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IRISHMAN IN CANADA.

NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN.



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PREFACE.

An old friend of mine, Mr. Joseph Hatton, writing in Tinsley's Magazine says :-- "Still at the bottom of all thought and speculation as to the future, there is a strong layer of old English sentiment outside the Province of Quebec. The great pioneers of Canada, the English and the Scotch look across the broad waters of the Atlantic, and think of home. They feel proud of the flag which is not only to them a national symbol, but a link between the far-off settlement and the churchyard where their forefathers sleep beyond the sea." Scarcely anybody in England knows anything of Canadian history, and Mr. Hatton cannot be blamed for not being aware that the majority of people in Ontario, as compared with other nationalities, are Irish. The population of Ontario is 1,620,831: of these 559,442 are Irish, 328,889 Scotch, 439,429 English; and in the four Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the Irish number 846,414, as compared with 706,369 English, and 549,946 Scotch. The Irishman was here as early as others; he fought against the wilderness as well as others; his arm was raised against the invading foe as well as that of others; and when a man who was not Irish lifted the standard of revolt, and another who was not Irish betrayed his country and his flag, who more faithful, vi PREFACE.

who more heroic, than the countrymen of Baldwin and Fitzgibbon in putting down that rebellion? That a literary man like Mr. Hatton should wholly ignore the Irish, therefore, shows that there was need of such a book as the present. Who to-day are more truly attached to British connexion than the great majority of Irishmen all over the Dominion? Amongst ourselves also, the Irish have been too much ignored; chiefly because the follies and absurdities of a few make hundreds averse from an assertion which would be only the reasonable expression of self-respect. There is a great dissimilarity in culture between the Irish cotter and the Irish gentleman, between the Irish labourer and the Irish professional man, but not more than there is between the Scotch laird and the Scotch gillie, or between the English squire and the English peasant. Why then is it that Irishmen of the more cultivated class are sometimes found to run down the less cultivated class of Irish, so that, as somebody has said, whenever an Irishman is to be roasted, another is always at hand to turn the "My grandmother," says the Earl of Beaconsfield, "the beautiful daughter of a family who had suffered much from persecution, had imbibed that dislike for her race which the vain are apt to adopt when they find they are born to public contempt. The indignant feeling which should be reserved for the persecutor, in the mortification of their disturbed sensibility, is too often visited on the victim." Something like this process has taken place in the minds of Irishmen of a certain class. But let any Irishman who reads these lines ponder what I say :--You can never lose your own respect and keep

PREFACE. vii

the respect of others; you can never be happy and dress yourself solely in the glass of other men's approval; you may as well seek to fly from your shadow as to escape from your nationality. If you find any men mistaken, or low down in type, or in popular esteem, it is your duty to raise them, especially if they have on you national or family claims.

I had not intended to write a preface, and I have said enough in the opening chapter to indicate the objects I have kept before me. The history of Canada cannot be written without the history of the Scotchman, the Englishman, and the German in Canada; the Frenchman in Canada has found his historian. "The Scotchman in Canada" is in the hands of a writer capable of doing justice to a great theme and an extraordinary race, whose deeds here as elsewhere are illustrious with such episodes as the Red River settlement, planted under the guidance of Lord Selkirk, by men with a determined bravery comparable to that of the German troops at Gravelotte, again and again attempting the hill, studded with rifle pits, which guarded the French left. Even the Mennonite settlements will come within the purview of the historian, and he will have to deal with a later American immigration than the U. E Loyalist—an immigration composed mainly of men who entered Canada intending to settle in Michigan, but, who, when they saw the splendid stretches of oak near London and the neighbouring counties, settled here. Among these settlers were the Shaws, the Dunbars, and the Goodhues. There was an eastern settlement of the same class, in which we find the Burnhams, the Horners, the Keelers, the Smiths, the

viii PREFACE.

Perrys. Some of these were led to come to Canada by inducements held out by the Government of the day to construct roads and build mills. Hence in many instances we find American immigrants the great patentees where they settled.

In the index I do not give every name, but only the leading names.

