Quebec City. Through newspapers and family connections, the Montreal Irish would have been very aware of Quebec City's erection of a Saint Patrick's church. It opened July 7, 1833. Its impending opening that year might have spurred the Montreal community to have a church of its own. The community stated a desire to name the church Saint Patrick's, and this might reflect the achievements of the Quebec City Irish to establish a National church. Apparently there was a correspondence between the two Irish communities at this time, which indicates a possible inspiration from the establishment of the Quebec City Saint Patrick's church.<sup>169</sup> The timing of the erection of Quebec City's Saint Patrick's Church, and Montreal's Irish Catholics petitioning for one themselves, was not a coincidence.

The community's wish for a new church was not granted, and neither was the request for an expansion of the Recollet. However, the two other requests in the petition to the Seminary were considered, although not immediately. These two requests dealt with the timing of Mass at the Recollet, and the giving of Mass at other churches in the English language. As stated previously, there is no evidence that any action was immediately taken, but in 1836 these two issues were ultimately addressed. The Recollet church register announces the decision taken by the Seminary:

On July the 8<sup>th</sup> 1836 it was notified to the Irish Congregation at the Recollet Church by the undersigned, that as Mass was to be celebrated in future at the Bonsecour Church for the convenience

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<sup>169</sup> This correspondence exists in Quebec City, not in Montreal. It is not clear who wrote to whom, and the contents of these letters. O'Gallagher cites these letters merely as proof that the establishment of Saint Patrick's in Quebec City inspired the Montreal Irish to build one of their own. O'Gallagher, 14.

of the Irish congregation residing in the vicinity of said Bonsecour, the hour of Mass in both churches (viz Bonsecours and Recollet) was fixed and determined by the Superior of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice to be half past nine precisely, being the same hours that there would be only one Mass at the Recollet.<sup>170</sup>

This change in Mass location gave the Anglophone Catholics another place to hear an English sermon, and the change of time from 8 am to 9:30 am allowed, presumably those employed by others, the opportunity to attend service.

This measure in 1836 was insufficient to meet the needs of the Irish community. It was only half of what they had asked for. If conditions were bad in 1833, they were destined to worsen as the decade progressed with the continual stream of immigrants moving into Montreal. The additional Mass at the Bonsecours might have aided the situation, but it resembles a stop-gap measure. The community went without the required expansion, thus it continued to endure the crowded conditions at the Recollet, and the shared facilities at the Bonsecours. The Church archives consulted held no further petitions which would indicate the community's displeasure or discomfort.

There is one piece of evidence showing that the Irish Catholics were not idle in the rest of the 1830s. In a letter from Bishop Lartigue to Patrick Phelan, dated April 16, 1839, the Bishop comments that "in view of the request presented to Us by the Chaplain and the Irish-Catholic congregation of the Recollet Church in this city, We wish to treat these petitioners favourably."<sup>171</sup> The letter did not go into the details of the request, nor about what kind of

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<sup>170</sup> "Registre de l'Église des Récollets, à l'Usage de la Congrégation Irlandaise de Montréal. 8 pages. P. Phelan, pss, desservant." Section 27, Voûte 2, T-97 #165, p.6, ASSS.

<sup>171</sup> "Vu la Requête à Nous présentée par le chapelain et les Irlandais-Catholiques de la congrégation de  
(continued...)



favourable action the Bishop contemplated. This quote signifies that the community remained active after their petition in 1833, in trying to get some action from the Church in regards to their conditions.

In spite of Lartigue's good wishes, as expressed in his letter to the Chaplain of the Recollet church, the Catholic church did not take any action at that time either. This inaction on the part of the church during the 1830s, in dealing with the increasing Anglophone congregation and the problems of providing services and facilities for them is significant. The Seminary's primary responsibility was to the spiritual care of the Catholics of Montreal, and the sight of some of its flock having to retreat to the streets "exposed to the ridicule of the irreligious" must not have reflected well on the Seminary.<sup>172</sup>

All of these petitions, and the increases of population did not occur in a vacuum. Lower Canada in the 1830s was undergoing change, and the Seminary was not immune to this. The Seminary and Fabrique's finances in the 1830s were not in the best of shape. The construction of the new Notre Dame church required the Seminary and the Fabrique to borrow great sums of money in order to complete the task. The Fabrique had to borrow £30,000 in order to finance its end of the operations.<sup>173</sup> The final mortgage total for the Fabrique on the church of Notre Dame

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<sup>171</sup>(...continued)

l'Eglise des Récollets en cette ville, Nous voulons traiter favorablement les pétitionnaires" 16 avril 1839, Mandement de Mgr J-J Lartigue. . . à M. P. Phelan, Section 27, Voûte 2, T-94 #217. ASSS.

<sup>172</sup> Section 27, voûte 2, T-97, #187-189, ASSS.

<sup>173</sup> Montreal Gazette, 16 November 1826.

was £ 36,000.<sup>174</sup> The Seminary also borrowed for the building, and borrowing from the Sisters at the Hôtel Dieu alone, the sum of £ 18,210, which it did not repay it until 1880.<sup>175</sup>

The Seminary itself was in financial difficulty due to its continuing struggle for corporate status. According to Brian Young, the Seminary's uncertain legal status gave the Seigneurial tenants an excuse to cease paying their obligations, especially *lods and vents* (also known as mutations levies). The Seminary was loathe to press these debts because of its legal limbo, and the fear that any decisions that might be made against them would alter their circumstances permanently.<sup>176</sup>

The debt for the Notre Dame church, combined with the estimated £ 31,000 in unpaid debts to the Seminary, put the Seminary in a difficult financial position.<sup>177</sup> The requests made by the Irish community for larger, or new facilities therefore may not have been possible financially because of the Seminary and Fabrique's limited resources. The community did offer to finance the building of such a church, but seeing that they were unable to finance the renovations in 1830, and had to turn to the Fabrique for aid, it is reasonable to assume that the financing of a new church only three years later would ultimately rest with the Seminary and Fabrique.

The financial arrangements made by the Church in 1830 for the renovations were very creative. They granted the ability to have Masses which would collect funds for the project, and a loan from the Fabrique which was to be recouped by the Recollet church's revenue in the

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<sup>174</sup> Montreal Gazette, 30 March 1829.

<sup>175</sup> Young, 128.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, 73 & 46.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid, 73.

coming years. In essence, they were giving the community their own money back to fix up the church, rather than granting funds outright. The use of the stones and other material from the old Notre Dame was an economy. They were no longer of use to the Seminary, and their use at the nearby Recollet saved the expense of hauling away the ruins. This very inventive solution satisfied the Irish congregation's request in 1830. The request of 1833 was beyond the means of the Fabrique and Seminary.

An event of significance both to the Irish community and to the Seminary was the Rebellion of 1837-8. It impacted both positively and negatively, and might have influenced any action taken towards more facilities in the later 1830s. Some members of the Irish community were active within the Patriote movement, most notably Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, editor of the Vindicator newspaper. O'Callaghan was also a member of the Assembly of Lower Canada, and served as "Papineau's right-hand man."<sup>178</sup> He used the Vindicator to voice his (and the Patriote) point of view, and this earned him the animosity of those in power. The offices of the Vindicator were sacked in 1837 by members of the Doric Club, sympathizers with the government of Lower Canada. That same year he fled to the United States, with a price placed on his head.<sup>179</sup>

The Irish population, because of the connection of its newspaper the Vindicator, and because of previous incidents such as the elections in 1832 in Montreal-West where the Irish vote proved to be decisive, decisively against the colony's administration, the British authorities were fearful that they would become involved in the Rebellion. The Catholic Church was called

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<sup>178</sup> Jacques Monet, "O'Callaghan, Edmund Bailey" in Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume X, 554.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid*, 555.

upon to aid the authorities in keeping the Irish Catholics out of the fray. Two figures from the Seminary played a role in this task.

Father Phelan, the Chaplain to the Irish congregation at the Recollet, was the natural choice to guide his parishioners away from political action. He was able to convince his parishioners the necessity of obeying the government.<sup>180</sup> Phelan's superior Joseph-Vincent Quiblier, however, is credited with much of the success in keeping most of the Irish population out of the Rebellions.

He apparently enjoyed a level of influence with recognized leaders of the Irish population Peter Dunn and Joseph MacNaughton.<sup>181</sup> Dunn was indeed very involved with Irish social and religious life, having been a member of the Hibernian Benevolent Society, as well as having served on the Recollet School Committee, and having signed both the 1826 and 1833 petitions for increased church facilities.<sup>182</sup> MacNaughton was likewise involved, also a member of the Hibernian Benevolent Society, and a signatory on the 1833 petition.<sup>183</sup> Quiblier used his influence over these two men, who then publicly withdrew their support for the Patriote cause at a meeting attended by E.B. O'Callaghan, and urged the Irish community to remain neutral in the hostilities.<sup>184</sup> Quiblier also served as an emissary of the government to some Patriotes who had

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<sup>180</sup> Choquette, 780.

<sup>181</sup> Louis Rousseau, "Quiblier, Joseph-Vincent" in Dictionary Biographique du Canada Volume VIII, 809.

<sup>182</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>183</sup> See Appendix I under McNaughton.

<sup>184</sup> Rousseau, 809.

fled to the north of Lake Champlain, and encouraged Papineau to leave Montreal.<sup>185</sup>

The Irish of Montreal were not active in the Rebellion. Their ‘good behaviour’ was tied in the minds of these authorities, to the beneficial influence of the Catholic Church, especially tied to the Seminary of Montreal. This ‘service’ to the British government did not go unrecognized, and went a long way to aid the Seminary’s continuing status difficulties. Their role as mediator earned the praise of many British officials including Lord Durham in his 1839 report on the Rebellions. He credited the church and its priests with having “an unlimited influence over the lower classes of Irish; and this influence is said to have been very vigorously exerted last winter, when it was needed, to secure the loyalty of a portion of Irish during the troubles.”<sup>186</sup> The Seminary was rewarded for their service during the Rebellion. It finally achieved the corporate status that it had long been pressing for, in June 1840. This status was granted during the period when the Constitution of Lower Canada was suspended and the critics silenced.<sup>187</sup>

The 1830s were a time of growth for Montreal’s Irish community. The creation of the Irish Vindicator newspaper gave the community a voice. It featured the events and concerns of the community in its pages. The societies that emerged in the 1820s as well as in the 1830s, used the Vindicator along with other Montreal newspapers to advertize their existence and their respective activities.

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Durham, Lord [John George Lambton], Lord Durham’s Report Gerald M. Craig, ed., (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd, 1963),74.

<sup>187</sup> Young, 56-8.

Organizations such as the Friends of Ireland in Montreal, the Hibernian Benevolent Society, and the Saint Patrick's Society were based primarily on the members' ethnicity, but served other purposes, such as charitable works. These societies were secular in nature and attracted Irish of all denominations. Despite this religious mix, the Irish community's groups were closely associated with the Catholic Church. The Saint Patrick's Society went as far as giving Father Patrick Phelan the post of Society Chaplain.

Saint Patrick's Day which the Catholic Church and Montreal's Irish community together. The religious service marking the Patron Saint of Ireland was always held at Notre Dame church, and celebrated with a Catholic mass and officiated by one of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice's English-speaking priests. The Catholic bent to this service did not prevent other denominations from attending.

The community was organized and identified itself at many levels as Irish. It used its identity and its organization to press for its concerns, most notably in relation to its religious requirements. It twice petitioned to the Catholic Church to increase its facilities and to offer Mass to its numbers. The Church responded, although in a limited way, to these requests.

## 3.4 1840s

## MAP 3

Montreal, 1846



Source: Based on the map by James Cane as it appeared in Choko, 23.

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| 1. Saint Patrick's Church                              | 6. Bishop's Cathedral- Saint James |
| 2. Hay Market  | 7. Lachine Canal                   |
| 3. Notre Dame Church and the Seminary of Saint Sulpice | 8. French Burial Ground            |
| 4. Recollet Church                                     | 9. Griffintown/ Saint Anne suburb  |
| 5. Chapelle Bonsecours                                 |                                    |

As illustrated by Map 3, Montreal was spreading inward from the coast of the Saint Lawrence River. The city's population in 1844 was 44 591, almost double its number in 1825.<sup>188</sup> Immigration was a contributing factor to this enormous growth. Between 1839 and 1842 there were 123 865 immigrants who arrived at Quebec City, of whom 74 981 were Irish.<sup>189</sup> The levels dropped after 1842, and while the immigration in the late 1840s was never small, it never again reached this height. Natural increase also contributed to the around 14 000 of Irish birth and descent in Montreal in 1844. Taking into account Montreal's population, the Irish made up approximately 32% of its population.<sup>190</sup>

The community continued to develop social organizations to represent its interests and needs. The Hibernian Benevolent Society and the Saint Patrick's Society continued to attract members. The Saint Patrick's Society was active in organizing the annual Saint Patrick's Day celebrations. In addition to these two groups, this decade saw the creation of another two groups which attracted a predominantly Irish membership.

The Repeal Association was born much in the same way as both Friends of Ireland Societies. Its creation was triggered by events in Ireland. Also known as the Montreal Loyal Appeal Association, it came about as a reaction to the growing opposition within Ireland to the Act of Union of 1801. This act unified Ireland's parliament with the British Parliament in London. Daniel O'Connell, the man whose election to the British Parliament had precipitated

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<sup>188</sup> Jean-Claude Robert, "Urbanisation et population: le cas de Montréal en 1861" in *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française* 35 #4 (mars 1982): 526. 1825 population was 25 976. Census Returns of 1825, C-718, PAC.

<sup>189</sup> Boily, 18. See Appendix 6.

<sup>190</sup> Grace, 64. Robert, 526. Those of Irish birth numbered 9598.



Catholic emancipation in Britain, formed the Repeal Association in 1840 in Ireland to pressure the British government on this issue.<sup>191</sup> Montreal's Irish community did likewise sometime in 1841.

One of the major acts of the group was to raise funds for the association in Ireland. In October 1841 they had raised £100 in subscription for the cause.<sup>192</sup> They placed with the newspapers such as the Gazette and the Transcript, an appeal addressed to "the Irish and descendants of Irishmen who reside in the district of Montreal."<sup>193</sup> This address was specifically geared to Montreal's Irish community, although

they are [were] desirous of combining the support of every race, who appreciate at their proper value that love of nationality which prompts Irishmen to demand for their native land a restoration of their legislative privileges.<sup>194</sup>

The address, signed by seventeen men of Irish origin if not birth, urged their fellow countrymen to contribute as others in the city of Montreal already had.<sup>195</sup> The thrust of the address was to spur the Irish in Lower Canada, specifically those in the rural villages and townships, who were enjoying a prosperous and rewarding life, to help those "whose lot has been less favoured, who linger in the land of their nativity."<sup>196</sup> The Central Committee of the

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<sup>191</sup> Kenyon, 265.

<sup>192</sup> Montreal Gazette, 28 October 1841.

<sup>193</sup> Montreal Gazette, 28 October 1841. & Transcript & Commercial Advertiser, 22 October 1841.

<sup>194</sup> Montreal Gazette, 28 October 1841.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid: S. Bellingham, P. Dunn, T. McGrath, D. Murphy, T. McNaughton, T. Hewitt, E. Murphy, D. Mahony, M. Kelly, J. Mahony, J. Hester, P. Fitzmorrice, D. Cotterell, J. Kelly, J. Cassidy, P. McMahon, E. Thompson.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

Association wanted the Irishmen in Lower Canada to enroll in the association and pay a subscription as some Montreal Irish already had, and “evince the sincerity of their intentions, and reward the exertions of the Central Committee, who seek, by peaceable, legal and constitutional means, to secure the legislative independence of Ireland.”<sup>197</sup> The Repeal Association continued to meet throughout the 1840s, raising money and awareness for their cause.

While Irish politics inspired the Repeal Association, it was religion which drove the other society formed in the 1840s. Father Phelan had become distressed “about the prevalence of intemperance among the Irish.”<sup>198</sup> To his mind, his congregation were drinking too much. His solution was to found a Temperance society, which unlike other Temperance societies already in Montreal, would encourage the sober Catholic lifestyle. Protestant denominations had already founded like societies. Known variously as the Irish Catholic Total Abstinence Society, the Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Society, Recollet Temperance Society, Irish Temperance Society, and after 1847, the Saint Patrick’s Total Abstinence Society, Phelan’s organization boasted over three thousand members after only one year of existence.<sup>199</sup>

The society was more than just a place where vows of sobriety were taken. It had a charitable side to it as well. An Irish Committee was formed in the summer of 1842 to raise funds to aid the victims of the explosion of the steamer ‘Shamrock’. By December the funds were no longer required for their original purpose, so it was decided, after a strong appeal made

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Cross, 174.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid, 175.

by J.P. Sexton,<sup>200</sup> “that the surplus funds remaining in the hands of the Treasurer of the Committee, should be handed over to the RECOLLET Temperance Charitable Committee, to be applied towards the relief of a number of destitute emigrants, who remained, at the close of the season, at the Sheds in Griffintown, having been delayed by sickness.”<sup>201</sup> The care of the emigrants in the sheds was a task which would have begun long before this December donation. This charitable committee must already have been in operation.

The Temperance Society became very associated with the Irish community. The Society became a regular feature at Saint Patrick’s Day festivities. Father Phelan, promoted to the position of co-adjutor to the Bishop of Kingston, was visiting Montreal in 1843, and was guest of honour at the annual celebrations. The Temperance Society, then six thousand members strong, was expected to turn out in large numbers for the procession and religious service.<sup>202</sup> The numbers of members according to the Transcript found through Father Phelan and the Society “the means of comfort and happiness to them and their families.”<sup>203</sup>

The Irish congregation at the Recollet were encouraged from the pulpit to attend the regular monthly meetings.<sup>204</sup> It had thousands of members as a result. The Temperance Society was assuming a role which went beyond the abstinence of alcohol. It became a social, cultural and religious organization. It was one which, unlike the Hibernian Benevolent and Saint

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<sup>200</sup> A member of the Temperance Society: see Appendix 1.

<sup>201</sup> Montreal Gazette, 17 December 1842.

<sup>202</sup> Transcript & Commercial Advertiser, 16 March 1843.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> Diary attributed to Father John Joseph Connolly, dated 1840-1844, SPA.

Patrick's Societies, was completely under the influence of the Catholic Church.

Montreal's Irish identity continued to be expressed through its Saint Patrick's Day celebrations, which grew through the 1840s both in size and elaborateness. The increasing size of Irish in Montreal contributed to the number of the participants. The expression of national pride took on less modest proportions with the strength of the organizations already and firmly established. The parade to and from the service held at Notre Dame was the most visible demonstration of Irish pride. The marchers numbers increased through the 1840s. 1841's parade, for example, reportedly drew three thousand people in its procession through Montreal's streets.<sup>205</sup>

The 1843 Saint Patrick's Day procession, planned jointly between the Saint Patrick's and Temperance Societies, was large and elaborate. Although the exact number of participants was not stated in the reports of the festivities afterwards, the programme published prior accounted for at least fifty marchers holding rank or position within the parade, such as marshals and standard bearers.<sup>206</sup> The procession also included banners, flags, spears, various committee members and non members of the two organizing societies.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> Transcript & Commercial Advertiser, 18 March 1841.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*, 16 March 1843, 2.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid*. The list itself is quite impressive: Two Stewards with wands; supporters with spears; UNION JACK; BAND; Grand Marshal, M. Kelly; supporters, BLUE BANNER OF THE CROSS; two deputy marshals; children of the Christian Doctrine Society- four & four; two deputy marshals; supporters with spears; ST PATRICK'S BANNER; two stewards with wands; Marshal J. Doyle; members- four & four; supporters with battle axe; STANDARD OF IRELAND; two stewards, marshal Stanley; members- four & four; two stewards with wands; two supporters, LADIES' CRIMSON TREE BANNER; members- four & four; two supporters, LADIES BANNER; members- four & four; two stewards with wands; two supporters, FATHER MATTHEW'S BANNER; committee of Vigilance; committee of instalment; committee of accounts; two stewards; committee of charity; managing committees of both societies; honorary members; physicians; secretaries; treasurers; Past Presidents & (continued...)

Visible affiliation was also an important aspect of Irish identity. The wearing of the colour green and of shamrocks became a part of the tradition of Saint Patrick's Day in Montreal in the 1840s. Advertisements began to appear in the newspapers of the mid 1840s, publicising "elegant Shamrock badges" suitable for use on Saint Patrick's Day.<sup>208</sup> The Transcript noted that some retail dry goods stores were "decked out with green during the week [before Saint Patrick's Day] . Some of these displays have been very pretty, and the sight of the Shamrock introduced in a number of tasteful ways must have been very grateful to the eyes of Irishmen."<sup>209</sup>

Saint Patrick's Day was not the only occasion in which the Irish community had an opportunity to demonstrate its ethnic pride in the 1840s. The birth of the Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria was marked with a celebration in Montreal in February 1842. It was held at the Nelson Hotel. The Saint Patrick's Society (and the Saint Andrew's Society) lent their society banners for the occasion.<sup>210</sup> An even more visible occasion for the demonstration of Irish national pride and loyalty to Britain was the parade organized in honour of the arrival of the Governor General to Montreal in 1842.

Prior to his arrival an unnamed committee organized the assemblage of Irishmen for the procession in the Governor General's honour. It was "hoped and expected to present a strong

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<sup>207</sup>(...continued)

Vice Presidents; Vice Presidents; supporters with spears, GRAND BANNER; stewards, PRESIDENTS; five stewards.

<sup>208</sup> Transcript & Commercial Advertiser, 16 March 1847.

<sup>209</sup> Transcript & Commercial Advertiser, 16 March 1844.

<sup>210</sup> Montreal Gazette, 3 February 1842.

and animating demonstration of Irish numbers and good feeling.”<sup>211</sup> The “Irish Societies” were placed quite prominently within the procession, marching behind the Inspector of Police and the Deputy Marshal. It was the first society to march, followed by the Mechanic’s Institute.<sup>212</sup>

Despite the Irish’s growing numbers, especially among the Catholics, the facilities for Catholic worship had not altered since the renovation at the Recollet in 1830, and the addition of a Mass for Anglophones at the Bonsecours in 1836. According to the anecdotal histories of Saint Patrick’s, the Recollet church by this time was “crammed to suffocation at High Mass, but across Notre Dame Street and in Dollard Lane, opposite to the line of St. James Street, the devout worshippers actually knelt in the road way in rain or sunshine.”<sup>213</sup> The congregation outside were subject to all the vagaries of the weather as well as the inability to hear the service. Primary sources such as the petitions and newspaper accounts of Saint Patrick’s opening echo this image of suffering outdoors; one parishioner wrote that the ringing of a bell was the only way that those outside knew when to “bow their heads at Elevation.”<sup>214</sup> This image of the suffering Irish Catholics predominates the literature describing this period of their worship. The histories written about Montreal’s Catholic Church, by the Church, likewise dwell on this image of the fervent Catholic Irish kneeling in the streets.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Montreal Gazette, 20 May 20 1842.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Golden Jubilee of the Reverend Fathers Dowd, 10. For location details see Map 3.

<sup>214</sup> Thomas Hewitt, Montreal to Father Dowd, Montreal, February 24, 1884, SPA.

<sup>215</sup> “La difficulté, l’impossibilité même de trouver place à l’église, ne sut pas détourner ces Catholiques fervents de suivre, quand même, les offices du dimanche. Beau ou mauvais temps, on pouvait les voir agenouillés, en plein air, dans les rues contiguës à la chapelle, et jusqu’à mi-chemin de la rue St. Jacques, sur la ruelle Dollard,

(continued...)

In the anecdotal histories, the descriptions of kneeling in the streets is immediately followed by the process initiated in the building of Saint Patrick's by the Seminary- "no time was lost."<sup>216</sup> As overcrowding was already a problem in 1833, this process was not as quick as implied by these histories. It was in 1841 that the Irish Catholics met together yet again to press for larger facilities. This time, unlike the others, the request was taken more seriously, and it resulted in the eventual construction of Saint Patrick's Church.

It was after a High Mass in January 1841 that some members of the congregation met to discuss the situation. This group also cited the image of the "poorer classes [who] attended to their Religious Duties, even in the most rigorous season outside of the Doors of the churches."<sup>217</sup> The proposed solution was to gather the influential members of the English-speaking Catholics together "for the purpose of devising measures for the erection of a church, sufficiently extensive for the accommodation of their Catholic brethren."<sup>218</sup>

In asking for the most prominent members of the Irish Catholic community to meet together, the body of men who met for the first time imply that they themselves held no prominence in the community. This does not seem to be the case for the twelve men present. Only one man, John Manahan, did not appear in any of the sources as a participant in the Irish community; as a member of its organizations or as a signatory of earlier church petitions. The

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<sup>215</sup>(...continued)  
assistant de la messe, et donnant à tous l'édifiant exemple de la foi indomptable qui caractérise leur race." Le Diocèse de Montréal, 196.

<sup>216</sup> Golden Jubilee of the Reverend Fathers Dowd, 11.

<sup>217</sup> 31 January 1841, Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841. SPA.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

gathered Irishmen were members of the Hibernian Benevolent Society (6), the Temperance Association (6), the Saint Patrick's Society (3), and the Repeal Association (4).<sup>219</sup> The group even included Peter Dunn, who had been called upon by the Superior of the Seminary to calm the Irish during the Rebellion of 1837-8.<sup>220</sup>

The second meeting was held February 8<sup>th</sup>. It was attended by twenty-two men including Father Phelan. Nine of the original twelve who had met the week before were a part of this group. The most prominent member of the Irish community present was the Hon. Dominick Daly. He was at the time of this meeting, the Provincial Secretary for the United Canadas. He was a Roman Catholic Irishman, who was a part of the nobility, and had served with the Colonial Office first in Canada, then in Australia, ultimately being knighted and becoming Governor in Chief of South Australia.<sup>221</sup>

This illustrious group of Catholic men decided at this meeting to form a deputation, and charged it with meeting the "Gentlemen of the Seminary, to ascertain their views with respect to the building of the church and that this meeting should be adjourned to Friday the 12<sup>th</sup> instant."<sup>222</sup> The Irish community through these assembled men, rather than prepare another petition, as in the past, decided to approach the seminary in person to work out the details of building of a church. Unlike past approaches there were no other options presented, the English-speaking Catholics

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<sup>219</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>220</sup> First meeting attended by: Peter Dunn, Peter Devins, R.J. Begley, Andrew Conlan, Patrick Brennan, James Brennan, Thomas Hewitt, Thomas Neagle, John Cassidy, Thomas McGrath, Thomas Battle, and John Manahan.

<sup>221</sup> Henry J. Morgan, Sketches of Celebrated Canadians and Persons Connected With Canada from the Earliest Period in History of the Province Down to the Present Time, (Quebec: Hunter Rose & Co, 1863), 375.

<sup>222</sup> 8 February 1841, Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.



wanted a new church building for their exclusive use. The deputation was made up of the Hon. Dominick Daly, Albert Furniss, Lt. Drummond, Duncan McQueen, Thomas McGrath, and Robert Begley.<sup>223</sup> These men would have been chosen because they were considered the most influential present.

The meeting with the ‘Gentlemen of the Seminary’ in fact was a meeting with the Superior of the Seminary, and was held the following day. After this meeting Albert Furniss submitted a report to the committee outlining the results of the conversation with Quiblier. This report directed the next actions of the committee. The meeting in Furniss’ view went well. The members of the deputation felt “that the greatest advantages will [would] accrue from a co-operation with the Seminary in the proposed undertaking.”<sup>224</sup> The Irish community at the outset of this project was aligning its fate entirely with the Seminary of Saint Sulpice. An approach or meeting with the Bishop of Montreal was never considered, and at no time was a delegation sent to his palace to discuss building a church. The deputation was convinced “that unity of purpose and co-operation with that institution will be the only means by which a church can be founded.”<sup>225</sup>

There was some dissension among some of the committee members, though not among the delegation to the Seminary, that this was not the only option available. This was not considered grave, as these individuals alluded to in the summation, were expected to alter their

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid. See Appendix 1.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid, 12 February 1841.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

opinion after hearing an address by Reverend Phelan the following Sunday.<sup>226</sup> This difference of opinion was not related to whether or not to approach the Bishop, rather it was on the choice to rely upon cooperation with the Seminary in order to build a church. From the conversation with the Superior it was the desire of some in the committee to build the church on their own. The desire to build came from 1833, when the Irish community had stated a desire to build on its own a Saint Patrick's Church. Quiblier was clear about this being out of the question, going as far as making it the second point of three made by the Superior to the delegation: "that it was out of the question for the laity to entertain the idea of building and controlling the church themselves, as the Bishop had declared that he would not supply such an establishment with Pastors."<sup>227</sup>

The other two points dealt with the conditions set out by the Seminary to build the church. The Superior did not grant a straight forward yes to the Irish community's request. The first point was: "that if the congregation would raise three thousand pounds the Seminary would undertake to build the church." The third point dealt with the timing of the process- "that if the proposed sum could be raised by the congregation- Mr. Quiblier thought that the foundation and basement of the church might be built this coming fall."<sup>228</sup> The Seminary was positive to the idea, but wanted a financial commitment from the congregation before the start of any building activity. This was in keeping with how they had organized the 1830 renovations to the Recollet church, having the community carry the financial burden of building. And while £3000 was not the entire sum required for the building of even an modest church in Montreal, it was still a large

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

sum of money.<sup>229</sup>

With this tentative approval for the building of a church for the English-speaking Catholics, the delegation felt that it was only the details of fundraising which needed to be discussed. "It only now remains for the congregation or the committee to appoint collectors for the different parts of the town and no time should be lost in doing this- it will be better to solicit weekly contributions than monthly ones."<sup>230</sup> The committee however, was not as convinced as their delegation by the Seminary's offer. The committee decided to suspend its judgement on the matter until it could hear what Reverend Phelan had to say on "the conditions on which the Seminary propose to build the church."<sup>231</sup>

Whatever was said by Father Phelan to the congregation that Sunday must have satisfied the committee members, as the next meeting the idea, as explained by Quiblier and Phelan was approved.<sup>232</sup> The actual organization of the committee in pursuit of its end- a new church began the following week. The nature of the committee thus changed from a place of discussion to a place of action. The nature of its work, fund raising, was reflected in the change of its location. The first meeting was held in the house of John Cassidy, and the next three at O'Neill & Orr's hotel. Thereafter they were held at the Fabrique's Office, which was across from Notre Dame in Place D'Armes.

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<sup>229</sup> For example; the Wesleyan Chapel on Gabriel Street, built in 1847, cost £ 23,000. Montreal Gazette 27 January 1847.

<sup>230</sup> 12 February 1841, Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid, 16 February 1841.

The meeting of February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1841 was the first meeting where specific ideas of raising funds to meet the Seminary's condition of £ 3000. The committee divided Montreal into more manageable divisions based on its suburbs. These fifteen sub-committees had four to seven men assigned to each suburb.

Taking up on the offer of Donald McDonald, the proprietor of the newspaper the Transcript, the names of the regional sub-committees and the committee members were published free of charge.<sup>233</sup> The preamble to the list of the seventy-nine empowered to receive the donations reads as follows:

THE PORTION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION  
SPEAKING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE in the CITY and  
PARISH of MONTREAL, being actually engaged in raising a  
fund in for the building of a new CATHOLIC CHURCH.  
upon a large and commodious scale, beg leave to solicit  
the assistance of the benevolent, in this weighty undertaking.  
The importance of the work, the narrow and limited space  
of their present place of worship, and the proverbial  
liberality of their fellow citizens of every creed and origin,  
are the considerations on which they ground their hopes  
of a speedy success.<sup>234</sup>

The English speaking Catholics' appeal was wide ranging. They wanted donations large and small from anyone regardless of religious or ethnic affiliation. This advertisement appeared only once in the Transcript. The Transcript had published a notice two weeks earlier announcing that collectors had been appointed,<sup>235</sup> but after March 6<sup>th</sup> no further advertisements appeared concerning the fund raising for Saint Patrick's.

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<sup>233</sup> Ibid, 22 February 1841. & Transcript & Commercial Advertiser 6 March 1841.

<sup>234</sup> Montreal Transcript & Commercial Advertiser 6 March 1841.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid, 25 February 1841.

Even before the advertisement appeared in the Transcript, the committee had begun receiving donations or pledges for donation from the more affluent citizens of Montreal. The March 1<sup>st</sup> minutes list £ 1045. 10. 0 in donations made by thirty-two individuals and two companies. This list included the Bank of Montreal, Lord Sydenham, Attorney General Odgen, Hon. D. Daly, and Albert Furniss.<sup>236</sup> The minutes for the spring meetings concentrate on the amount of funds which the committee and its various sub-committees had been able to raise. These meetings were held once a week until May 1841, when they were changed to once a month.

The fund raising was intense during these first few months. Outside of the major monetary donations made by the well off, the amount of individual donations was not that large. Besides the organization of suburb sub-committees, there were also 'penny collections' which had fifty-five men living in various areas of Montreal, who presumably received the small donations. Details on their activities are not present in the Committee minutes, only the names of the individuals are listed with their addresses. Twenty-one of the men listed for the 'penny collections' were on the sub-committee list as well. In addition to the suburbs, the British regiments in Montreal, the 73<sup>rd</sup> and the 89<sup>th</sup>, had six penny collectors.

The Committee's minute book gives a great deal of information on those who made donations during the first few months of the fund raising drive. These details include the name, and amount of donation for thirty-two people,<sup>237</sup> and the name, amount of donation, and address

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<sup>236</sup> 1 March 1841, Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA. See Appendix 3.

<sup>237</sup> Appendix 3.

of 378 more.<sup>238</sup> Of these 400 people, the gender of 102 is not possible to know as they were identified only by their initials. There were 120 men identified in these two lists, 172 were women, and 6 who donated as family groups. The women far outnumbered the men, but the men made the largest donations: \$ 3455.50 of the \$ 4339.40. Male donations averaged \$ 28.79, while those made by women averaged \$ 2.78. The contributions, outside of the major ones, and irrespective of gender, ranged in size from 25 ¢ to \$ 30, with most donations being around \$ 1.<sup>239</sup>

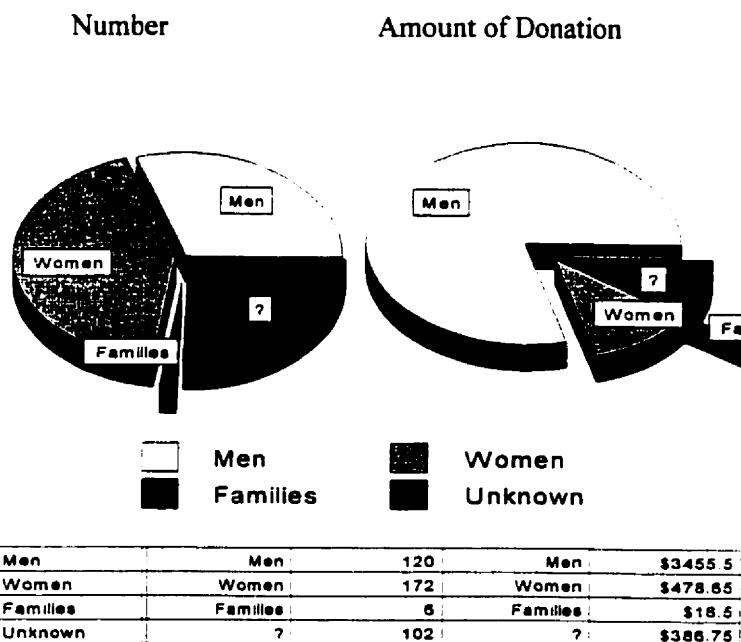
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<sup>238</sup> Appendix 4.

<sup>239</sup> Appendix 5.

## CHART 6

## Donations to Saint Patrick's Building Fund, 1841



Sources: mars 1841 "Souscriptions des militaires (73r Reg) in fine St. Patrice, Boite 51, Chemise 2, AFND. 5 April 1841, Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

The religion of those making donations to Saint Patrick's building fund is not known. However, when the 73<sup>rd</sup> Regiment undertook the collections of monies for the cause, two of the three companies noted the religion along with the name, rank and amount of donation. In the Light Company seventy-six of its members gave a total of £ 6. 2. 6. Of these men, fifty-eight were Catholic, nine Protestant, and ten were Presbyterian.<sup>240</sup> Captain Smith's Company had eighty-two members donate £ 7. 6. 3 to the fund, with the majority of those giving (48) being Catholic, nineteen were Protestants, and fifteen Presbyterians.<sup>241</sup> The highest donation in each of

<sup>240</sup> Mars 1841, "Souscriptions des militaires (73r Reg) in fine St. Patrice" Boite 51, Chemise 2, AFND.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

the companies was made by a Catholic. The average donation by the military men was 34¢.<sup>242</sup>

While the Minute book may have listed the over £ 1000 worth of major donations. The running totals accounted for only £ 289. 15. 7 in April.<sup>243</sup> The funds were not coming in as had been expected. With only around £ 300 in April, it looked unlikely that the sum required by the Seminary was immediately forthcoming. In June the committee resolved to bring the matter of building a church back to the Superior. Before that could happen, the committee felt it “very desirable that during the ensuing months the amount be increased as much as possible.”<sup>244</sup>

Despite this shortfall in fund raising the committee went ahead and met with the Superior in early July. This meeting was with C.T. Palsgrave on behalf of the Committee, and the Reverend Mr. Quiblier. The results of the meeting demonstrated that the two parties were of completely different minds in the purpose of the building committee. The committee interpreted its purpose from the February meeting with the Seminary as having to raise money as an act of good faith, but that work would begin, regardless if how much was raised, in the fall. The Seminary felt otherwise:

Mr. Palsgraves here stated, that in accordance with the wishes of the committee, he has seen Mr. Quiblier on the subject of the arrangement made with the Seminary and had stated the anxious wish of the committee, on the part of the Roman Catholics speaking English, that the proposed church should be commenced this fall; when the Superior of the Seminary distinctly stated that there must have been some misunderstanding as to the time of commencing the church, it having been agreed between

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<sup>242</sup> Appendix 5.

<sup>243</sup> 5 April 1841, Saint Patrick’s Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid, 22 June 1841.



S---- and the deputation appointed to upon S----, that the building should be commenced immediately this committee had raised the sum of £ 3000 and that until such sum was raised, he did not consider sincerely justified in taking a contract for this great work.<sup>245</sup>

The Seminary saw the £ 3000 as a condition for building. The building committee was seen by the Seminary as a fund raising tool, which at this point had not served its purpose.