I have in the notes thanked Mr. Charles Lindsey and the Hon. Christopher Fraser for their assistance in placing books at my disposal. I have to thank Chief Justice Harrison for the loan of books, and Mr. Justice Gwynne for the loan of books and old files of newspapapers. To Mr. Allan McLean Howard my thanks are also due for books which could not well have been procured elsewhere. To Dr. McCaul for books and hints respecting the university, I must likewise express my obligation. My thanks are due to my friends throughout the country who sent information, and to the agents employed by my publishers. Particularly are my thanks due to Mr. Sproule, of Ottawa, who, though an Orangeman, has visited a large number of Roman Catholic prelates and clergymen, in regard to this book, and got me more Roman Catholic information than has come from all other sources whatsoever. In a special manner, my thanks are due to Sir Francis Hincks, who, both by word and letter, helped me to understand the great period of which he could truly say—pars magna fui. For estimating the character and genius of Sullivan, he gave me invaluable data. From Mr. Thomas Maclear, and Mr. Thomas A. Maclear, I have received much assistance in collecting information for the settler chapters. and in revising the proofs. Last though not least, Dr. Hodgins, Deputy Minister of Education, claims my thanks for books and pamphlets connected with his department.

I have in places departed from rules usually observed in books. For instance, in some cases, I have not "spelled out" figures because I thought the use of arithmetical symbols more suitable to the subject treated at the moment.

The Irishman has played so large a part in Canada that his history could not be written without, to some extent, writing the history of Canada, and the following pages may, in the present stage of Canadian historical literature, be found useful to the student and the politician.

Toronto, September 22nd, 1877.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

MULIVE OF THE INISHMAN IN CANADA.
PAGI
Future of Canada
Materials for the future historian
Writing the History of the Irishman in Canada an inviting task
Resources of the Dominion
Irishmen's position in Dominion
CHAPTER II.
ANTECEDENTS OF THE IRISHMAN IN CANADA.
Irish History
The Celt in Europe
Early Settlement of Ireland
The Irish colonize Scotland and South-west Britain
Effect of the Introduction of Christianity into Ireland
Barbarizing effect of Danish Incursions
Norman invasion
The Tudor and Stuart policy in Ireland 23, 24
William III and James II
Ireland the great Liberaliser of the Empire
Achievements of Irishmen on the Continent of Europe 28, 32
Great Irishmen in India
Statesmen, Orators, Artists, Preachers, Literary Men 34, 37
Irish Intellect and Character
'48 and the Men of '48; Penal Laws and Gladstone's Legislation 43, 46
Ireland in the Eighteenth Century 47, 50
CHAPTER III.
ANTECEDENTS—Continued.—IRISHMEN IN THE NEW WORLD AND IN AUSTRALIA.
The Founders of the United States 50, 56

xii CONTENTS.

The Struggle for Independence
Their Conduct during the War
CHAPTER IV.
LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF CANADA.
The French Régime
Carleton's Magnanimity and Administration
Major-General Haldimand, Governor
Acknowledgment of the Independence of United States, and the U. E.
Loyalists 88-96 Methodism in Canada 96-98
The Father of Anglicanism in Upper Canada99-101
The Roman Catholic Church in Canada
Carleton becomes Lord Dorchester, and Returns as Governor-General of
Canada
State of Education
The Constitutional Act of 1791 103, 104
Lieutenant-Governors Clarke and Simcoe open respectively the Par-
liament of Lower, and the Parliament of Upper Canada 104
Colonel Talbot and the Talbot settlement 105-126
CHAPTER V.
LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF CANADAContinued.
What Canada owes Irishmen and Canadian Unity
The First Settlers
Character of the Irish settler 132-135
Analysis of the Population of the Dominion
Irish settlements in Newfoundland
The Irish in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward
Island 145-170
Irish Settlements in Lower and Upper Canada
The dawn of political life in the Canadas
Progress of the Methodist Church
Education
The poet Moore in Canada

CONTENTS. xiii

CHAPTER VI.