The committee had to continue in its fund raising efforts. Upon hearing the results of Palsgraves' encounter with the Superior, the committee resolved

it is desirable that an epitome of the progress of the affairs of Saint Patrick's Church be published and that the Secretary be requested to prepare for publication such particulars as may prove interesting to the members of the church and may tend to advance its pecuniary interests as it was of the greatest importance that the amount required £ 3000 should be raised during this present year.<sup>246</sup>

The assumption was that in printing a progress report it would increase the number and amount of donations in order to reach the £ 3000 goal. This report, if published as intended, did not appear in the Transcript despite its open offer as a venue for the committee's communications. No other ideas were put forward to further entice donations. Meetings were still only held monthly.

Four meetings later, in October 1841, the committee had raised £ 1957. 4. 6. Careful this time not to assume that the money raised thus far was sufficient to convince the Superior to start building, the committee did not approach the Seminary. It was however convinced that there was

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<sup>245</sup> Ibid, 6 July 1841.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

“every reason to hope that the £ 3000 will be made up by Christmas Day.”<sup>247</sup>

In December 1841 a member of the English-speaking congregation and of the Saint Patrick’s committee, Albert Furniss, was elected a Marguillier of the Fabrique of Notre Dame.<sup>248</sup> This was the first Anglophone to hold such a position within the parish. Furniss, while not Irish, was a representative of the community to the Fabrique. His presence at the heart of the Fabrique must have been a positive sign for the committee, a sign that their concerns were of importance or that there would be an extra venue for their concerns to be heard. The event however was not recorded as such in the committee’s minute book.

The committee continued to meet monthly. Beyond the reports on fund raising sub-committees other relevant subjects were also broached in the meetings. The future site of the church was discussed by the committee. This topic was dropped when it was “remarked that it was useless to carry on any discussion as to the cite [sic] of the proposed church until the sum of £ 3000 be raised.”<sup>249</sup> These other discussions indicate that the committee were anxious to get the construction of the church underway.

In April 1842 the committee approached the Seminary once again to press for the start of construction. This push was well placed within a request for interim measures. The secretary of the committee was given the responsibility to represent to Quiblier:

The great inconvenience to which the congregation of the  
Recollet church is now put for want of sufficient room and

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid, 5 October 1841.

<sup>248</sup> 19 décembre 1841, Livre “C” Délibérations des Assemblées de Marguilliers du 6 avril au 9 juin 1878, 334, AFND. See Appendix 1.

<sup>249</sup> 4 January 1842, Saint Patrick’s Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

the still greater inconvenience they would be put to on the arrival of the Emigrants during the present year and to beg that the Superior adopt means to afford sufficient accommodation by ordering a Mass to be said at the Parish Church either before or after the High Mass on each Sunday and Holidays at which the Irish might attend until Saint Patrick's Church be built.<sup>250</sup>

1842 was the year of highest immigration, and the community would have received reports of this mass awaiting transportation to British North America. In phrasing their request in these terms the Irish community were trying to impress upon the Seminary the urgent need for the facilities without pressing. The need was emphasized only to be brought back with talk of the imminent construction of Saint Patrick's.

The Seminary, through the Fabrique, responded to this request. The Fabrique resolved to sell some of its land on Craig Street in order to purchase land from the Seminary on Bleury Street.<sup>251</sup> The Bleury Street site was thought to be ideal for a church for English-speaking Catholics. It was considered an absolute necessity to furnish this population with a church proportioned to their needs.<sup>252</sup> The Fabrique felt a summer start was within sight and planned for this goal by establishing its own building committee. However, it was still left up to the Irish community to raise the £ 3000 and hand it over to the Fabrique before work could commence.

The Saint Patrick's committee met another three times: twice in June and once in July 1842. Despite what must have been a positive sign from the Fabrique in April, the committee

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid, 5 April 1842.

<sup>251</sup> 24 avril 1842, Livre "C", 38, AFND. The exact location of the sites is not known from the minutes; Craig and Bleury Streets were very long streets, even at that time. See Map 3.

<sup>252</sup> "Raison de la nécessité absolue de fournir à la population parlant la langue anglaise une église proportionnée à son étendu" Ibid.

did not meet again until June 4, 1843. This was a gap of eleven months when the committee did not meet, and presumably fund raising was suspended. The June 1843 minutes explain this long interval between meetings as a “consequence of the absence of the Rev. Mr. Phelan and other causes.”<sup>253</sup>

Father Phelan’s role in the Irish community was a strong one, and the reliance by the members on his words demonstrate his importance to the committee. The Father was called by one of Saint Patrick’s histories as the “inspiration behind the building of Saint Patrick’s,”<sup>254</sup> so his departure for his new job as curé of Bytown would have impacted the community. However Phelan’s move to Bytown was in November of 1842.<sup>255</sup> His leaving the Montreal Parish “caused much sorrow amongst those whose interest he had devoted so many years of his life and labors.”<sup>256</sup> This grief over his absence however is not an adequate explanation for the committee’s not having met for so long. The Saint Patrick’s Committee had not met for five months prior to Phelan’s departure.

The minutes cited “other causes” but did not go into detail. Finances, however, must have been an important or compelling reason for the meetings to have ceased. The Fabrique and Seminary had resolved that construction would not begin until the required amount of £ 3000 had been raised. The most recent goal of a summer commencement for construction was dependant on this money being raised, so when July had arrived without any progress, it is possible that the

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<sup>253</sup> 4 June 1843, Saint Patrick’s Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

<sup>254</sup> Lipscombe. 7.

<sup>255</sup> Choquette, 780.

<sup>256</sup> Golden Jubilee of the Reverend Fathers Dowd, 22.

committee had become discouraged and thus ceased to meet.

Donations depend upon the financial ability of the donors to give. The donations made to the Saint Patrick's Church building fund would have come from the disposable income of the givers. The more affluent members of the community such as the Hon. D. Daly, Peter Dunn, Thomas Ryan, and Peter Devins were able to make very generous contributions.<sup>257</sup> The community gave according to their means, and seeing that the most common sum donated to the church was only \$1, and the average was \$7.11, the community's means were not much, and the large sums were exceptional.

There was competition for the disposable income with several other charities seeking the financial support of the citizens of Montreal. The Repeal Association was seeking the support of Irishmen of Montreal and area to send to the Repeal Association in Ireland. The Temperance Society had a Charitable Committee. The Saint Patrick's Society also had its Committee of Charity, and used events such as the collections made on Saint Patrick's Day at Notre Dame church to raise its funds.<sup>258</sup> The Shamrock disaster was another occasion in 1842 when the citizens of Montreal, and especially the Irish were called upon to relieve the suffering of its survivors.<sup>259</sup>

Besides the specific charity drives there were the usual charity organizations which regularly funded the needs of the poor and ill of Montreal. The Catholic Church was one of the principle providers of services such as hospitals, schools and orphanages. It raised its funds

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<sup>257</sup> Appendix 3.

<sup>258</sup> Transcript & Commercial Advertiser 19 March 1840; 31 January 1841; 26 September 1843.

<sup>259</sup> Montreal Gazette 25 July 1842.

through its collections at the churches. There were also Protestant charity organizations such as the Ladies Benevolent Society and the Protestant Orphan Asylum which dealt with the same problems, raising funds among the Protestant citizens of Montreal.

Charitable support was not a new phenomenon to Montreal's population. The needs and the fund raising designed to supply them pre-dated 1842. What made 1842 particularly difficult for the Saint Patrick's Committee? 1842 was an exceptional year because of the financial strain caused by events particular to that year. The arrival of the emigrants to the area was a strain to the city's resources<sup>260</sup>. The Montreal Gazette was optimistic about the enormous amount of emigration coming from Ireland, reassuring its readers that even though those who had arrived in years past "were of the poorest class in society" those arriving in the 1842 season were "respectable and solvent farmers."<sup>261</sup> This was probably not a very accurate report as there were some emigrants who in December still required financial assistance, and who benefited from the leftover monies of the Shamrock disaster. If the Irish emigrants were prosperous farmers assistance would have been unnecessary, especially after the emigration season had long since ended.

The city inhabitants did aid the emigrants arriving in Montreal. This aid came at a cost to the existing charitable organizations who were trying to cope with the demand. The Ladies' Benevolent Society of Montreal was in great financial difficulty at the beginning of the

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<sup>260</sup> See Appendix 6.

<sup>261</sup> Montreal Gazette 10 June 1842.

emigration season because of “inadequate means.”<sup>262</sup> The summer months were filled with fund raising events in order to fulfill the Society’s mandate to relieve the city’s distress.<sup>263</sup>

The coming of immigrants would also have impacted the existing Montreal population beyond requiring their charity and assistance. Upon arrival, the emigrants sought employment. The Lachine Canal, undergoing additional construction, was a perfect place for the unskilled emigrant to find employment. These new arrivals joined the already large unskilled labour force concentrated around the canal area in Griffintown. Work on the canal was far from ideal. The rate of pay was poor, and left very little money to spend after the usual expenditures required for living.<sup>264</sup> The conditions of employment on the Canal were such that the worker was never sure of his monthly earnings. For example, one worker, Martin Donnely, found he worked a total of eighteen days in August, fourteen in September, nineteen in October, four in November, and three days in December of 1842.<sup>265</sup> The uncertainty of pay would not have encouraged any unnecessary spending of the income the worker did receive.

The Irish community was not in a position either before or during 1842 to donate large sums of money to the Saint Patrick’s Church fund. Any money which might have been set aside for the church’s construction by members of the community that year might also have been redirected in order to aid the incoming population, supporting the victims of the Shamrock or the general distress of the ‘poorer classes’.

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<sup>262</sup> Ibid, 11 May 1842.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> Boily, 46.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid, 46-7.

While the Saint Patrick's Committee was inactive during the 1842-1843 period, the Fabrique and Seminary were not. The Church was acting on the belief that the community would soon raise the £ 3000, that the £ 3000 was not the most important requirement despite what they had related to the Irish community, or that the need for the facilities far outweighed any other considerations. This change in attitude was illustrated by their activities during the congregation's committee's period of dormancy. The purchase of the Bleury site for the church before the Saint Patrick's committee stopped meeting was a tangible sign of the Church's intention to build.

The Church, during the break between Committee meetings, kept the pressure on the Irish congregation to donate to the Saint Patrick's church building fund. The diary attributed to Father Connolly lists numerous occasions when calls were made from the Recollet's pulpit to donate to the fund. The priest also organized meetings with the collectors in the Church's vestry.<sup>266</sup>

Most of the anecdotal histories credit the Reverend Mr. Quiblier, Superior of the Seminary, with the will power and wherewithal that saw Saint Patrick's church built. He certainly had an expressed desire to see a church established for the English-speaking Catholics of Montreal. Quiblier reassured the community that the church would be built during the meetings he had with representatives of the community. His actions during this period were very pro-active. The month following the Fabrique's acquisition of the Bleury Street site, Quiblier took definite steps towards the church's erection. In May 1842 he wrote to architect Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, in London. Pugin was heavily influenced by medieval architecture,

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<sup>266</sup> Diary attributed to Father John Joseph Connolly, 1840-1844, SPA.



which he thought expressed the true Christian spirit.<sup>267</sup> Quiblier shared this belief, resulting in the eventual design of Saint Patrick's being Neo-Gothic. The Superior had definite ideas for the church's appearance and communicated them in his letter to Pugin:

Nous sommes sur le point de commencer la construction d'une Église en style Gothique à Saint-Patrice. Nous désiréons [sic] qu'elle eût environ 215 pieds de long, sur une longueur de 108 pieds; le tout à l'intérieur, outre la sacristie; avec une seule tour, (cheminées) à une place pour l'orgue. Il serait à propos qu'elle en contienne environ 8 ou 9000 personnes, lesquelles près de la nivité dans les Gaus. La sévérité du climat et l'abondance de la neige de nos longs hivers, ne permettent pas d'ornements extérieurs à l'exception de quelques cordons peu saillants.<sup>268</sup>

Besides the construction details for the church, Quiblier stated that the site was also destined to have an adjacent orphan asylum, and that the construction of the church was imminent.<sup>269</sup> The letter to Mr. Pugin demonstrates the clarity of purpose Quiblier exhibited in regards to the establishment of Saint Patrick's, with or without the financial contribution of the Irish community.

In October 1842 the Fabrique decided that the Bleury Street site was not as well suited for the future Saint Patrick's, as originally thought. The Craig Street site was deemed a better choice after all because of the properties burnt and otherwise vacant there.<sup>270</sup> The Craig Street site was the site that the Fabrique had intended to sell in order to purchase the Bleury Street site. The lack

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<sup>267</sup> Gauthier, 105.

<sup>268</sup> 28 mai 1842 "Lettre de Vincent Quiblier à M. A.W. Pugin, architecte, Londres, pour lui demander des plans pour l'église Saint-Patrice-de-Montréal", Section 27, voûte 2, T-98, #6 (Duplicate), ASSS.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>270</sup> 16 octobre 1842, Livre "C", 39, AFND.

of meetings by the Saint Patrick's Church committee did not merit notice in the Fabrique when the decision to change sites was made, and their input was not sought.

In February of 1843 the Fabrique met again to discuss the future of Saint Patrick's. The need for the church was stated as an "absolute necessity."<sup>271</sup> As it was such a necessity the Fabrique set about preparing for the laying of the foundations during the summer.<sup>272</sup> Unlike the other times when the Fabrique or Seminary discussed a starting time on building Saint Patrick's, the Fabrique was serious about its deadline. The Fabrique appointed a committee of three Seminarians: Louis-Pascal Comte, Olivier Berthelet, and Alexandre Maurice Delisle, and the Marguilliers of the Fabrique. This committee was charged with making the preparations towards the construction and included the power to appoint people to assist them towards this end.<sup>273</sup>

The Fabrique met in March to discuss the future site of Saint Patrick's again. Neither of the previous sites were thought to be appropriate. It instructed its building committee to sell the Bleury Street site and to find another more suitable to build a church for English-speaking Catholics.<sup>274</sup> In order to sell the Bleury Street site the Fabrique had to petition the Governor General to sell the Letters Patent for the land. In this petition the land was described as being too exposed to the possibility of eviction because of the future growth of the city, and that another site more suited to large construction had been found. The petition also requested permission to

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<sup>271</sup> 24 February 1843, Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> 12 mars 1843, Livre "C", 43, AFND.

purchase land on Lagauchetière and St-Alexander Streets.<sup>275</sup> This site had been a part of the estate of a Marguillier of the Fabrique of Notre Dame, Pierre Rastel de Rocheblave. It was purchased in May 1843 by the Fabrique for \$20 000 (£ 5000).<sup>276</sup>

Even before the site was finally determined, Quiblier hired the Jesuit architect Félix Martin and engineer Pierre-Louis Morin to design Saint Patrick's. There is a receipt dated February 9, 1843 from Morin for the receipt of 13 *louis*, 1 *chelin*, and 3 *pences* from Superior Quiblier for work on the future Saint Patrick's.<sup>277</sup> Louis Pascal Comte, the Seminary procurator, provided the Superior with an estimate on the expense of building Saint Patrick's based on Morin's plan, in March 1843. Estimating it would cost £ 15 206. 17. 0 to build the design incorporating a tower, the cost was £ 3500 less if a tower was not present.<sup>278</sup>

These activities of the Fabrique and the Seminary occurred without the participation of the Saint Patrick's Church committee. It had not met once up to this point in 1843. The actions were taken in private, but the presence of Albert Furniss among the Marguilliers of the Fabrique would have kept the community informed of these activities to a certain degree.

The Irish community, specifically the committee, was called together at the Seminary to discuss Saint Patrick's Church. The Superior was the speaker at the meeting, explaining to those assembled that "they had been called together to deliberate on the means best adapted to

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<sup>275</sup> vers 1843, 1) Lettre du Marguillier en charge de Notre-Dame-de-Montreal, à Sir Charles Metcalfe, gouverneur, pour lui demander l'autorisation de vendre un terrain rue Bleury et d'en acheter un autre pour la construction de l'Église Saint-Patrice," T-98, #15 [Copie non certifiée], ASSS.

<sup>276</sup> Loye & McShane, 8.

<sup>277</sup> 1843, 4) 3 reçus de M. Morin architecte d'Église Saint-Patrice, Section 27, voute 2, T-98 #10, ASSS.

<sup>278</sup> 21 mars 1843.. 1) Estimation détaillé du coût de l'Église Saint-Patrice par l'architecture P-L Morin. 2) Autre estimation globale par Louis Comte, non daté,. Ibid, ASSS. Copies also available at AFND.

commence and complete Saint Patrick's Church."<sup>279</sup> The account of the meeting reads more as a lecture by Quiblier on the Seminary's munificence and its actions towards the building of Saint Patrick's rather than a deliberation. The language of the account describes the church as a *fait accompli*, in keeping with the Fabrique and Seminary's actions over the previous year. The Superior reinforced the Seminary's ultimate authority in matters pertaining to Saint Patrick's:

The very Rev'd Mr. Quiblier explained to the meeting. . . that the work about to be undertaken was strictly Parochial and Catholic, that so far back as the year 1836 a lot of ground had been purchased on Craig Street for the purpose of building a church sufficiently large enough to accommodate the increasing numbers of Catholics speaking the English language- that this Lot having been thought inconvenient another lot had been bought in de Bleury Street with a view to commence the undertaking last year but other difficulties as to the locality the committee appointed in April 1842 had not acted by calling others to their assistance but that having during the present month purchased another Lot of ground on St. Alexander and Lagauchetiere Street.<sup>280</sup>

Two resolutions were passed at the meeting, the first was to petition the Bishop of Montreal for permission to build Saint Patrick's. This petition "was necessary according to Canonical Laws."<sup>281</sup> After this formality the building of Saint Patrick's Church would commence.<sup>282</sup> As a result of these resolutions the Fabrique's committee and the congregation's committee met on May 31<sup>st</sup> and drafted the petition to the Bishop. It was signed by Quiblier, Richard, M. Delisle, D. Berthelet, Louis Comte, J. Bruneau, Hubert Paré, Thomas McNaughton, Charles Curran,

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<sup>279</sup> 24 May 1843, Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

William Connolly, Charles Palsgraves, Peter Dunn, and P. O'Brien.<sup>283</sup>

The petition cited the usual complaint - that the present facilities at the Recollet and Bonsecours were insufficient to the numbers of English-speaking Catholics. It then went on to state that it had made several attempts to get a church for this portion of their parishioners, but they were unsuccessful.<sup>284</sup> The request itself was very simple, it was for a church of 180 feet by 90 feet, sufficient for a certain number of years.<sup>285</sup>

For the first time since the initiation of the process to build Saint Patrick's in 1841, the Bishop of Montreal became involved. A week prior to Bourget's receipt of the petition for Saint Patrick's, the Bishop had met with Quiblier to discuss the undertaking. In a letter dated June 2<sup>nd</sup>, Bourget expressed some reservations about the "Irish Church."<sup>286</sup> In their conversation the Superior stated that the Seminary was obliged to advance the money for the project, but that the church was intended to remain independent. While the Bishop recognized that the money would have to come from the Seminary, he felt the Seminary should retain its ownership of the property.<sup>287</sup>

From Quiblier's reply to this letter, it is clear that the Superior resented the Bishop's

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<sup>283</sup> 31 mai 1843, "Supplique de la Fabrique pour bâtir la future Église de S. Patrice," 901.145, 843-1, ACAM. See Appendix 1.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid & Section 27, voûte 2, T-98, #12. 1) Requête des Marguilliers de Notre-Dame-de-Montréal demandant à Mgr Ignace Bourget, Évêque de Montréal la permission de construire l'Église Saint-Patrice. ASSS.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> 2 juin 1843, Lettre de Mgr Ignace Bourget Évêque de Montréal à Joseph-Vincent Quiblier, pss, Supérieur, relative à la construction par le Séminaire de l'Église Saint-Patrice et aux vacances des Séminaristes au Fort de la Montagne, suivie de la réponse autograph négative aux deux propositions. 3 pages, S21, 12.75, ASSS.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

advice. He stated that they had talked about it long enough, that there were legal and other reasons for approaching the establishment of Saint Patrick's in the way the Seminary had, and that things were too well advanced to change.<sup>288</sup> This rather negative reaction to the Bourget's advice did not affect the granting of the permission to build Saint Patrick's. He gave his permission the following day. This permission encompassed the requested size (180 feet by 90 feet), the authority of the Fabrique in securing loans for the building, and permission to erect a cross at the site.<sup>289</sup>

With permission to build granted, a meeting of the congregation's Saint Patrick's Church committee was held June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1843 in the Vestry of the Recollet Church, not its old location at the Fabrique's business office. Eleven months had passed since they had last met together as a committee. It was called in order that the committee should continue in its fund raising efforts. The sense of urgency in the necessity of obtaining £ 3000 was no longer present in the tone of the entry, as the money was no longer a condition. The £ 3000 instead became a point of honour, and a matter of the Catholic community only. The committee urged those assembled to:

Undertake to collect in their districts it being the desire of the minds of their Catholic Brethren a religious feeling and that the poorest man may have had contributed his mite towards the building of Saint Patrick's Church.<sup>290</sup>

The committee's Minute Book records two other meetings on July 2<sup>nd</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>, and then no more. The committee seems to have ceased functioning as such. Collections continued to be

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<sup>288</sup> Ibid.

<sup>289</sup> Copie. . . et Bourget à Fabrique. Supplique acceptée, 901.145, 843-2, ACAM.

<sup>290</sup> 4 June 1843, Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

solicited from the pulpit of the Recollet Church. In 1844 the collectors no longer met in the church vestry, rather collections were made for Saint Patrick's at the church door following every service. As the diary attributed to Father Connolly ends Christmas Day 1844 arrangements for the years following are unknown, but unlikely to have differed.

The committee's Minute book does not end with the cessation of the committee's meetings. The minutes of the Fabrique's building committee were added to the book. This addition illustrates the importance of the work of the Fabrique's committee to the congregation. It is very fortunate that this was done, as these minutes no longer exist in the Fabrique's Archives.

The Fabrique's committee met once in February, March, and May, and thereafter met weekly. The June 8<sup>th</sup> meeting was the first meeting held by the committee after permission had been obtained from the Bishop. The topic under discussion was that of the workers for the building. There must have existed some fear on the part of the Irish community that the contractor hired to build Saint Patrick's would not hire Irish workers. The contractors were French Canadian, and brothers of the Seminary's Procurator Louis Comte. To address this fear the committee recommended:

that the Messieurs Comte employ so far as they are able in the execution of this great work, as Foremen, Mechanicks [sic] or labourers that part of the population for whose use the church is intended with which recommendation they leave the sole management with the hands of the Messieurs Comte in whose judgement and integrity they place full confidence.<sup>291</sup>

Some members of the Irish community felt that this had not been satisfactorily settled. In 1884

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<sup>291</sup> 8 June 1843, Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

John Kelly, a contractor himself, stated that he only knew of a handful of Irishmen who worked on Saint Patrick's, including a John Heston, whose appointment as Foreman Mason came only after a great deal of pressure.<sup>292</sup> From a different perspective, the payrolls for the church list the names and wages of those hired. Judging from the origins of the names listed, only 1 of 24 stone cutters had a name of British origin, 4 of 19 masons, and 12 of 36 labourers.<sup>293</sup> This issue was not readdressed at the Fabrique's meetings, so it was a dead issue for this committee.

The meeting of June 12<sup>th</sup> the committee optimistically planned the opening of Saint Patrick's two years away, in July 1845.<sup>294</sup> Three days later a ceremony was held at the site which marked the future location of Saint Patrick's, and a cross was placed on the site of the altar.<sup>295</sup>

The rest of the summer the meetings discussed the finances for the building. The Fabrique did not have the funds necessary to pay for the construction, so it endeavoured to borrow the funds required. The August 28<sup>th</sup> meeting discussed two possible loans from the Montreal Bank and the Montreal Assurance Company for £ 4 to 6000.<sup>296</sup> The following meeting the committee the committee obtained a loan of £ 4000 from Samuel Gerrarer, Esq.<sup>297</sup>

The rest of September was occupied with the organizing of the ceremony surrounding the laying of the cornerstones. It was held on the 25<sup>th</sup> of September, and the committee had invited

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<sup>292</sup> John Kelly, Montreal, to Father Patrick Dowd, Montreal, 1884. SPA.

<sup>293</sup> août 1844, Documents Libre et Divers "Liste de Tailleurs de Pierre de la journée de l'église," Boîte 50, AFND.

<sup>294</sup> 12 June 12 1843, Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid, 15 June 1843.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid, 28 August 1843.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid, 4 September 1843.



some dignitaries to lay the church's seven cornerstones. The Bishop lay the first stone, the Mayor the second, the Speaker of the House of Assembly the third, and the Chief Justice the fourth.<sup>298</sup> The Presidents of the three Irish Societies- the Temperance Society, the Hibernian Benevolent Society, and the Saint Patrick's Society, laid the final three cornerstones.<sup>299</sup> This act ends the participation of the Irish community with the construction of Saint Patrick's church until its opening in 1847.

Here too ends the entries in the Saint Patrick's Committee Minute Book. No other record of the Fabrique's committee exist at the Fabrique or at the Seminary. As the committee had been given the authority for the process of building, it is likely that it kept meeting. In a report submitted to the Bishop on the expenses incurred on the construction, the Fabrique had taken a total of £ 26070. 13. 12 in loans, and a further £ 37453. 14. 5 from the Seminary.<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Ibid, 25 September 1843.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid.

<sup>300</sup> 4 July 1846, "Dépenses pour construction de l'église," 901.145, 846-1, ACAM.

## ILLUSTRATION 5

Saint Patrick's Church,  
1870



The outside appearance of the church has not altered between its construction and the time this photo was taken, as no additions were made to the exterior. Miller, 8.  
Source: C 84479, PAC. Photo by J.G. Parks, Montreal.

While the committee may have forecasted the completion of Saint Patrick's in 1845, the church took another two years. This miscalculation may have had a lot to do with the church's intended size. Permission was granted to the Fabrique to build a church "around 180 feet in length and 90 feet wide, with a proportionate height."<sup>301</sup> However, even before this had been given, Joseph-Vincent Quiblier had more grandiose ideas in mind for Saint Patrick's. The year before, in his letter to the architect Pugin, he envisioned Saint Patrick's measuring 215 feet by 108 feet.<sup>302</sup> The church completed measures 233 feet by 105 feet.<sup>303</sup>

Another alteration was made to the church's design which would have extended the construction time further, and that was the building of a bell tower. It is at this time more than any other where Quiblier's influence is cited as the driving force in the appearance of Saint Patrick's. He had envisioned the church's dimensions as well as a tower, as he related to Pugin. According to the anecdotal histories these two elements were a result of "the kind intervention of Father Quiblier."<sup>304</sup> Both these changes were achieved through the acts of the Superior, its size through his pressure, and the tower through more devious means:

In order to defeat the opposition of certain members of the Fabrique, who did not wish to allow a tower, so as to curtail expenses, the Superior caused the tower to be built inside the church, instead of outside, as it is usual. In this way it did not appear outwardly until the walls were complete, and the necessity of carrying the tower to completion became

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<sup>301</sup> "Copie. . . et Bourget à Fabrique. Supplique acceptée,"901.145, 843-2, ACAM.

<sup>302</sup> 28 mai 1842. Lettre de Vincent Quiblier à M. A.W. Pugin, architecte, Londres, pour lui demander des plans pour l'église Saint-Patrice-de-Montréal" Section 27, vouûte 2, T-98, #6 (duplicate), ASSS.

<sup>303</sup> A Short History of St. Patrick's pamphlet, nd.

<sup>304</sup> Lipscombe, 12.

evident if the appearance of the building were not to be spoiled.<sup>305</sup>

To the later Irish community, those reaping the benefits of the large and impressive Saint Patrick's Church, the intervention of the Superior was and is seen as clever and heroic, outwitting the nay-sayers. While the idea of tricking the 'opposition' by building the tower out of sight until it was too late to change was quite clever, it had consequences. The extra time taken to build Saint Patrick's was time the community had to wait for its urgently required facilities. To those being deceived, the Superior's cleverness would not have been looked upon in so positive a light. The increase in the church's dimensions was a deception, and in asking for a particular size and then causing a larger one to be built was a deception on the Bishop.

The Superior's relationship with the Bishop of Montreal was not a good one. From the letter writing against the establishment of the Bishopric in the 1820s to Quiblier's curt dismissal of Bourget's suggestions in 1841, the two heads were often in opposition. Although no reactions were recorded, the deception over the size of Saint Patrick's would have been another incident in a long line of incidents, which highlighted their rocky relationship. This apparent animosity was not only on the side of the superior, and it put the fate of Saint Patrick's in question in 1845.

Ignace Bourget during his career as Bishop of Montreal invited many religious orders to his diocese to establish their houses there. The Jesuits returned to Canada in 1842 after having been absent since the Conquest. The group of men who arrived that year had been redirected from a posting in Madagascar after Bourget had talked to their head in Rome.<sup>306</sup> There had been

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<sup>305</sup> Golden Jubilee of Saint Patrick's Orphan Asylum, 107.

<sup>306</sup> Sylvain & Voisine, 27.

an assurance of having a parish in Montreal, a place where the order could base its operations in Montreal, and found a college.<sup>307</sup>

The Jesuits were still looking for the perfect site in 1845. August 1845 the Seminary offered a portion of their Mountain property for the use of the Jesuits' new college. The Bishop, on behalf of the order declined the offer because the property was not central.<sup>308</sup> That October, the Bishop wrote to Quiblier saying that the Jesuits had chosen the site, but the letter did not state its exact location.<sup>309</sup> In November, the site was disclosed as the future Saint Patrick's church. "The Citizens of Montreal" made a formal request to the Seminary to cede the Saint Patrick's property to the Jesuits once Saint Patrick's became the property of the Seminary (which occurred in May 1846).<sup>310</sup> After the humbly polite preamble praising the Seminarians, the 'Citizens of Montreal' asked that the Seminary be equally as generous with the Saint Patrick's land that they had been with the Mountain property, offering them the advantages of a more central location such as the Sulpicians already enjoyed.<sup>311</sup>

The request originated with the Bishop. The letter from the "Citizens of Montreal" was anonymous. The Bishop pressured the Seminary on this issue from within and without. It was

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>308</sup> T-98, #19, 1845, "Dossier renfermant la correspondance entre Mgr Ignace Bourget, Évêque de Montréal, et M. V. Quiblier Supérieur du Séminaire de Montréal, relative au site du Collège que les Jésuites veulent construire à Montréal. 59 pages 12 pièces." 1) 22 août 1845 Bourget à Quiblier, déclinant l'offre d'un terrain à la Montagne, ASSS.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid, 2) 11 octobre 1845 Bourget à Quiblier, lui disant que les Pères Jésuites ont choisi l'endroit du futur collège, ASSS.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid, 3) 11 novembre 1845- Réquête pour la cession d'un terrain de Saint-Patrice aux Jésuites pour la fondation d'un collège, ASSS.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

his desire to see Saint Patrick's given to the Jesuits. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of November, the Bishop wrote to the members of the Seminary's Assembly, of which 6 copies are extant.<sup>312</sup> In this letter, Bourget urged the Assembly members to vote in favour of the request.<sup>313</sup> Feeling that religion was being misinterpreted in this matter, the Bishop set his argument forth that the Seminary was incurring a large debt on behalf of the Irish, but he questioned whether they were as important as the support of their fellow orders.<sup>314</sup> Bourget went as far as to invoke the memory of the Sulpician founder, by stating that the making of this gift to the Jesuits would be imitating Olier.<sup>315</sup>

Despite Bourget going behind Quiblier's back and trying to have the Assembly vote against its Superior on this matter, the Assembly did not give Saint Patrick's to the Jesuits. On November 28<sup>th</sup>, Quiblier notified the Bishop of the refusal.<sup>316</sup> The Seminary was firm in their stand that Saint Patrick's was destined for the Irish, who had contributed to its construction. The Seminary also believed that this growing congregation required English-speaking priests.<sup>317</sup>

The Bishop must not have been satisfied with the results of the assembly because he

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<sup>312</sup> Ibid, 18 novembre, "Cinq lettres de Bourget aux membres de l'assemblée générale de Saint-Sulpice leur demandant de vendre une partie du terrain de Saint-Patrice aux Jésuites," ASSS. & S21, 13.17, 18 novembre 1845. "Lettre de Mgr Ignace Bourget, Évêque de Montréal, aux Sulpiciens, membres de l'assemblée générale par l'intermédiaire de Jean-Baptiste Bréguier dit Saint-Pierre, pss, relative au don aux Jésuites d'un terrain, sis près de l'église Saint-Patrice pour y fonder un collège. 4 pages," ASSS.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>316</sup> T-98, #19, 1845, "Dossier renfermant la correspondance entre Mgr Bourget, Évêque de Montréal, et M. V. Quiblier Supérieur du Séminaire de Montréal, relative au site du collège que les Jésuites veulent construire a Montréal. 59 pages. 12 pièces. Quiblier à Bourget, le refus du Seminaire," ASSS.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

continued to write to the Assembly members on an individual basis. Quiblier wrote to Bourget and stated that the Bishop should only deal through him concerning these matters.<sup>318</sup> Bourget then wrote to Quiblier and questioned the integrity of the decision not to give Saint Patrick's to the Jesuits, by asking if it was a decision actually made by the Assembly.<sup>319</sup>

They chose another site for their Mother church, and Saint Patrick's continued to be in the possession of the Fabrique until May 1846 when it was sold to the Seminary. The Fabrique continued to finance the building of the church.<sup>320</sup> Thus Saint Patrick's was destined to continue to be a part of the Parish of Notre Dame: a chapel of ease, like the Recollet and the Bonsecours.

The Bishop continued to lobby the members of the Seminary's Assembly, even after the decision against the donation of Saint Patrick's to the Jesuits. He began to lobby the Assembly members to not vote another five year term for Quiblier as Superior of the Seminary.<sup>321</sup> Unlike his attempt to influence votes on the Jesuits issue, Bourget was successful. Quiblier left Montreal. The next year, while in Paris, Bourget ensured that Quiblier would not return. He spoke to the Superior of the Order in Paris. In a letter he wrote to the Archbishop of Quebec stating that the difficulties between himself and Quiblier had been resolved happily, and that it had been decided that Quiblier would never return to Canada.<sup>322</sup> This very strong action against

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<sup>318</sup> 22 décembre 1845, Ibid," Quiblier à Bourget au sujet du collège des Jésuites, lui demandant de traiter avec le seul Supérieur du Séminaire," ASSS.

<sup>319</sup> 24 décembre 1845, Ibid, " Lettre de Mgr I. Bourget à Quiblier demandant si le refus d'un terrain à Saint-Patrice aux Jésuites est celui du conseil des Douze," ASSS.

<sup>320</sup> 3 mai 1846 & 5 juillet 1846, Livre "C", 61-62, AFND.

<sup>321</sup> Rousseau, 811.

<sup>322</sup> 10 février, 1847, Mgr Prince, Évêque de Martyropolis on behalf of Bourget, to Signay, Archevêque de (continued...)

Quiblier indicates that Bourget was very bitter.

Despite Quiblier's unceremonious dismissal as Superior of the Montreal Sulpicians, he still aided the Anglophone congregation of Montreal. He went to Ireland a few times to recruit priests for the new church.<sup>323</sup> He also stayed in London for a few years serving the Irish immigrants who had settled there.<sup>324</sup> Hence his reputation as a friend to the Irish, as Quiblier spent the rest of his working life in the service of their religious needs.

In January 1847 the plans to open Saint Patrick's were underway. Hudon wrote to Bourget that the plans were to open the church on Saint Patrick's Day unless there were any objections.<sup>325</sup> Less notice was given to the Fabrique, who were told three days prior to the opening that Saint Patrick's was sufficiently advanced in its construction to be consecrated on Saint Patrick's Day.<sup>326</sup> The church however was absent of any interior decoration and furniture, including pews.<sup>327</sup> A newspaper account of the proposed celebration stated that it would be without pews "for some time to come."<sup>328</sup> There seems to have been an overwhelming desire to have the ceremony on Saint Patrick's Day regardless of the discomfort of having to stand during service.

The opening of Saint Patrick's church marked the Irish community's re-entry into the life

<sup>322</sup>(...continued)  
Québec RLB 4, ACAM.

<sup>323</sup> Rousseau, 811.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid.

<sup>325</sup> 28 janvier, 1847, M. H. Hudon, ptre, Montréal, à Mgr Bourget, Rome., 901.117, 847-1, ACAM.

<sup>326</sup> 14 mars 1847, Livre "C", 66, AFND.

<sup>327</sup> Transcript & Commercial Advertiser 16 March 1847.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid.



of Saint Patrick's. It had last participated in the construction process with the laying of the cornerstones in 1843. The three Irish-oriented societies participated again in the opening ceremonies. The march to and from Saint Patrick's Church were organized (as was becoming the custom) by the Saint Patrick's Society. The procession after the consecration service went to the Society's temporary rooms at the Place D'Armes.<sup>329</sup> The ceremony and service at the church was well attended, being described as "almost incredible."<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Ibid & Montreal Gazette 17 March 1847.

<sup>330</sup> Montreal Gazette 18 March 1847.

## CHAPTER 4 DIVISION OF THE PARISH

The circumstances of Saint Patrick's founding, the motivations of those groups involved, continued to be of relevance to these groups long after it had occurred. The division of the Parish of Montreal in 1866 offered an opportunity for the Irish community, the Seminary, and the Bishop to argue Saint Patrick's *raison d'être*.

After its 1847 opening, Saint Patrick's became a centre for Montreal's Irish community. It suffered with the community during the devastating Typhus epidemic brought by the impoverished and weakened emigrants of the famine migration, and lost all but one of its priests to the disease.<sup>331</sup> The Irish community continued to grow in size.<sup>332</sup> The Irish constituted a quarter of Montreal's population in 1861.<sup>333</sup> This growth led the Seminary to construct a second Irish church- Saint Ann's, in Griffintown in 1854.<sup>334</sup>

The Irish population did not exist in isolation, but as a part of Montreal, which was growing into a very large city. Despite this large population, the majority of the city's Roman Catholics continued to be served in only one parish, that of Notre Dame. Most of the churches were succursal churches attached to the Fabrique of Notre Dame. This was considered a problem which the Bishop of Montreal, Ignace Bourget, wished to address. He also wished to change the way in which the Seminary built its succursal churches, such as Saint Patrick's, which he

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<sup>331</sup> Golden Jubilee of the Reverend Fathers Dowd, 13.

<sup>332</sup> See Chart 1.

<sup>333</sup> Patricia A. Thornton & Sherry Olson, The Tidal Wave of Irish Immigration to Montreal and Its Demographic Consequences, Shared Spaces #13, (Montreal: McGill Department of Geography, 1993), 2.