THE WAR OF 1812-1814

THE WAR OF 1812-1814.	
The Veterans of 1812 to-day and the Character of the War. Circumstances leading to War. Two prominent heroes of the War. The First Year of the War. The Second " The Third "	195-200 200-204 205-210 211-238
CHAPTER VII.	
irish immigration from 1815 to 1837.	
The Results of the Great War in Ireland	
CHAPTER VIII.	
IRISH IMMIGRATION FROM 1815 to 1837—Continued.	
The Blakes Settlement of the County of Carleton. The Irishman in Montreal. "Oxford "Sandwich "Halton and Welland. "the County of Victoria. "the County of Peterborough. "Kingston "Percy. "Belleville "Dundas, Brantford and Hamilton "the County of Middlesex "the County of Wellington	310-328 328-336 337 338-344 341-344 344-356 356 360 372-379 379 380, 381
CHAPTER IX.	
THE RISE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN CANADA.	
Character of this History	385, 386

xiv CONTENTS.

Doctor Baldwin in Parliament	389		
Hon. Robert Baldwin; Entrance into political life; his character			
Goes to England and presses his views on Lord Glenelg	396		
Sir Francis Bond Head.	396-406		
Robert Baldwin Sullivan enters public life	98, 399		
The Rebellion of 1837	101-406		
Sir George Arthur, Governor; unsatisfactory condition of all British			
North America; struggles for liberty 4	06, 407		
Sir Francis Hineks 4	08, 409		
Mr. Poulett Thompson (Lord Sydenham) Governor-General 4	110-473		
	109-438		
	138-460		
Disputes regarding Responsible Government 4	46-459		
Agitation	460		
Portraits of Draper and Sir Francis Hincks 4	163,464		
CHAPTER X.			
THE RISE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—Continued.			
State of Education in Canada 4	73-476		
Government of Sir Charles Bagot 4			
Fall of the Draper Government and rise of the Baldwin party to			
power 4			
Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe, Governor-General—violent agitation 4	83-503		
CHAPTER XI			
VERIET TAMES AND			
THE RISE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—Continued.			
The unconstitutional interregnum 5	03-508		
Popular agitation 8			
Parliament Dissolved; exciting contest 5	12, 513		
Election of Speaker; attack on the Ministry; progress of Constitu-			
tional Government; indecency of Ministers; Draper's Univer-			
sity Bill; departure and death of Lord Metcalfe 5	21-532		
CHAPTER XII.			
THE RISE OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT—Continued.			
Lord Cathcart, Administrator	532		
Disorganisation of the Tory Party			
Lord Elgin, Governor-General; Draper's farewell; famine immigra- tion; the New Ministry; death of Sullivan; effect of Free Trade;			
mon, and real maninery, down or numerous, amount of real limits,			

CONTENTS, XX

	,	
commercial depression; Rebellion Losses Bill; mob violence; seals of Government; treason; triumph of Responsible Government	page 534-564	
CHAPTER XIII.		
THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION.		
Developing the country; the "Clear Grits;" Independence and Annexation: advantages of Canadian Constitution Parliament meets; "Clear Grits" attack the Reform Government; fruitful legislation; Railway Mania; Mr. Brown's hostility to the Hincks' Government; Coalition Opposition; fall of Hincks and close of the Irish period (1825-1854)		
CHAPTER XIV.		
PROGRESS OF CANADA.		
Irish immigration since 1837 The Irishman as a social force '' as a Medical man '' as a Journalist. The Bench, the Bar, culture. Canadian Art. Irish poets in Canada. Volunteers.	597-598 .589-603 603, 604 604-611 .611-618 618-620	
CHAPTER XV.		
THE IRISHMAN AS A RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL FORCE.		
Importance of Religion and Education. The Church of England in Canada. The Methodist Church The Presbyterian Church. The Roman Catholic Church Education	629-632 632-635 635-643	
CHAPTER XVI.		
CANADIAN HISTORY FROM 1856 TO 1877.		
Premiership of Mr. (now Sir) John A. Macdonald		