<sup>334</sup> Cross, 95.

which he described as “ruinous” because of the debt which its grand proportions necessitated.<sup>335</sup> He placed the matter before the Sacred Congregation for the Propaganda of the Faith (hereafter Propagande), and in December 1865, received an Apostolic Decree “authorizing the Bishop to proceed to the divisions of the Parish of Notre Dame when the spiritual necessities of the faithful required it.”<sup>336</sup>

The permission to divide the Parish of Notre Dame, no matter how carefully, done was bound to upset the Sulpicians. Accompanying this decree was a letter from Cardinal Barnabo. He urged both the Bishop and the Seminarians to “put aside any feeling of discord and diffidence [ . . . ] keeping before their minds exclusively the good of religion and abstaining specifically from any appearance of controversy in regard to the temporal possessions of the Seminary or Parish.”<sup>337</sup> The ill-will which marked the Seminary’s and Bishop’s relationship was not set aside, and did not make the process any easier. Not only was the division of the Sulpician’s parish a direct threat to their power and position in Montreal’s Catholic Church, it also had economic repercussions. The majority of the churches in the Parish of Notre Dame were built and paid for by the Seminary and Fabrique, and as the civilly incorporated authorities, they were therefore responsible for the debts incurred in their building, even if the churches were placed into separate parishes.<sup>338</sup>

Saint Jacques on Saint Denis Street (not the Bishop’s Cathedral) was the first church to

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<sup>335</sup> “Mémoire de Bourget, en réponse au précédent, 29 septembre, 1863”, 901.136, 863-9b, ACAM.

<sup>336</sup> Berry, 118.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

<sup>338</sup> Ibid.

become a parish church, in September 1866. This came about with a lot of protest from the parishioners and the Seminary, but it was to no avail, the Bishop ignored them.<sup>339</sup> In Saint Jacques' projected parish boundaries, there were many Irish who were resident, and they complained that they had not been consulted on the matter, nor had they been notified of a meeting to discuss the creation of the parish in a language which they understood- English.<sup>340</sup> The Irish congregation was represented by the priest at Saint Patrick's, Father Dowd.

In creating a parish based on geographic considerations and not language considerations, the Anglophones living in the new parish of Saint Jacques were compelled to worship there and not at Saint Patrick's. It was the belief that the two populations could not worship together, did not want to worship together. "Oblige the Irish and Canadians to attend in the same church for religious worship and instruction, and immediately you bring into collision all the susceptibilities and jealousies. . .[and] scandal will soon be the result."<sup>341</sup>

Saint Patrick's was the next church to receive the Bishop's attention in October 1866. The Bishop invited those interested in the matter of erecting the Canonical Parish of Saint Patrick's to discuss it on November 9<sup>th</sup>. The congregation were against the Bishop's proposal, and stated so at this meeting.<sup>342</sup> Again, the protests were ignored, and the congregation were told from the pulpit of Saint Patrick's, that their church was to become a bilingual church, based on

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<sup>339</sup> Ibid.

<sup>340</sup> 20 septembre 1866, "P. Dowd, Curé à AF Truteau VG, Il demande que la paroisse soit exclusivement anglaise, contre erection de Saint-Jacques," 901.145, 866-1, ACAM.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid.

<sup>342</sup> The Case of Saint Patrick's, 5.

geographical considerations. This announcement unleashed a storm of protest, which the Bishop also dismissed.

The congregation of Saint Patrick's published a pamphlet to publicize its dispute and to put forth its side in December 1866. The Bishop's response to the congregation's original arguments to his actions was also included in the pamphlet. Bourget was determined to see Notre Dame divided into parishes. In the beginning of his address he states reasons of Canon Law, benefits to the congregation of having the legal rights of marriage, baptism and the benefits of Parish priests.<sup>343</sup> Something which Saint Patrick's had *de facto* if not in law, already. Bourget's response to those who had accused him of picking on the Irish, was to refute it, describing his own actions: how he had helped the Irish through various acts of charity and kindness. He went on condescendingly, to describe the Irish as "unfortunate", and as a poor, suffering people, leading miserable lives. Lives relieved only by the Catholic charities, and the Bishop.<sup>344</sup> The Bishop closed his response to the Irish opposition by urging unity among Catholics. From the phrasing of these last paragraphs, it is clear that Bourget did not believe in separate churches for the different languages:

Instead. . . of allowing yourselves to be led into those unhappy divisions, let us be, dearest Brethren, of one heart and one mind, laboring for the glory of our common Mother, the Holy Church, whose interests ought to occupy us before everything else.<sup>345</sup>

The congregation was supported in its fight to keep Saint Patrick's as an exclusively Irish

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<sup>343</sup> Ibid, 9-10.

<sup>344</sup> Ibid, 11-13.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid, 13-14.

church and one which served the entire English Catholic population of Montreal by the Seminary, and by the Archbishop of Quebec. The pamphlet outlines the chief arguments for maintaining the *status quo*. Firstly, Saint Patrick's was built for the English-speaking Catholics on a scale to accommodate their numbers. Secondly, the population had given "in proportion to their means and numbers" to the construction and gave more to its decoration and furnishings.<sup>346</sup> Thirdly, the giving of such a narrow territory to Saint Patrick's parish, the majority of its present congregation would be excluded from worship there. Fourthly, that this division was contrary to the wishes of the congregation. Fifthly, that the church would lose its rights to solemnize marriages, etc. And lastly, that by changing Saint Patrick's circumstances it would injure the English-speaking Catholics' faith in the Church and cause irreparable harm in the ability of their oriented charities to raise funds.<sup>347</sup>

Father Dowd, the spiritual head of Montreal's Irish Catholics, reiterated these points in a long letter of protest written separately from the congregation's pamphlet. He pointed out additionally that Saint Patrick's (also Saint Ann's, but not primarily) served a population of 30,000 Anglophone Catholics.<sup>348</sup> Of these 30,000 though, only around 2000 actually lived within the proposed Parish boundaries.<sup>349</sup> Dowd strongly disagreed with the Bishop's actions. He questioned Bourget's wisdom in the matter:

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<sup>346</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>348</sup> 8 novembre 1866, "Protestation de Mr. Dowd contre le démembrement de Saint Patrice et son érection en paroisse," 10, SPA.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid.

Sa Grandeur a-t-il fait ces calculs? Il ne peut avoir eu l'intention de faire de l'église Saint-Patrice une solitude comme les cathédrales protestantes, et donner aux catholiques au cité, qui parlent anglais, le triste spectacle de leur ancienne abandonnée et pleurant sur la dispersion forcée de ses pieux enfants.<sup>350</sup>

The Sulpicians, of whom Father Dowd was a member, also wrote a memoir against the dismemberment of Notre Dame Parish, and the creation of the new Saint Patrick's parish. Besides the Seminary's financial commitment in the church building and its loss of power and prestige with dismemberment, it also expressed concern for their Irish parishioners. They felt that the Catholic Irish were better served with Saint Patrick's as it was, and that a new parish would cut off 25 000 from services.<sup>351</sup> Saint Patrick's was built for the English-speaking Catholics, and for twenty years had served that purpose alone.<sup>352</sup>

These arguments had been presented to the Bishop in November 1866, but had been disregarded. The memoir and the congregation's printed pamphlet were geared to an audience wider than just the Bishop. They were still trying to influence the Bishop, but they were also approaching other ecclesiastical authorities, such as the Archbishop of Quebec. Citing all the reasons previously mentioned, they addressed a letter in the pamphlet to the Archbishop. In the letter they appealed "the decision of our Bishop to your Grace, as Administrator of the province to interpose your Grace's authority in annulling the decree of erection, and restoring us to our

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<sup>350</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>351</sup> Décembre 1866, "Notes de A. Baile, Superieur, devant servir à un mémoire contre l'érection en paroisse canonique de Saint-Jacques et Saint-Patrice," 3, T-100 #2, ASSS.

<sup>352</sup> Ibid, 3-4.

former position, in which we were so happy.”<sup>353</sup> The Seminary and Fabrique also appealed to the Archbishop separately asking for his intercession in the matter.<sup>354</sup>

The congregation further stated that they “awaited remedy from the authority which the church has placed in the hands of your Grace, or the reference of our case, for final adjudication to the Holy Father, at Rome.”<sup>355</sup> The community understood that it would have to take the issue all the way to Rome. The Seminary and the Irish community both sent representatives to Propagande in Rome in 1867 to plead the case of Saint Patrick’s.

The Irish community was represented by Thomas Ryan and Thomas D’Arcy McGee, who were members of the committee who published their opposition to the parish divisions. They went to Rome at their own expense to represent the congregation and its position.<sup>356</sup> They also came to Rome with the sanction of the Archdiocese of Quebec.<sup>357</sup> They argued the same points in Rome that they had to the Bishop of Montreal that Saint Patrick’s was built for the exclusive use of English-speaking Catholics, becoming “an ornament and an honour to religion and a point of unity and concentration for the English-speaking Catholics of Montreal.”<sup>358</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> The Case of St. Patrick’s, 29.

<sup>354</sup> “Appel du Curé et des Marguilliers à l’Archevêque de Québec, 9 décembre 1866,” 901.136, 866-50, ACAM.

<sup>355</sup> The Case of St. Patrick’s, 29.

<sup>356</sup> Berry, 124.

<sup>357</sup> 5 avril 1867, “Mémoire présenté au Saint-Père par T. Ryan et T. D’Arcy McGee, délégués des Irlandais de Montréal, pour lui exposer la situation résultant de l’érection canonique de Saint-Patrice, suivi de l’acte de nomination des deux délégués et de leur certificat d’honorabilité ( 10 jan. 1867) 8 pages. [écriture de J-B LaRue, pss],” T-100 #32, ASSS.

<sup>358</sup> “Supplique de Ryan et McGee 5 avril, 1867.” 901.136, 867-61, ACAM.



It took Propagande in Rome several years to sort out this problem as evident in the reams of reports, letters and addresses dealing with the issue, authored by all of the concerned parties.<sup>359</sup> The Bishop of Montreal's position rooted in Canonical law, was vigorously defended, the same vigour was exercised by the other concerned parties. The Sulpicians, headed by Joseph Baile and J-B. LaRue, promoted their position based on their traditional responsibilities and the negative effects on its finances. The Irish community, and the Archbishop of Quebec based their positions on the exclusivity of the church for Anglophone worship.<sup>360</sup>

Rome began to unravel the difficulties with a series of decrees. The first decree on the subject of parish divisions was in July 1872. In that decree Saint Patrick's and Saint Ann's churches were given for the exclusive use of the English-speaking and Irish Catholics, while the Canadians had the use of other succursal churches.<sup>361</sup> Saint Patrick's parish boundaries were expanded to encompass those of Notre Dame.<sup>362</sup>

This decree did not satisfy the Seminary, and the Bishop of Montreal required more clarification. The Seminary was especially concerned about the debt incurred in the building and the ownership of Saint Patrick's and Saint Ann's.<sup>363</sup> This was resolved for the most part in a second decree issued in 1873. It established Saint Patrick's and Saint Ann's as separate parishes in existing parish boundaries, but compelled worship in the different churches according to

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<sup>359</sup> Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Calendar of Documents Concerning Canada", ASPF

<sup>360</sup> Ibid.

<sup>361</sup> 30 julii, 1872, Cardinal Barnabo, (Apographum) Decretum, Rome, SPA.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> Pizzorusso.

linguistic differences. Anglophones in Notre Dame were to treat Saint Patrick's as their Mother church, while Francophones did likewise with the church and pastor of Notre Dame.<sup>364</sup> A third decree in 1874 settled the issue of the civil matters arising from the erection of the parishes.<sup>365</sup>

According to Gerald Berry, Father Dowd's:

observations and his claim that thousands of Irish Catholics resident within the civil limits of Notre Dame should be allowed to remain as one congregation in an national parish instead of being divided into three parishes where they would be exposed to the system of mixed languages in a double language church. That claim is the only point on which Rome made any exception or deviation from the original Decree.<sup>366</sup>

All those who petitioned against dismemberment to the Bishop of Montreal and to Rome, argued that Saint Patrick's had been built to serve Montreal's English-speaking Catholics. It also pointed to the twenty years since its establishment in which Saint Patrick's had served this specific population. Father Dowd in his memoir to Rome had referred to other dioceses which had established separate churches for the two language groups, including Ottawa.<sup>367</sup>

A National parish was a term used by the Catholic church to describe those churches or parishes that were "organized for language or ethnic groups rather than on a territorial basis."<sup>368</sup> Saint Patrick's fit into what was already considered a normal practice by other districts. It had

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<sup>364</sup> 29 martii, 1873, Cardinal Barnabo, Apographum #4 Illme et Rme Domine, Rome, SPA.

<sup>365</sup> Berry, 128.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid, 119.

<sup>367</sup> 8 novembre 1866, "Protestation de Mr. Dowd contre le démembrement de Saint-Patrice et son érection en paroisse, SPA.

<sup>368</sup> James A. Coriden, The Parish in Catholic Tradition- History, Theology and Canon Law, (New York & Mahwah NJ: Paulist Press, 1997), 37.

served in fact, if not in official designation as a National Parish. Rome's decrees merely recognized Saint Patrick's *status quo*.

The information provided to support the position of the Archbishop of Quebec, the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, and the Irish Catholics of Montreal indicate that the manner in which Saint Patrick's was built was what all parties concerned desired. The reaction of the Irish community in organizing a protest against a change in circumstances showed what the community had received in 1847 had satisfied their spiritual needs.

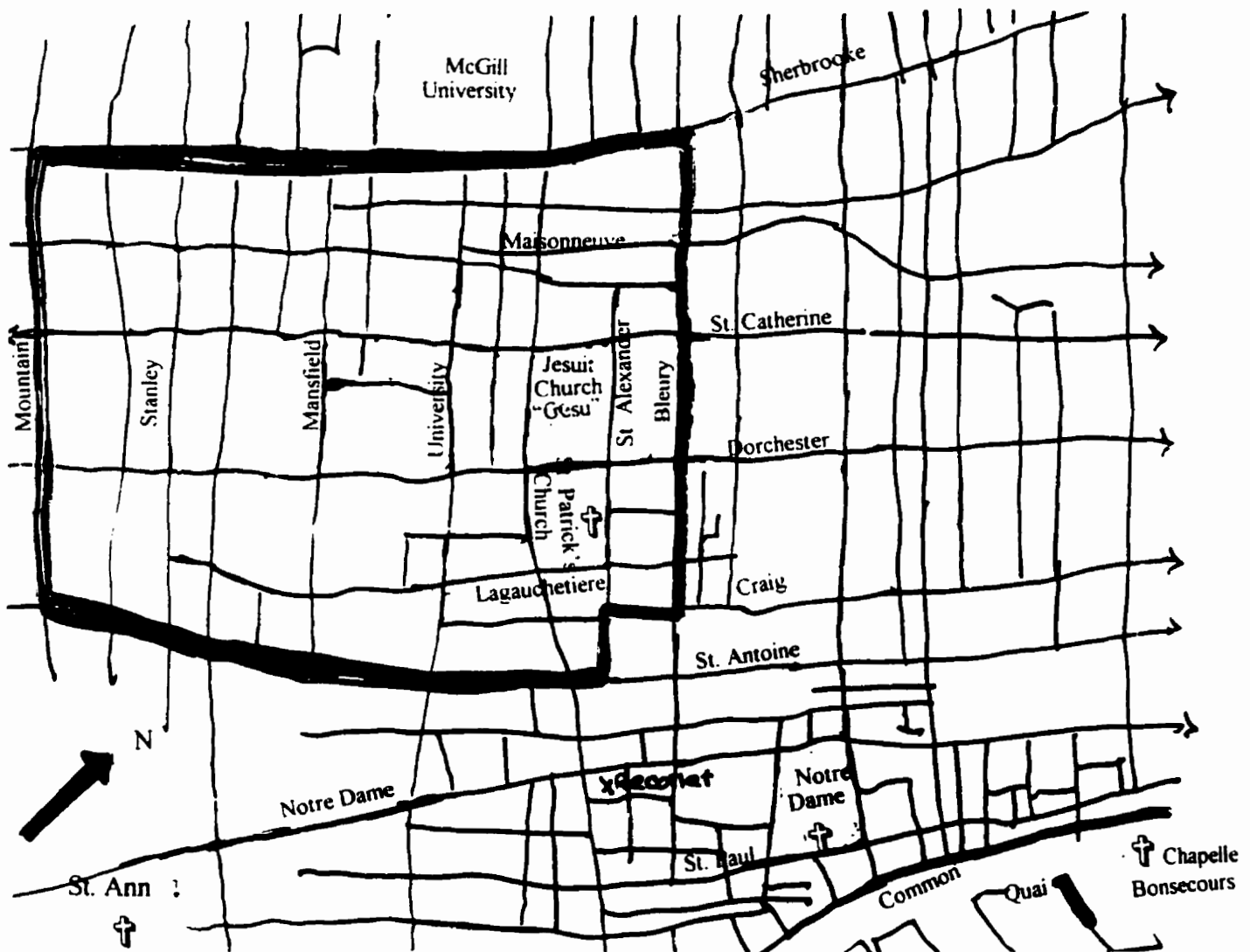
The information, including Father Dowd's persuasive data, also indicated that despite the community's satisfaction with Saint Patrick's, it did not live, for the most part, close to its Mother Church. 25 000 of Saint Patrick's congregation did not live within the geographic limits of the proposed parish of Saint Patrick's. The boundaries encompassed around nine square city blocks west and northwest of Saint Patrick's church.<sup>369</sup> The boundaries proposed by the Bishop exclude the immediate east of Saint Patrick's, so the Anglophone catholic population in that area were not included in Dowd's estimates. Still, it demonstrates that Saint Patrick's was not located in an area immediate to its intended congregation.

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<sup>369</sup> See Map 4.

MAP 4

Proposed Parish Boundaries  
Saint Patrick's 1866



"An Episcopal Decree of His Lordship the Bishop of Montreal, published on Sunday, November 25<sup>th</sup>, announces the erection of a new Canonical Parish in this city to be called the Parish of St. Patrick, the boundaries of which are to be the middle of Bleury Street to Sherbrooke Street, of Sherbrooke to Mountain Street, of Mountain to St. Antoine; and thence to the junction of Craig and Bleury Streets." The Case of St. Patrick's, 26.

In fact, when Saint Patrick's was built, it was in an area that had several Protestant churches already located to the south.<sup>370</sup> The area which the Bishop later assigned to the proposed parish had been developed only after the founding of Saint Patrick's, and had contained previously the summer homes of the English middle class, and the old Saint-Antoine Cemetery.<sup>371</sup> The presence of such a huge English Catholic church did not induce its congregation to move nearby. With an estimated congregation of 30 000, however, distance did not prevent the English-speaking Catholics from attending some services there.

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<sup>370</sup> Choko, 69.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid, 145.

## CONCLUSION

During the thirty year period between 1817 and 1847, the Irish Catholic population in Montreal increasingly expressed a sense of community and ethnic identity. The Irish population of Montreal began to organize itself into secular non-denominational societies based on their shared ethnicity starting in 1823, with the Hibernian Benevolent Society. By the 1840s when work actually began on Saint Patrick's Church, there were several societies which were geared to those of Irish ethnicity. These societies attracted Irish membership of all faiths.

Each year these secular societies organized celebrations for Saint Patrick's Day, and included in the commemoration, a service in a Catholic Church, most often Notre Dame, performed by a Catholic priest from the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice. While dinners and parades were also used to mark the occasion, they changed from year to year in size, and location. The dinners were often duplicated with the different societies holding their own dinners. The church service did not change, it being held from the late 1820s on at Notre Dame. This Catholic celebration was embraced by all Irish in Montreal, regardless of their faith.

The Catholic Church was also involved within the secular societies, particularly the Saint Patrick's Society with Father Phelan as its Chaplain. The societies, as voluntary associations, could determine their own purpose and their executive positions. Including the post of Chaplain was a deliberate act on the part of the Saint Patrick's Society, and demonstrates the importance of the Catholic Church in the life of the whole Irish community.

Up until 1817 the Irish Catholics of Montreal worshipped with French Canadians as a part of the same congregation, attending the same services at the Chapelle Bonsecours. Mass was in Latin, the sermon was in French. In 1817 the Irish were given their own services with

English sermons delivered by an Anglophone priest. This action by the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice began the tradition of separate treatment for the Irish Catholics within Montreal's Church.

There seems to have been no enmity involved in the separation. Indeed in the first petition addressed in 1826 to the Seminary, only expressed discontent concerning the physical conditions of worship, but the English-speaking Catholics of Montreal supported the separation. They expressed much gratitude for being given the Recollet church: "that your petitioners. . . feel sensibly grateful to you for the many favors you have hitherto bestowed on them particularly for your devoting them as a place of worship the Recollet church. . . . it is your petitioners' unalterable wish in concurrence with yours to continue the Recollet church as their place of worship undividedly."<sup>372</sup>

The Seminary from then on, isolated their Irish congregation from the rest of the Church. In all but a few documents, the Seminary, Fabrique, and the Bishop referred to the English-speaking congregation as Irish (Irlandais). The division of services may have been based on a linguistic difference, but the congregation was considered Irish even if some of its members were not of Irish origin. In 1826, when this congregation was moved to the Old Recollet church of Saint Helen's, this community was physically and linguistically separate from the majority of the Catholic Church.

The Irish preferred to worship among those who spoke English, and to worship with their own ethnicity. While the community addressed itself as English-speaking Catholics in all but its

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<sup>372</sup> Boite 3, Chemise #17, "Lettre du Irlandais 5 juillet 1826 RE-Récollet grandi," AFND.

own 1826 petition, it was made up of primarily Irish Catholics.<sup>373</sup> The composition of the congregation explains why in 1833 the congregation began to request a church named after the Patron Saint of Ireland. The majority identified themselves with the Irish and as Irish.

Despite the many requests made by the community that were refused or ignored, the Irish Catholics appeared to have had a good relationship with the Seminary. The community felt strongly about the role of the Church in its life. Some of the respect held by the Irish community for Montreal's Roman Catholic Church and particularly the Seminary of Saint Sulpice, can be partly explained by force of personality. The Irish population, leading up to the founding of Saint Patrick's, were receiving their religious services from a handful of Anglophone priests.<sup>374</sup> This reliance on a limited clergy bred a closeness among the two groups.

Father Richard served the congregation the longest. He was also the first priest to have served them exclusively. Even after he left the position at the Recollet, Richard maintained contact with the Irish community. He died a hero's death tending to their spiritual needs during the typhus epidemic of 1847. It is undoubtedly for these reasons that he is recalled by the anecdotal histories with much fondness.

Father Phelan was the most active of the Sulpicians in the Irish community. His Irish birth gave him an advantage with his congregation, he shared with them ethnicity and religion. He was deeply involved in the community through the pulpit and its secular institutions. Phelan's creation of the Temperance Society bridged the secular with the religious, creating an Irish society that blended the best of both. Phelan's role in the community, beyond his spiritual

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<sup>373</sup> "[Irish Catholics]," Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Richard 1817-1847; Phelan 1825-1842; Larkin 1827-1841; Connolly 1845-.



responsibilities was as a trusted advisor. The community waited for his input before going along with the Seminary's plan for Saint Patrick's Church in 1841.

The third personality from the Seminary who held a great deal of respect within the Irish community was Superior Quiblier. It is unclear exactly how or why this man held the community's respect, but he did hold it. His role as mediator, in keeping the Irish population out of the Rebellions of 1837-8, indicates the high esteem in which he was held. Much of this had to do with Quiblier's position as head of the Seminary, as all the decisions made by this body reflected on him. He would either receive the credit or the blame for these decisions.

Quiblier's position as Superior and the power attached to it were not the only explanation for the apparent good relations between the Superior and the Irish community. Quiblier was specifically remembered as a friend to the Irish community. Even when he was all but banished from Canada, he was recruiting priests from Ireland for Saint Patrick's, as well as aiding Irish immigrants in London. With such a powerful ally as well as their involved priests, the Irish community was served by a friendly body.

Throughout this period the Seminary and its seminarians were actively involved in the Irish community's life. This involvement did not translate into extra privileges for the community and its needs. Responses to the Irish community's needs derived from circumstances not associated with them. The Seminary was careful with its money, especially in the 1820s and 1830s. The expenses and debt incurred from the building of Notre Dame was a major factor in this caution. The Sulpicians were in poor financial shape until it received its corporate status in 1839-40. Until that time it had to refuse the requests made by the Irish community on this basis. The requests that were acceded to were done in such a way as to place

the financial burden ultimately upon the Irish congregation. The 1830 renovations were partly financed through funds raised after the granting of a High Mass to the Recollet.

The petition of 1833 referred to crowded conditions at the Recollet. Here began the much used image of the Irish congregation worshipping in the streets. But it is more than an image used; it was reality for many Irish Catholics. These conditions could only have worsened over the years with the increasing numbers of Irish moving to Montreal. The Seminary chose not to do anything about this issue until the 1840s. Finances might have been one reason for putting off any action, certainly there must have been other options to aid the community, but these were apparently not discussed.

In 1841, the Irish community met once again to address what would have then become a chronic condition: the overcrowded conditions at the Recollet. From the petition of the Irish, it is clear that the community wanted to continue to worship as a group, and that a new church was the only way to facilitate this goal. The Irish community initiated the process from this meeting and with the committee created from those in attendance. The process of building Saint Patrick's had begun.

Even today, the Saint Patrick's Society takes credit for the building of Saint Patrick's Church. On its web site, for example, they state that the Society "played a prominent role in such community initiatives as such Saint Patrick's Church."<sup>375</sup> The historical evidence, however, does not support this claim. None of the Irish societies participated as a society in the process. Their members did, but as individual citizens. The ceremonial role the three groups played in the laying of the cornerstones in 1843 and the grand opening in 1847 was just that.

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<sup>375</sup> [Http://www.total.net/~shanemcg/cisf.index.html](http://www.total.net/~shanemcg/cisf.index.html)

Their participation can be equated to the other dignitaries invited such as the mayor, they were invited to add pomp to the occasion, as honoured members of Montreal's city life.

The Irish community's role can be seen in similar terms. It may have initiated the process, but it lost any control it might have had, early on. The Seminary, once approached concerning the building of a church, asserted its power as the ecclesiastical authority. The condition of £ 3000 which it placed on the community before a building would commence, was an instrument of that control. £ 3000 was not a large sum in relation to the cost of building a church, but in relation to the community's resources it was. The £ 3000 was used as a control each time the congregation's committee went to the Seminary to commence building. The inability to raise this sum also prevented the community from building on its own, an option that some had put forward, and one that the Seminary was against. Since on other occasions the community had been unable to raise funds, the Seminary likely forecasted that the eventual fundraising would come to a stop. Even if the sum was not deliberately set expecting failure, its occurrence benefited the Seminary.

The Seminary intended to build the church on its own timetable, and in its own way. In 1842, with the community no longer involved even in fundraising, the Seminary and Fabrique began planning for the church with designs being sought and land being purchased. The community was invited back in the form of some representatives, when permission was sought from the Bishop to begin the building in 1843, but this was only temporary.

John Kelly stated in 1884 that the church was a "put-up job" by the Seminary. While this statement may have been made when relations between the Irish community and the Seminary were not at their best, truth lies within it. The Seminary had to do something to improve the

conditions of worship for its Anglophone congregation. A new church was a viable solution. The details of Saint Patrick's were what made it more than just the fulfilling of the Irish Catholics' requirements.

The choice of location was one detail which was not geared towards the needs of the Irish Catholics. As demonstrated by the various protests generated during the parish dismemberment in 1866,<sup>376</sup> and the existence of the Irish settlement in Griffintown, and the Lachine Canal, the intended congregation did not live in the area where Saint Patrick's was built. The area had some undeveloped sections, along with areas of summer homes, and Protestant churches. The only Roman Catholic presence was a cemetery, part of what is now Dorchester Square.

The statistics of 1866, showing that Saint Patrick's was filled every Sunday, indicate that the community was not discouraged by the distance of Saint Patrick's Church. However, the construction of Saint Ann's in 1854 does suggest that building nearer the community would have been a wiser move. Why did the Seminary build where it did? When the Bishop of Montreal moved his cathedral only three blocks away from Saint Patrick's in 1852, it was asserted that he was trying to impose a French Catholic presence in the heart of Protestant English Montreal.<sup>377</sup> The Seminary might have had the same object in mind, trying to dominate an area with a imposing Catholic edifice.

The church's size is another point which goes beyond the mere accommodation of the Irish congregation. When the Bishop's permission was sought to begin building Saint Patrick's the size was given as 180 feet by 90 feet, but when it was built it was 233 feet by 105 feet. There

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<sup>376</sup> See Map 4.

<sup>377</sup> Choko, 145.

is a significant difference between the two. The change was a subterfuge. The size on its own, even the first one submitted to the Bishop was considerably larger than the Bishop's cathedral, making it also a statement on the power and prestige of the Seminary, much as Notre Dame was in the 1820s. The tower was another statement of the Seminary's authority, overriding the concerns of the Fabrique and creating a large and imposing Catholic Church.<sup>378</sup>

The dispute with the Bishop had heated up in the 1840s with Ignace Bourget's assumption of the Bishopric. The Seminary used the building of Saint Patrick's as a way to fill a gap in the service of Montreal Catholics and demonstrate to the Bishop of Montreal that they retained the power to act unchecked in their own parish. The Seminary was not alone in the using of Saint Patrick's as a tool in its power play with the Bishop. He likewise chose to use Saint Patrick's by trying to obtain it for the use of the rival order of the Jesuits in 1845. The dismemberment of the Parish in 1866 also demonstrated the Bishop's disregard for the needs of the Irish congregation. At no time during these wrangles were their needs considered.

During the construction process the Irish were left out of both the decisions, and to an extent the actual construction. There was no choice for the community but to leave the building of Saint Patrick's to Montreal's traditional and legal ecclesiastical authorities. These authorities were not especially considerate of the Irish community during the process of building. If Saint Patrick's was built on a grandiose scale it was not a reflection on the might or importance of the community, but that of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice.

Over the thirty year period between the granting of English-language Catholic services and the construction of an Irish church, the Irish community in Montreal identified and organized

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<sup>378</sup> See Illustration 4.

itself in ethnic terms. The Irish community developed a sense of self early in Montreal. There is no extant evidence to confirm whether or not the Irish initiated the original separation from the French Canadians, but after the separation had occurred the Irish acted as a group within the Catholic Church. The four petitions addressed to the Seminary and Fabrique reacting to the conditions of worship and attempting to compel the church to improve or replace their church building were clear indicators of an active and politically aware Irish community. These petitions were organized by the prominent members of the Irish community, highly active for the most part, in the secular Irish societies as well as its religious organizations. They came together on behalf of their fellow Irish Catholics to push for expanded facilities.

## EPILOGUE REMITTING THE DEBT, 1884

Following the dismemberment of the parish of Notre Dame, the Fabrique began to seek repayment on the debts they had incurred for the construction of Saint Patrick's church. Because of this debt, and the opposition it generated, the circumstances surrounding the founding of Saint Patrick's were re-examined.

The Fabrique of Notre Dame petitioned the Bishop of Montreal to transfer the debt it had incurred for Saint Patrick's in its entirety to Saint Patrick's church and congregation, in December 1883.<sup>380</sup> Up until this request the Fabrique was legally entitled to the revenue of Saint Patrick's church to pay the building's debt. This right derived from the three papal decrees issued between 1872 and 1874. The Fabrique received \$531 a year from Saint Patrick's, which they argued was insufficient to pay the debt. It was also much smaller in comparison to that which they received from the churches of Notre Dame and Saint Jacques (not the Bishop's cathedral).<sup>381</sup>

The congregation of Saint Patrick's rebelled against this additional burden of debt. Through the pen of their priest Father Dowd, the community fought against the Fabrique. Father Dowd had already plead on behalf of the community in 1866, citing the purpose and founding of Saint Patrick's in several letters. This time Father Dowd decided that his arguments would be better served with more evidence. Father Dowd had arrived in Montreal in 1848, a year

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<sup>380</sup> Décembre 1883, "Requête [imprimé] de la Fabrique de Notre-Dame-de-Montréal à Mgr Fabre, Archevêque de Montréal, pour transférer aux paroissiens de St-Patrice la dette contractée par la Fabrique de Notre-Dame pour la construction de leur église, 5 pages," Section 27.5, Tiroir 104, #75, ASSS.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid. Saint-Jacques= \$ 2038.75; Notre-Dame= \$ 2348.42.

following Saint Patrick's opening. He therefore made a survey of the more senior members of Saint Patrick's congregation, those who were there when the decisions were being made, in order to support his arguments. Among these seniors was his "good friend"<sup>382</sup> Senator Edward Murphy whom he called upon to assist him in the gathering of these recollections. Murphy was deeply involved in Montreal's Irish community from the 1840s to the present, including serving as a Marguillier in 1874.<sup>383</sup>

In 1884, both men circulated the following questions to chosen members of Saint Patrick's congregation:

#### Memorandum

1. Were there any members of the Irish Catholics agitating the necessity of building a church for them- the Recollet church having gone quite too small for them? (I mean long before the foundations of St. Patrick's Church are laid)- Please give your recollections of any of their meetings.-
2. You recollect the great necessity there was for 10 years before St. Patrick's was built for another church for the Parish here in consequence of the great crowds that could not get admission into the Recollet, the poor of our faithful Irish during Mass filled Notre Dame St. outside the church and back with Dollard Lane.
3. Do you recollect that at one or more of the meetings referred to above, or ---- told we would not be allowed to build a church ourselves, as that was the duty or business of the Fabrique or of the ecclesiastical authorities.-
4. Did you ever hear the saying (in consequence of their (Fabrique) putting us off from them to ---- and in refusing to allow us to build a church for ourselves)- "That they (the Fabrique) would not allow us to build a church ourselves nor build one for us."
5. Any recollections you may have of the 10 years previous to the opening of St. Patrick's would be valuable at the present moment and very interesting.
6. When St. Patrick's (present building) was projected did you know or hear of any meetings of the Irish Catholics called for the purpose of

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<sup>382</sup> Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, 80.

<sup>383</sup> See Appendix I.



assisting the building of it.

7. Were the Irish Catholics consulted in any way as to the plan, size or cost of the proposed building, as in the choice of the site that was to be selected? Was not all done without asking their opinion?
8. Did you know or hear of the Irish authorising any one or any body to act in their ---- in the preliminary steps that was [sic] to build St. Patrick's.
9. Did not Father Phelan do all and exhibit in the Recollet Church the model of St. Patrick's and describe it to the Congregation.
10. Was their [sic] at any time a meeting of the Irish Catholics to organise collections for the amount named by the Fabrique ( £ 3000 or \$ 12,000) that the Irish will contribute to the erection of the church.
11. To whom did you pay your subscription?
12. Was the work suspended at any time, if so do you recollect the cause.
13. Did you hear of any change in the plans if so who suggested them?
14. Did not the church in the way the work was done (by day work) under Mr. Compt [sic] as as [sic] overseer and not by contract, cost a good deal more than if [it] would have let one contract ? Please give all the information you can on this here. . . .

[signed] Edward Murphy<sup>384</sup>

The major theme of these leading questions was whether or not the Irish community was active or inactive in the decisions and the construction of Saint Patrick's Church. Three of these recollections survive. They are by Edward Murphy, John Kelly- a contractor, and Thomas Hewitt- former paymaster of Public Works.<sup>385</sup> Only John Kelly followed the format of the numbered questions, but the thrust of most of these questions were answered by all three.

Did the Irish community hold any meetings agitating for a church, or to contribute to the decisions concerning Saint Patrick's? Murphy recalled some agitation ten years prior to the commencement of Saint Patrick's, with the final meetings being held in 1840 or 1841. The last

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<sup>384</sup> Edward Murphy, "Questions submitted to Mr. John Kelly, a resident of Montreal since 1830, on the inception and building of Saint Patrick's Church of Montreal," March 1884, SPA.

<sup>385</sup> See Appendix 1. J. Cléophas Lamothe, Histoire de la Corporation de la Cité de Montréal depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, (Montreal: Montreal Printing & Publishing Co Ltd, 1903), 459.

meeting, held at a hotel “was an influential and large one, had a good effect as it soon after brought things to a crisis, as in two or three years after steps had been taken of the Fabrique to that end.”<sup>386</sup> The Irish Catholics, to Murphy’s memory, did not participate afterwards. “Their [sic] was no public meeting called or organisation on the part of the Irish Catholics for building St. Patrick’s.”<sup>387</sup>

Hewitt recalls the same meeting, but with some differences. To Hewitt the meeting was a total disaster with no volunteers coming forward to form a committee. Also that “Sir Dominic [sic] [Daly] after consulting with a person who came with him to the meeting said I think the action in this affair is premature and the meeting broke up.”<sup>388</sup> To his recollection, there were no further meetings.<sup>389</sup> His memory appears to be a bit faulty, as he was listed as being in attendance at several of the following committee meetings in the Saint Patrick’s Church Committee Minute Book.<sup>390</sup>

Kelly felt that the meetings held before permission to build was granted, were informal. “The cry was loud and frequent however among individual groups of Irish Catholics as the necessity of increased church accommodation before the St. Patrick’s Church was commenced.”<sup>391</sup> He also did not recall any further meetings where the Irish Catholics were

<sup>386</sup> Edward Murphy, Memoranda #1 to Father Dowd, Montreal, 15 February 1884, SPA.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid. (Underlines by Murphy)

<sup>388</sup> Thomas Hewitt, Montreal to Father Dowd, Montreal, 24 February 1884, SPA.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> Saint Patrick’s Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

<sup>391</sup> John Kelly, “Answers of Mr. John Kelly to the questions submitted to him on the inception and building of St. Patrick’s Church Montreal.- the answers are nos 1 to 15 inclusive.-”, SPA.

“called forth for the purpose of assisting the building the Saint Patrick’s Church.”<sup>392</sup> Nor did he recall the community abdicating responsibility in the affair or appointing anyone to act in their stead.<sup>393</sup>

The positions of the Seminary and the Fabrique were questioned. Were they opposed to Saint Patrick’s construction? Did they exclude the Irish Catholics from the process? According to Edward Murphy, the Seminary and Fabrique were at first opposed to the idea of building a church for the community, and it took the meeting of influential people to alter this opinion. Once their minds had been changed, it was

the Fabrique [which] took the initiative and made all the preparations and encouragements for the building of St. Patrick’s, and when ready through Father Phelan this then Pastor of the Recollet Church, who, after Vespers announced the arrangements had been made up for the erection of St. Patrick’s and exhibited a model of the church to the congregation.<sup>394</sup>

Murphy stated positively that the Irish were not consulted in any way concerning any of the details of Saint Patrick’s including size, plan, and site.<sup>395</sup>

John Kelly remembered that the Seminary were opposed to the Irish building the church themselves, and had to direct the process themselves. He further stated that the Fabrique was antagonistic, but that “the influence of the Seminary prevailed.”<sup>396</sup> The community was not

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<sup>392</sup> Ibid.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid.