-	-	

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Foley	651
Confederation, Lord Monck, Fenianism 6	351-656
McGee, fierce contest, longing after repose, murder	356-6 5 9
The Catholic League	659
Return of Sir Francis Hincks	59, 660
Reform Party reinforced by Mr. Edward Blake6	60, 661
New Irish members60	31, 662
Lord Dufferin, Governor-General; nationality, what; Lord Dufferin	ı's
talents; his career	62-666
Conclusion	667

In Mexico, Irishmen and Irish names are as numerous as the Irishman, in a famous bull, said absentees were in Ireland.* One of Scott's most efficient colonels was Riley. But neither to his achievements nor to those of minor note—of the Pattersons, the Lees, the Magruders, the Neals, the McReynolds—can justice be done here. Born in the same village as Major McReynolds,† James Shields won a record which might call for extended notice. On his return to the United States he was greeted with ovations, and Illinois elected him to the Senate. In the Session, 1850-51, he reported as one of Committee on Military Affairs, in favour of conferring the rank of Lieut-General on his old Commander and comrade, Scott.

But why go into further particulars? If arithmetic goes for anything, Irish blood is the main-tide of the great country below the line. In 1848, the Irish immigration exceeded that from all other sources. In that year, 98,061 persons of Irish birth passed into the Union; in 1849, 112,561; in 1850, 117,038; as against in the same years respectively, 51,973; 55,705; 45,535 from Germany; 23,062; 28,321; 28,163 from England; and 6,415; 8,840; 6,772 from Scotland; and approximate proportions have continued. And what sort of stuff was this sent by Ireland? I have seen them on the quays of Queenstown, many of them young farmers and farmers' daughters, all of them as fine specimens of the human race, as ever pressed the earth. Within a century, the Irish in America have contributed to the ranks of war and statesmanship in the Union, distinction and efficiency, in as large proportion as they have strength and endurance to the equally noble field of labour. The Republic owes much to the Presidents Vice-Presidents the generals and commanders, the representatives and orators, the lawyers and scholars of Irish blood; she owes still more to the pure mothers of healthy instincts and faultless mould, which the green valleys and pure traditions of Ireland have given her, and to the unequalled hosts, wielding no sword and shouldering no gun, but armed with pick and axe and spade, who fought and fight

^{*}The reader will have read the story. "And are there so many absentees?" asked an incredulous stranger of an Irishman, who had been inveighing against those renegades to duty. "Be gor the country is swarming with them," was the answer.

t Dungannon, County Tyrone.

Brave peasants whom the Father, God, Sent to reclaim the stubborn sod; Well they perform'd their task and won Altar and hearth for the woodman's son,"

The settler who clears the country is its true father. He makes all possible. Without his axe, his log cabin, his solitude, his endurance, his misery, we could not have the abundant appliances of civilization, the stately temple, the private mansion, the palaces of law and legislation, the theatre, the enjoyment of social intercourse, refinement, all, in a word, he forewent. A hard lot even when the settler, owing to some peculiar advantages, was able to take with him into the wilderness some of the conveniences of civilized life. Under the happiest circumstances there were hardships and difficulties. The exclusion, was drear enough during the later spring and summer and autumn, when activity was possible; but indescribable, not to be realized, when barred on all sides by the snows of a Canadian winter, and the atmosphere at times freezing the mercury, so that it could be used as a bullet. Where they were near a town or something capable of being held, by a stretch of fancy, in that light, the sleigh or cariole with its charming bells would bear them over the snow to the social centre. But for those far withdrawn into the heart of the forest, in miserable huts, what a life! Field labour suspended, no employment outside or inside, none of the comforts of a home, hundreds of miles from a doctor*, far removed from the church-going bell, without

^{* &}quot;It was a melancholy season, one of severe mental and bodily suffering. Those who have drawn such agreeable pictures of a residence in the backwoods never dwell upon the periods of sickness when far from medical advice, and often, as in my case, deprived of the assistance of friends by adverse circumstances, you are left to languish, unattended, upon the couch of pain. The day that my husband was free of the fit, he did what he could for me and his poor sick babes; but, ill as he was, he was obliged to sow the wheat to enable the man to proceed withithe drag, and was, therefore necessarily absent in the field the greater part of the day. I was very ill, yet, for hours at a time I had no friendly voice to cheer me, to proffer me a drink of cold water, or to attend to the poor babe; and worse, still worse, there was no one to help that pale, marble child, who lay so cold and still, with 'half-closed violet eyes,' as if death had already chilled his young heart in his iron grasp. There was not a breath of air in our close burning bed-closet; and the weather was sultry beyond all that I have since experienced. * * * I had asked of Heaven a son, and there he lay helpless by the side of his almost helpless mother, who could not dift him up in her arms or still his cries. * * * Often did I weep myself to sleep and wake to weep again with renewed anguish. Roughing it in the Bush, such and greater suffering was the fate of thousands."-Mrs. Moodie.

in London, great manufactories, and a dockyard which covers fourteen acres. Over the splendid harbour alive with shipping, frown eleven different fortifications. It is the chief naval station of Canada. Two regiments of the line, besides artillery and engineers are always stationed here. Opposite the city stands the Town of Dartmouth, one of the prettiest in the world. The scenery is beautiful, and the natural beauty is enhanced by pretty villas along the shore. An extensive steam communication connects Halifax with various parts of Continental Canada, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, the United States, the West Indies and Great Britain. From east and west run admirable lines of railway. It has a population of some thirty-three thousand, and the value of its assessed property cannot be much less than \$20,000,000. The aggregate of its imports and exports is not at present much below \$18,000,000. Of the four thousand veterans, who thus early laid the foundation of the Liverpool of the Atlantic coast, a considerable number were undoubtedly Irish. The foundation of the City of Halifax was laid in 1749. Ten years after this, it was described in a contemporary account as divided into "Halifax proper, Irishtown, or the Southern, and Dutchtown or the northern suburbs." At this period the inhabitants numbered three thousand, one-third of whom were Irish. The President of the Irish Charitable Society was in 1755 appointed one of His Majesty's Council for the Province of Nova Scotia.

If we examine the old books we shall find the fact that Nova Scotia was largely settled by Irishmen made clear. A book called "Nova Scotia Archives," gives a long list of the first settlers and among the names wefind Neil, O'Neil, Fitzgibbon, Flynn, Cavanagh, Casey, Ryan, Fitzgerald, Whelan, Blake, Mooney, Connor, Owen, Magrath, Moore, Donahoe, Doyle, Sullivan, Kennedy, Farrell, Plunkett, Connolly and many others, undoubtedly Irish. Murdoch in his "History of Nova Scotia," gives many Irish names some of them belonging to men who played a prominent part in the government of that Province. Amongst the Justices of Peace and Agents to assign lands to settlers at Shelburne, appear the names of James McEwan, Peter Lynch, William C. White, Patrick Wall and Michael Langan; amongst the Privy Council for 1789

There was one Roman Catholic Church and one Presbyterian and one English—all very small. John Baldwin, brother to Dr. Baldwin, kept a store in King Street. When Mr. Beaty came here, in 1817, there was only one brick house in the town. Five thousand Indians and their squaws used to meet where Adelaide Street runs.

In 1824 with the view of encouraging immigration, and giving some idea of Canada, Edward Allen Talbot, a relative of Colonel Talbot, published a book in two volumes in which he gave his impressions of the country. He was very ready to condemn whatever displeased him. His testimony when it was favourable was therefore all the more convincing. Great changes must have taken place since he visited Canada fifty-four years ago. For instance he says Canadian women of that time, though possessed of the finest black eyes, could boast of very few of those irresistible charms which captivate the heart. The immigration of the following years composed in part of English and Scotch, but mainly of Irish, must in half a century have wrought a wonderful change. The women had one hideous defect peculiarly offensive. There was hardly one of them over twenty years of age whose teeth were not entirely destroyed. They were also subject to goitre.