<sup>394</sup> Murphy Memoranda #1.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid.

<sup>396</sup> “Answers of Mr. John Kelly. . .”

“consulted in any way regarding the plan, size, cost or site of the church all those preliminarys [sic] were concealed from the Irish Catholics were denied the opportunity of an opinion respecting them.”<sup>397</sup> The community was also “excluded” from later participation which caused “great dissatisfaction.”<sup>398</sup>

Thomas Hewitt did not write of any opposition to the founding of a new church nor of Irish participation. He did however paint the image of the poor Irish congregation worshipping outdoors, kneeling on the streets; and of an over-worked priest, a “an Irish-Christ loving his people.”<sup>399</sup> This priest was presumably Father Phelan or Father Richards. The image painted by Hewitt echoes the question posed by Dowd, who also described the Irish congregation in those type of terms.

The financing of Saint Patrick’s was also important. How and by whom was the money raised, and who received the donations? Was the cost of the building in line with the community’s needs or desires? Edward Murphy recalled that his father gave his donation to Michael O’Meara. Murphy recalled that the list of collectors for the various areas were named from the pulpit of the Recollet church.<sup>400</sup> When it came to the costs of Saint Patrick’s. Murphy stated that it had:

cost a good deal more than it should as the masonry and carpenter [sic] work was done by the day- Mr. Comte (long procurator of that institution) Mr. Comte finished

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<sup>397</sup> Ibid.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>399</sup> Hewitt.

<sup>400</sup> Murphy Memoranda #1.

the stone in the building from his quarry . . . . In this way the work cost a great deal more than it would have cost had the building been erected by contract . . . . the cost of material and labour at that time, the building cost a very large sum.”<sup>401</sup>

John Kelly paid his subscription at the Fabrique’s office because of an assumption by Father Phelan, that this was where they should be paid.<sup>402</sup> Mr. Kelly was a contractor so his answer to question fourteen, dealing with the cost of building Saint Patrick’s was either based on his expert opinion, or his disappointment in not receiving the contract himself:

I frequently visited the building during its construction and from close observation I made up my mind that the work must have cost double as much - done as it was by the day, as the same kind of work could have been done by contract in a substantial and workmanlike manner.

Personally there was no better man than Mr. Comte- but he had not the skill and ability nor yet the energy to conduct a building like St. Patrick’s Church short of exorbitant outlay and Joe Otter who was, next, - under him- although a good mechanic was the most costly man that could have been selected. From these considerations I consider that the building of the St. Patrick’s church must have at least cost from sixty to seventy percent more than its real value.<sup>403</sup>

Saint Patrick’s was to Kelly an extravagant gesture by the Seminary. He called the church “a put up job” of the priests of the Fabrique.”<sup>404</sup>

The response by these three men formed the basis of Dowd’s argument to the Bishop of Montreal. However his memoir to Bruchesi was dated January 1884, so he was aware of his

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<sup>401</sup> Edward Murphy, “Memoranda to Father Dowd. Memorandum #2,” 2 March 1884, SPA.

<sup>402</sup> “Answers of Mr. John Kelly”

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid.

results before he surveyed his congregation.. His arguments follow the lines of the questions: that Saint Patrick's was built by the Fabrique as a part of its regular duty to provide facilities for members of its congregation; that the community had no say in its construction; and had the Irish community been allowed to build it themselves it would have been on a more modest scale.<sup>405</sup> The response from Dowd and Murphy's survey merely reinforced his argument.

Although, the questions of 1884 were posed in order to solicit the preferred replies, the historical evidence indicates that the powerlessness expressed by all three men during the events was only exaggerated. Father Dowd's appeal failed to prevent the Fabrique from shifting the debt to Saint Patrick's Church. The debt itself was enormous, and it becomes understandable that Father Dowd tried to prevent it from being assumed by his Church. The capital amount owed was \$ 124,390, with \$ 102,390 of it bearing an interest rate of 4 ½ %, or \$ 4607.55 a year. The remaining \$ 22,000 came from the Seminary without interest.<sup>406</sup>

Both Hewitt and Kelly used descriptions of the Irish as victims. Both described the conditions of worship prior to the opening of Saint Patrick's opening as a sort of victimization: the faithful Irish suffering for religion. Hewitt further described the feeling that, as Irish, they were "foreigners to the Canadians yet they were Catholics."<sup>407</sup>

These recollections touch upon an image of the nineteenth-century Irish as victims. There were many instances through the period of study when the Irish and others were referred to as

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<sup>405</sup> Patrick Dowd, "Remarks on the petition of the Fabrique of Notre Dame, to his Lordship the Bishop of Montreal, praying to have the cost of building St. Patrick's Church transferred from the Fabrique to the Parishioners," 12 January 1884, SPA.

<sup>406</sup> Golden Jubilee of the Reverend Fathers Dowd, 92.

<sup>407</sup> Hewitt.

victims, often when appeals were being made. The community may have resorted to the image of the victim, using instances of hardship as an example, but, as the evidence presented in this thesis indicates, never behaved like victims.

APPENDIX 1  
DATA APPENDIX  
MONTREAL'S IRISH COMMUNITY, 1817-1847

**A** denotes the donations made to the Building Fund of St. Patrick's, taken from the Committee's minutes. Only those who appeared in another capacity in this chart have their donations listed.

**B** denotes those who appeared in the newspapers as members of the Recollet or Roman Catholic Temperance Society, which was to become the St. Patrick Temperance Society. Membership in this society indicates an adherence to the Roman Catholic faith.

**C** denotes those whose names appeared in the newspapers as members of the St. Patrick Society.

**D** denotes those whose names appeared in the newspapers as members of the Hibernian Benevolent Society.

**E** denotes those whose names appeared in the minutes of the Committee as either those in attendance or authorized to receive donations for the building fund, 1841-1843.

**F** denotes those whose names appeared in the newspapers as members of the Repeal Association in 1841.

**G** denotes those whose names appeared in the newspapers as members of Irish Friends.

**H** denotes those whose names appeared in the newspapers as the Friends of Ireland in Canada in 1828.

**I** denotes those whose names appeared in the newspapers as members of the Friends in Ireland in Montreal during 1829-30.

**J** denotes those whose names appeared in the Archdiocese and Seminary records as members of the Recollet School Committee.

**K** denotes those whose names appeared in the newspapers on the Recollet Committee.

**L** denotes those whose names appeared in the newspapers as contributors to the United Irish and Scottish Relief fund in 1847.

**M** denotes those whose names appeared in the newspapers in connection with the Irish community, but not with any particular organization.

**N** denotes those who signed the Petition of 1833 for the creation of St. Patrick's Church.

**O** denotes those who appeared in the Vindicator as being responsible for the collection of monies to the building fund of the church.

**P** denotes those who participated in the gift of an engraved box to Father Phelan upon his leaving for Kingston in 1842. The source was the pamphlet: The Golden Jubilee of the Rev'd Father Dowd....

**Q** denotes those who signed the 1826 Petition for the expansion of the Recollet Church.

**R** denotes other information found on the individuals in the various sources consulted.



## LEGEND

### Also Known As; Spelling Variations in Sources

- 1= Bagly or Begley
- 2= Brennan
- 3= O'Callaghan
- 4= Henratty
- 5= McElwee

### Employment Descriptions

- |                                 |                               |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 11= Gentleman (Écuyer)          | 24= Cashier, Bank of Montreal |
| 12= Paymaster for Public Works  | 25= Sulpician, priest         |
| 13= Soap manufacturer           | 26= Furniture merchant        |
| 14= Potash manufacturer         | 27= Businessman               |
| 15= Editor, Vindicator          | 28= Dry goods merchant        |
| 16= Foundry owner               | 29= Carriage & caleche maker  |
| 17= Senator                     | 30= Lt. Colonel               |
| 18= Executive Council           | 31= City Clerk                |
| 19= Knight                      | 32= Lawyer                    |
| 20= Hardware merchant           | 33= Hotelier                  |
| 21= Advocate                    | 34= Marguillier               |
| 22= Tailor                      | 35= Physician                 |
| 23= Alderman                    | 36= Chief Justice             |
| 37= Choirmaster at the Recollet |                               |

### Other Society memberships, positions and relationships

- 41= President
- 42= Secretary
- 43= Catholic Orphan Asylum
- 44= St. Andrew's Society
- 45= St. George's Society
- 46= Father of Edward

### Religion, if stated in sources

- 51= Protestant
- 52= Catholic

last name	first name	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
Acres	Joseph		x																
Adamson	WA											x							
Allan	John				x											x			
Allen	C				x														
Austin	Charles															x			
Barry	Edward												x	x					
Battle	Thomas				x	x													
Begley	Robert J.		x	x	x														1/11/12
Begley	Thomas A.			x											x				
Bell	Alexander									x									
Bell	Joshua									x									
Bell	Sgt.				x														
Bellingham	Sydney			x		x							x						41
Billock	Andrew			x															
Boyle	M			x															
Brady	Edward				x														
Brady	J.			x															
Brennan	Patrick (sr)				x	x							x	x	x				13
Brennan	Patrick (jr)												x			x			14
Brennan	James				x		x									x			2
Brown	J.				x											x			
Buchanon	A.			x															
Burn	J.L.			x															
Burns	Thomas				x														
Callaghan	E.B.				x				x										3/42/15/3 5
Campbell	William J.			x					x	x									
Campbell	John			x															
Campion	F.			x	x														
Carre	William			x															
Casey	William			x													x		
Casey	Henry			x															
Casey	Peter			x															
Cassidy	John		x		x	x	x		x						x	x	x		
Cavanagh	J.			x															
Clark(e)	Francis			x	x		x										x		
Coffery	Thomas					x													
Collins	John	£ 25		x									x						
Collis	R.D.												x						
Conlan					x														
Conlan	Andrew			x		x	x				x				x		x		
Connell	Thomas													x					







King	P.		x	x						x		
Lannan	Robert			x								
Larkin	P.								x			25
Lavery	P.			x								
Lemoine	B.H.								x			
Lennon	R.		x									
Leslie	James								x			
Lett	Thomas			x								
Longueil	Baron de								x			
Looney	Patrick		x									
Lynch	D.				x							
Lynch	Patrick			x	x					x		
Maan	John										x	
Mable	J.			x								
Macinroe	Patrick								x			
Madden	Daniel			x								
Madigan							x					
Magauran	Edward		x									
Magrave	Thomas		x									
Mahoney				x								
Mahony	John		x								x	
Mahony	Daniel				x				x		x	
Mallan	Charles								x			
Malone	P.		x									
Manahan	John			x								
Manahan	T.			x								
Manigan	Thomas										x	
Martin	Patrick			x								
Matheny	James										x	
Mathews	T.		x									
Matthewson	John		x									27
Maybell	John		x									
McAuley	James			x							x	
McAuly	John						x					
McCabe	James			x	x				x	x		
McCaffery	Patrick			x						x		
McCambridg e	Alex										x	
McCan	Daniel			x								
McCann	John										x	
McCarney	Michael			x								
McCarney	Neil			x						x		
McCaury	N.			x								



Mooney	Patrick	\$1								x		
Morin	Capt.						x					
Morrogh	R.L.			x								
Morrow	R.L.			x								
Muldoon	P.			x							x	
Mullholland	Henry								x			
Mullins	Francis			x								
Murphy	Edward	\$25	x	x		x				x	x	34 (1874)
Murphy	John	\$2	x		x					x	x	
Murphy	Patrick	\$1	x	x	x				x	x	x	
Murphy	Daniel					x					x	46
Murphy	Alex.			x								
Murray	P.				x							
Murray	James											x
Nagle	Thomas			x		x						
Neagle	Thomas					x					x	x
Noonan	Timothy			x						x		
Norton	John				x							
Nugent	M.			x								
O'Brien	B.					x						
O'Brien	Thomas	\$2				x				x	x	
O'Connell	Rev. Peter	£ 5	x	x								
O'Connor	Daniel					x					x	
O'Donaughue	Henry											x
O'Kane	Joseph				x							x
O'Meara	Michael			x	x	x				x		x
O'Meara	Dr.	£ 5										
O'Neil	Michael					x					x	
O'Neill	Paul	\$5				x						
O'Neill	Thomas					x						
O'sullivan	Michael	\$1			x					x		
Palsgrave	Charles T.	£ 25				x						45
Parkya										x		
Perry	Francis					x						
Phelan	Patrick				x	x	x					x
Purcil	Michael											x
Quesnel										x		
Quinlan	James	\$5				x				x		
Quinn	Edward										x	
Rea	David					x						
Redman	J.					x						
Redmonds	Francis						x					



Reid										x						36
Reid	Charles														x	
Reynolds	M.			x												
Richardson	Mrs									x						
Rooney	James														x	
Rossiter	Peter N.			x	x									x	x	
Ryan	Matthew			x	x					x					x	
Ryan	William								x							
Ryan	Thomas	£ 25								x						30/17/52
Ryan	Michael				x	x								x	x	
Ryan	Edward			x											x	
Ryan	Francis Joseph															x
Samuels	Arthur			x												
Seanlan	Stephen								x							
Sewell	S.C.			x												
Sexton	John P			x	x	x	x		x						x	
Sexton	John J														x	31/32
Shanly	M.			x												
Shannon	James			x											x	
Sheridan	Richard													x	x	
Sheridan	John													x	x	
Silverright	John															43
Simpson	F.S.									x						
Smith	David													x		
Smith	H.B.									x						
Speir	William									x						
Stanley	George J.			x												
Steen	N.				x											
Sweeney	Campbell			x												
Sweeney	Robert			x												
Swords	Patrick														x	33
Thompson	Edward								x							
Thomson	James			x												
Tobin	John Michael	£ 100		x		x									x	
Tobin	Michael				x											
Torrence	James														x	
Tracey	Daniel				x				x	x						15/36
Tully	John			x		x						x	x		x	
Turney	John				x											x
Ure	Thomas									x						
Walsh	Andy					x										
Walsh	Anthony															x
Ward	John	\$2				x						x			x	



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APPENDIX 3  
MAJOR DONATIONS TO SAINT PATRICK'S CHURCH, 1841<sup>407</sup>

Bank of Montreal	£ 125. 00. 0	= \$ 500
Bank of the People	£ 50. 00. 0	= \$ 200
Sir Charles Bagot	£ 20. 00. 0	= \$ 80
Miss Berthelot	£ 50. 00. 0	= \$ 200
Olivier Berthelot	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
Louis Blanchard	£ 5. 00. 0	= \$ 20
G. Bostwick	£ 10. 00. 0	= \$ 40
John Collins	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
P. Courtenay	£ 5. 00. 0	= \$ 20
Hon. Dominick Daly	£ 50. 00. 0	= \$ 200
Peter Devins	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
John Donegani	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
Peter Dunn	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
Albert Furniss	£ 100. 00. 0	= \$ 400
Miss Gibb	£ 10. 00. 0	= \$ 40
Theodore Hart	£ 10. 00. 0	= \$ 40
James Henderson	£ 10. 00. 0	= \$ 40
Benjamin Holmes	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
Hon. Joseph Masson	£ 100. 00. 0	= \$ 400
Hon. Peter McGill	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
Thomas McGrath	£ 12. 10. 0	= \$ 50
Sir Charles Mercalfe	£ 10. 00. 0	= \$ 40
Hon. George Moffat	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
John Molson	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
Rev. P. O'Connell	£ 5. 00. 0	= \$ 20
Attorney General Odgen	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
Dr. O'Meara	£ 5. 00. 0	= \$ 20
Charles T. Palsgrave	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
CB Radenhurst	£ 10. 00. 0	= \$ 40
William Ritchie	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
HL Rous Sr	£ 10. 00. 0	= \$ 40
Thomas Ryan	£ 25. 00. 0	= \$ 100
Lord Sydenham	£ 20. 00. 0	= \$ 80
John Michael Tobin	£ 100. 00. 0	= \$ 400

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<sup>407</sup> Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

APPENDIX 4  
DONATION LIST, SAINT PATRICK'S CHURCH, 1841<sup>408</sup>

last name	first name	title	address	donation
A friend				\$4
Andrews		Mrs	584 Dorchester St	50c
Atty	T		661 Lagauchetiere	\$1
Austin		Miss	9 Buckingham Ave	\$30
Bahen	Thomas		19 St Hypolite St	\$2
Bahen	T		19 St Hypolite St	\$1
Bahen	J		19 St Hypolite St	\$1
Bahen	P		19 St Hypolite St	\$1
Bailey	Minnie		200 University	\$2.60
Baker		Mrs	158 Vitre St	\$1
Barden	M		699 St Paul	\$1
Barry	M		88 Cathcart St	\$1
Barry	John	Mrs	520 Cadieux	\$2
Barry	RC		520 Cadieux	\$1
Barry	John		520 Cadieux	\$5
Barry	John		520 Cadieux	\$1
Barry	H		520 Cadieux	\$1
Bedford		Mr & Mrs	1823 Ontario St	\$1
Belisle	Henry		37 Hermine St	\$2
Blanchfield	R		60 Anderson St	\$1
Booth	W		1715 Ontario St	\$2
Boyle	CA		5 Anderson	\$1
Brady		Mrs	38 St Alexander St	50c
Brennan	O		313 Roy St	\$2
Brennan	E		1352 Ontario St	\$1
Briggs		Mrs		\$3
Buckley	L		16 Dowd St	\$1
Burke		Mr.	Mountain St	\$10
Burns	M			\$2
Byrne		Miss	9 Oxenden Ave	\$5
Byrne	Mary		74 McTavish St	\$2
Byrne		misses	792 Dorchester St	\$5
Callaghan	Johanna			\$1
Cannon	Delia		57 Cathedral St	50c
Cantwell	Thomas		82 St Felix Street	\$2

<sup>408</sup> Saint Patrick's Church Committee Minute Book- [Dated] 1841, SPA.

Carney	Margaret J	15 Brunswick St	\$1
Carroll	Mr	8 Drummond St	\$10
Casey	F	26 Hutchinson	\$5
Cashim	Elizabeth	1633 Dorchester St	\$1
Cass	Mrs	567 St Paul St	\$5
Cassidy	Mary	150 Metcalfe St	\$5
Chisolm	CJ	77 Mackay St	\$5
Christy	T	Bleury St	\$5
Clapperton	R	2118 St Catherines	\$1
Clayton	Miss	306 Peel St	\$4
Clifford	Daniel Mrs	Mayor St	\$2
Clifford	Daniel	65 Mayor St	\$5
Clifford	Denis	51 Aylmer	\$5
Cohen	Mrs	20 Anderson St	\$1
Collins	Miss	19 Latour St	25c
Collins	J	33 St Alexander st	50c
Collins	Thomas C	818 Palace St	\$5
Connolly	W	20 Desrivieres	\$2
Connolly	Sarah	31 St Agatha	\$1
Considine	Thomas B	1 St Alexander	\$2
Conway	Georgina F	31 St Agatha St	\$5
Conway	Mary F	37 Cotte St	\$2
Conway	Sarah	7 Balmoral	25c
Conway	Bridget	145 Mansfield St	\$1
Coolican	Mrs		\$20
Cooney	G	14 St Philip	\$1
Corbett	P	27 St Genevieve St	\$3
Corcoran	R	291 1/2 St Charles Boromes	\$1
Cotter	FW	95b Drolet St	\$1
Crites	Miss	Ontario St	\$1.50
Cuddihy	Mrs	Cadieux St	\$4
Cunnigham	WH Ald.	Bleury St	\$5
Curry	J	19 St Bernard St	\$1
Cusack	Mrs	University Street	\$5
Dean	William Mrs	10 Mackay St	\$2
Delahanty	Michael	1 Jurors ST	\$10
Denning	J	20 Hermine St	50c
Deolin	Mrs	Hope Coffee House	\$5
Desmond	P	37 Balmoral	
Dick	Mrs	828 Palace St	\$1
Dillon	Frank	14 Devienne St	\$3
Dixen	Mr	45 Prince Arthur St	\$1
Dodd	J	706 Lagauchetiere St	\$1

Doherty	C	Hon.	282 Stanley St	\$10
Donovan		Mrs	65 St Philip St	\$2
Dowd	Francis		76 Aylmer	\$5
Dowd		Misses	18 Victoria Street	\$3
Dowling	J		1898 St Catherine St	\$1
Dowling	William	Mrs	107 Mountain St	\$5
Dowling	J		1898 St Catherines	\$1
Doyle	PS		28 Park Ave	\$1
Doyle	BJ		596 St Urbain	\$1
Drake	Richard		Hermine St	\$1
Droyer	A	Miss	Hope Coffee House	\$1
Duffy	JJ		269 St Denis	\$20
Duggan	Michael		28 St Philip St	\$1
Dunn		Mrs	27 McGill College Ave	\$2
Dunphy	Grace		108 Drolet St	\$1
Eagan	Mary		Cadieus St	\$10
Elliott	P		16 Anderson St	50c
Emerson		Mrs& miss	47a Durocher	\$5
Fahey	William		1852 St Catherines St	\$5
Fallon	J		62 St Charles Boromes	\$10
Faney	Catherine		151 Cote des Neiges	\$1
Farmer	Maggie		259 Bishop St	25c
Farmer	Anne		53 Tupper St	50c
Farrell		Miss	828 Palace St	\$3
Farrell	Patrick		28 Aylmer	\$2
Feeley	JH		27 Balmoral	\$1
Feron	M		80 St Antoine St	\$5
Finnerty	J		67 St Charles Boromes	\$1
Fitzgibbon	M		114 Ste Famile St	\$5
Fitzpatrick	Jane		240 Drummond St	\$6
Fitzpatrick		Miss	899 Sherbrooke	\$2
Fitzpatrick		Dr & wife	55 Emily St	50c
Flamiery	M	Mrs	45 University	\$4
Flanagan	MJ		95 Mance St	\$1
Flynn	JB		Haymarket	\$3
Fogarty		Miss	109 St Urbain	25c
Fogarty	PW		257 St Urbain	\$1
Foley	Jeremiah	Mrs	40 Aylmer St	\$10
Fowler	JA		Philips Square	\$25
Furlong	G		144 St Urbain	\$1
Gaherty	J	Mr	52 Hermine St	\$2
Gallagher		Mrs	47 St Alexander St	\$1
Garrick	AR	Mr	58 St Urbain	\$2

Gilligan	J		435 Lagauchetiere St	\$2
Gilpin	Mary		567 St Paul St	50c
Gorden		Mrs		50c
Gorman	A	Miss	51 Sanguinett	\$1
Grace	Elizabeth	Mrs	120 Drolet St	\$1
Graham	Richard	Mr & Mrs	Commissioners St	\$5
Graham	Michael		Commissioners St	\$1
Graham	Patrick		Commissioners St	\$1
Graham	Richard		Commissioners St	\$1
Graham	James		Commissioners St	\$1
Graham	Mary Agnes		Commissioners St	\$1
Graham	Johanna Margaret		Commissioners St	\$1
Greevalt		Mrs	11 Jurors	50c
Guerin		Dr.	Dorchester St	\$20
Hale		Mrs	51 Jurors St	\$2
Hamilton	John	Mrs.	St. Hyppolite St	\$2
Hammall	Patrick			\$1
Hart		Mrs	Cadieux St	\$5
Hart	Mary		794 Dorchester St	\$1
Hearns			154 Vitre St	\$3
Hehol	Anastasia		271 St Urbain St	\$1.25
Heney	Susan			\$1
Hewitt	Thomas		38 St Charles Boromeo	\$1
Higgins	J		46 St Bernard St	50c
Hingston		Dr	882 Sherbrooke St	\$15
Horan	WE		110 St Urbain St	\$1
Horan	JH		37 1/2 St Alexander	\$1
Hughes		Sgt	73 Hippolyte Lane	\$4
Humphrey		Mrs	6 Durocher	\$1
Ireland	TM		1 Philips Square	\$1
Iris	Lizzie		32 Victoria St	\$1
Irwin	E.		43 Belmont Park	\$5
Kaly		Mrs	5a Anderson	\$1
Kavanagh		Mrs	149 St Antoine St	50c
Kavanagh	Katie		149 St Antoine St	25c
Kavanagh	Thomas T		149 St Antoine St	25c
Kavanagh	Lizzie M		149 St Antoine St	25c
Kavanagh	Tessie		149 St Antoine St	25c
Kavanagh	Dannie		149 St Antoine St	25c
Kavanagh	Frank		149 St Antoine St	25c
Kavanagh		Mrs	15 Aylmer St	\$2
Kavanah	Ella		1633 Dorchester St	25c
Kelly		Miss	30 Park Ave	\$4



Kelly	Susan		26 Tupper St	\$1
Kennedy	Kate		23 St Edward ST	\$1
Kennedy	Christina		91 Union Ave	55c
Kennedy	Ann		107 Stanley	50c
Kennedy		Mrs	32 1/2 Cheneville St	\$2
Kerly	R			\$1
Kerr		Mrs	153 St Hubert St	\$6
Kerrigan		Miss	41 Sanguinet St	\$1
Ketty	James	Mrs	107 Mackay	\$5
Kiernan		Mr	St Urbain	\$1
Kilkerry		Mr	1 Hermine St	\$3
Kilkerry		Mrs	1 Hermine St	\$1
Kilkerry	Frank		1 Hermine St	\$1
Lanahan		Mrs	47 St David St	\$2
Larkin		Mr	792 Dorchester St	\$2
Laundragon	T		22 Anderson St	
Loye		Sgt	121 St George	\$5
Lynam	P		162 St James St	\$1
Lynch		Mrs	39 St Philip	\$1
Lynch	TA		203 McGill	\$5
Lyons	D		26 Dowd St	\$1
Macdonald	J	Miss	30 Aylmer	\$1
Macdonald	JA		1 Belmont St	\$3
Mackenzie		family		\$5
Mahan	TJ		33 McGill College Ave	\$4
Mahoney	J		130 St. George	\$2
Malone		Mrs	29 St David's Lane	\$5
Malone	Philip		16 Anderson St	50c
Maloney	Helen Agatha		5 Lorne Cres	25c
Maloney	Rosanna E		Piedmont Col. Oxendon Ave	25c
Maloney	M		22 Park Ave	\$1
Mann	Winnie			\$1
Mansfield	William		52 City Councillors	\$2
Mansfield	J		24 Hermine St	\$1
Marshall	Pierce		65 St Antoine	\$1
Martin	Daniel		89 Cathcart St	50c
McAndrew	MJ		752 Dorchester	\$2
McAran	Bridget		9 St Evans St	\$1.25
McArdle	Anna		393 Guy St	50c
McBrearty	J		77 St Alexander	\$1
McCabe	Katie		2720 St Catherines	\$1
McCaffrey	Mary		107 University St	50c
McCallum	Kate			\$1

McCarthy	F		534 St Dominique St	\$1
McClure		Mr	77 St Alexander	\$1
McCormack	James	Mrs	Lagauchetiere St	\$10
McCormack	James		585 Lagauchetiere	\$2
McCormack		Miss	149 St Alexander St	\$2
McCosham	Mary		377 Mountain Street	\$1
McCrory	Patrick		Palace St	\$20
McDonagh	John		73 Sanguinet	\$2
McDonald	Sarah		Latour St	\$1
McDonald	Mary			50c
McDonald	Ann			\$2
McDonald	Catherine		994 Sherbrooke	\$2
McDonald	Anne		1018 Sherbrooke	\$1
McDonald	Elizabeth			25c
McDonald	Sarah		178 Mance	50c
McDonnell		Miss	675 Lagauchetiere	\$1
McEllicott	F		57 Anderson	\$1
McGarr	Ann		36 City Councillors St	50c
McGarvey	O		852 Palace St	\$12
McGoldrick	P		149 St Antoine St	\$5
McGoldrick	M		231 William St	\$1
McGrath	Mary		Hypolite St	\$1
McGrath	Ada		239 University	50c
McGrath	Therese		239 University St	50c
McGrath	Agnes		42 Lorne Ave	50c
McGreevey	P		128 St Vitre ST	\$1
McGuinness	Lizzie		139 Metcalfe St	\$1
McGuire	W		16 Drummond St	\$2
McGuire		Miss	11 Dowd St	\$1.25
McHugh	P		22 Desrivieres	50c
McInerg	J		38 1/2 Dowd St	\$1
McKay	William	& family	72 Fortier St	\$2
McKay	William		Fortier St	\$1
McKenna	EM		2232 St Catherines	50c
McKeown		Mrs		\$1
McKernan	Bridget		104 Crescent St	\$1
McLaughlin		Mrs		\$2
McLaughlin	A	Miss	4 Park Ave	\$1
McLoughlin	Ann			\$5
McMahon	Edward		94 St Maurice St	50c
McMahon	Michael		96 St Maurice st	\$2
McNally		Mrs	60 Hutchinson St	\$2
McNally		Miss	60 Hutchinson St	\$5

McNally	W		202 Peel St	\$5
McRae	Bella		753 Sherbrooke	\$2
Meehan	T	Mrs	32 Aylmer St	\$1
Meehan	J		32 Dowd St	\$1
Meehan	Thomas		32 Aylmer St	\$1
Mellon		Miss	10 Mayor St	\$2
Menjes		Mr	218 St Martin St	\$2
Milloy	James		2117 St Catherines	\$2
Milloy	JJ		33 Metcalfe St	\$5
Monteith	Mary		Hypolite St	\$1
Monteith	Mary			\$1
Mooney	Patrick		30 Hermine St	\$1
Morley	Michael		Cadieux St	\$10
Morris	Mary Alice	Widow	58 St Paul	\$2
Morrison		Mrs	11 Philips Square	\$1
Moynaugh	P		145 Metcalfe St	\$5
Mulcaire	John		1944 Notre Dame	\$5
Mulcaire	Thomas		1946 Notre Dame	\$5
Murphy	Ann		Hypolite St	\$2
Murphy	Peter		Dorchester St	\$2
Murphy	James		197 Commissioners St	\$2
Murphy	M	Miss	240 Drummond St	\$5
Murphy	Jr	Mr	836 Dorchester St	\$1
Murphy	Mary A			\$1
Murphy	J		1833 Ontario St	\$2
Murphy	E	Hon.	836 Dorchester	\$25
Murphy	PE		91 St Urbain	\$1
Murphy	Thomas		37 Cote St	\$1
Murray		Miss	37 Vallee St	\$2
Murray	Mary		19 Shutter St	\$1
Noonan		Mrs	169 St George Street	\$2
Noonan	Mary		24 St Famile St	\$1
Nugent	James		188 Bleury St	\$2
O'Brien	T & C		146 Hutchinson	\$2
O'Brien	James		846 Sherbrooke St	\$25
O'Neil	D		277 William Street	\$5
O'Neil	P	Mr & Mrs	18 City Councillors	\$5
O'Neil	P		26 Anderson	\$1
O'Neil		Mrs	662 Lagauchetiere	\$2
O'Neil	F	Mr	725 Lagauchetiere	\$1.50
O'Reilly	William		293 St Dominique St	\$1
O'Reilly	Bernard			\$2
O'Reilly	William		293 St Dominique St	\$1

O'Shaunessy	J		37 Hermine	\$2
O'Sullivan	H		18 Aylmer St	\$1
O'Sullivan	M		95 Alexander St	\$1
O'Toole		Mr	15 Jurors St	\$1
Parker	Eugene		37 Cathcart St	25c
Patterson		Mrs	20 Alexis St	\$1
Pees	Isabella		109 Mackay	\$1
Phelan	Willie		108 Drolet St	\$1
Power	B	Mrs	172 St Urban St	\$1
Power	Bridget		1125 Sherbrooke St	\$1
Power	J		75 St Alexander	\$1
Power	Mary		75 Jurors St	50c
Pratt	Edith		45 University	\$1
Price	Martin		78 Sanguinet	\$1
Purcell	Mary			\$2
Purcell	L		47 St Alexander St	\$1
Quinlan	Norah Mary		97 Cathedral St	\$1
Quinlan		Mr	8 Stanley	\$5
Quinlan	L		97 Cathedral St	\$2
Quinn	MA	Miss	17 a Anderson	\$1
Redmond	George		43 Aylmer St	\$1
Reynolds	Patrick		180 St James St	\$20
Roberts	Mary Jane		131 St George St	50c
Rodden	Thomas		31 Dowd St	\$1
Rooney	Mary A		56 Beaver Hall Hill	\$1
Rowland		Mrs	19 Latour St	\$1
Ryan	William		16 Victoria Square	\$3
Ryan	Bridget	Mrs	Cheneville St	50c
Ryan		Miss	37 St Louis St	\$1
Ryan		Mr	19 Prince Arthur	\$2
Ryan	John			25c
Ryan		Mrs	20 St Philip St	\$1
Ryan	T		73 St Charles Boremeo St	\$1
Ryan		Mrs	43 Anderson	25c
Sadlier		Mrs	83 Union Ave	\$5
Segg	Jane		290 Mountain	\$5
Selby	W		20 Aylmer St	\$1
Selby	Maria		20 Aylmer St	50c
Semple	JH		Sherbrooke St	\$10
Shea		brothers	57 Barry St	\$20
Shea	Margaret	Miss		\$1
Shea	Denis		144 1/2 Dalhousie	\$5
Sheehan		Mrs	113 St Urbain	25c

Shelly	Bridget	Mrs	240 Drummond St	\$1
Shephard	J.		36 1/2 Hermine St	\$3
Sheridan	Winifred			\$5
Sinnett		Mrs	9 Victoria Square	\$1
Smallshire	Thomas		674 Dorchester St	\$1
Smith		Miss	60 St Luke St	\$2
Smith	C		78 Durocher	\$5
Sparks		misses	101 St George St	\$5
Stack	P		1716 Ontario Street	\$3
Stephens	T		7 St Alexander	\$1
Stevens		Mrs	16 Brunswick	50c
Styles	Thomas		47 Durocher St	\$10
Sullivan	William		44 1/9 Aylmer St	\$1
Sullivan		Mrs	44 St Philips St	\$1
Sullivan	Stephen J		59 Aylmer St	\$1
Sullivan		Miss	9 Durocher	\$1
Sweeney	JA	Mrs	796 Palace St	\$3
Talbot	Robert		25 Dowd St	\$1
Tierney	A	Mr	143 Bleury St	\$1
Tivohey	E	Mr	920 Dorchester St	\$10
Traynor		Miss	75 Jurors St	50c
Walsh		Widow	Aylmer St	\$1
Walsh	Margaret		20 Mackay St	\$1
Walsh	James J		31 St Agatha	\$1
Walsh	ME		31 St Agatha	25c
Walsh	William	Master	31 St Agatha	25c
Walsh	Michael		84 St Antoine St	50c
Ward		Mr.	cnn Dorchester & St Alexander	\$2
Ward		Mrs	31 Dowd St	50c
Watt	E	Miss	56 St Bernard St	\$2
Whelan		Widow	236 Amherst	\$1
Whelan	PE		1142 Mignonne	\$1
Wurtele	TW		167 St George	\$2

# APPENDIX 5 STATISTICS FROM DONATIONS MADE TO SAINT PATRICK'S CHURCH, 1841

*Total Donations from Saint Patrick's Church Committee Book- [Dated] 1841*  
\$ 4339.40

*Total of Donators from Saint Patrick's Church Committee Book- [Dated] 1841*  
400

120 identifiable men on lists, with total donations of \$ 3455.50. The average donations for men on list was \$ 28.79.

172 identifiable women on lists, with total donations of \$ 478.65. The average donations for women on list was \$ 2.78.

6 families on lists, with total donations of \$ 18.50. The average donations for families on list was \$ 3.08.

102 with unidentifiable gender on lists, with total donations of \$ 386.75. The average donations for unidentifiables on list was \$ 3.79.

Average donation for all groups on list was \$10.85.

*Regimental donations taken from Archives du Fabrique de Notre Dame, Boite 51 chemise 2, mars 1841. "Souscription des militaires (73 r Reg) in fine St. Patrice."*

Light Company:

76 men gave a total of £ 6.2.6 = \$24.50; an average donation of 32 ¢

Captain G.H. Smith's Company:

82 men gave a total of £ 7.6.3 = \$ 29.25; an average donation of 36 ¢

A Company:

63 men gave a total of £ 5.12.6 = \$ 22.50; an average donation of 36 ¢

Total 221 men gave \$ 76.25; an average donation of 34 ¢.

Grand total of 621 people gave \$ 4415.65; with an average donation of \$ 7.11.

Conversion from pounds to dollars made on the assumption that one Halifax Pound equals four dollars. Young, xviii. 20 shillings to a pound, and 12 pence to a shilling.

## APPENDIX 6

ESTIMATES OF MIGRATION FROM IRISH PORTS TO  
CANADA, 1825-1850<sup>409</sup>

1825 = 6, 841	1838 = 2, 284
1826 = 10, 484	1839 = 8, 898
1827 = 9, 134	1840 = 23, 935
1828 = 6, 695	1841 = 24, 089
1829 = 7, 710	1842 = 33, 410
1830 = 19, 340	1843 = 10, 898
1831 = 40, 977	1844 = 12, 396
1832 = 37, 068	1845 = 19, 947
1833 = 17, 431	1846 = 31, 738
1834 = 28, 586	1848 = 20, 852
1835 = 9, 458	1849 = 26, 568
1836 = 19, 388	1850 = 19, 784
1837 = 22, 463	

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<sup>409</sup> Donald Harman Akenson, Being Had: Historians, Evidence, and the Irish in North America, (Port Credit, Ont.: PD Meany Pub, 1985), 55.

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- #217- Mandement de Mgr J-J. Lartigue. . . à M. P. Phelan, 1839.

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- #165- Registre de l'église des Récollets, à l'usage de la congrégation irlandaise de Montréal, 1839, 8 pages.
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- #187- Petition [copy] to J-J. Lartigue from Irish community, for a church, 1833.
- #188- Petition to Quiblier and Seminary from Irish community, for a church, with community's signatures, 1833.
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- #4bis- Plan sommaire montrant le terrain de l'église Saint-Patrice de Montréal et sa situation sur cette [sic] terrain, 1841, 1 page.
- #5- Rapport d'un comité pour hâter la construction d'une église pour les Catholiques de langue anglaise de la Paroisse de Notre-Dame-de-Montréal, Robert James Begley, 1841, 3 pages.
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- #1b- Notes de Jean-Baptiste Larue, pss, sur des propositions de Mgr Ignace Bourget, évêque de Montréal, relatives aux nouvelles paroisses canoniques, 1847.
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