Talbot found in Upper Canada, two classes of society: The first class composed of professional men, merchants, civil and military officers, and the members of the Provincial Parliament: the second of farmers, mechanics and labourers, who associated together on all occasions "without any distinction." The first class dressed exactly in the same way as people in the old country, but the men were much less intelligent and the women not so refined in their manners. They were fond of public assemblies but had no taste for small social parties, a criticism as true to-day as in 1823. In the winter subscription balls were common, and every tavern in the country however destitute in other accommodation, was provided with an extensive ball-room. There was no introduction, admission being a matter of course on producing a ticket. The gentlemen sat on one side of the room, the ladies on the other. 'A line of demarcation appears to be drawn between them over which one would suppose it was high treason to pass, or to throw even a sentiment. Both parties maintain an obstinate silence and Come, let us in this far-off land,
From Erin's sea-girt shore
One blood, one race, in union stand
Round memories of yore.
To-day we'll gently level down
The barriers that divide;
And close together hand-in-hand,
Stand brothers side by side.

We ask not what may be your name,
Come to us whence you may;
We ask not by what path you came,
Or where you kneel to pray.
Your common birthright of the land
Is all we seek to scan,
To-day we offer friendship's hand
To every Irishman!

To the knowledge without which our schemes of development would be like rudderless, compassless ships, Irishmen have given a stimulus which has borne practical fruit. John McMullin, now residing at Eganville, deserves a place among those who have made us acquainted with the geological character of a country which is rich in scientific suggestion. Born at Newry, in 1817, he came with his parents to Canada in 1820. The family resided for some years in Quebec. While quite young John McMullin engaged in the lumber trade on the Ottawa. Having a great desire for the acquisition of knowledge, his inquisitive mind busied itself with geology. He attracted the attention of the late Sir William Logan, in whose Department at Montreal he was engaged for two years. While there he discovered the Dawn of Life. The late Dr. Beaubien frequently quoted him in his lectures.

If I were to attempt to write the history of all who live in Montreal and deserve a place in this book, I should have to write a whole volume about that noble city, and call it the "Irishmen in Montreal." There are, however, a certain number who, for one reason or another, are so prominent that there is no difficulty in selection, for public rumour has already made the selection for me.

The name of Mr. Thomas White—or "Tom White," as he is familiarly called—has become a house-hold word in Canada. Born at Montreal in 1830, his father came from Westmeath, while his mother was of Scotch descent. When young White was growing up, the principal school in Montreal was Mr. Workman's. Thither Thomas White was sent. When the High School was opened he

He dissolved the House, and put before the country, not the issue as to the responsibility of the Executive, but that of the existence of British connexion. "Sir F. Head," says Lord Durham's report, "who appears to have thought that the maintenance of the connexion with Great Britain depended upon his triumph over the majority of the Assembly, embarked in the contest with a determination to use every influence in his power in order to bring it to a successful issue. He succeeded, in fact, in putting the issue in such a light before the Province, that a great portion of the people really imagined that they were called upon to decide the question of separation by their votes."

A most exciting general election took place, at which Baldwin was not a candidate, which resulted in the return of a House of Assembly opposed to the introduction of responsible government. Mr. Sullivan, shortly after his acceptance of office as an Executive Councillor, was created a Legislative Councillor and Commissioner of Crown Lands, which latter office he continued to hold until the Union.

The general election of 1836 was followed by a commercial crisis, one incident of which was the suspension of specie payment by nearly all the Canadian Banks. This involved an extra session of the Legislature, which was speedily followed by the rebellion.

We have already seen how Irishmen of every creed turned outin defence of the British Canadian flag. "The great mass of the emigrants," says Sir Richard Bonnycastle writing in 1846, "may however be said to come from Ireland, and to consist of mechanics of the most inferior class, and of labourers. If they be Orangemen, they defy the Pope and the devil as heartily in Canada, as in Londonderry, and are loyal to the backbone. If they are Repealers, they come here sure of immediate wealth, to kick up a deuce of a row, for two shillings and six pence is paid for a day's labour, which two shillings and sixpence was a hopeless week's fortune in Ireland; yet the Catholic Irish who have been long settled in the country are by no means the worst subjects in this Transatlantic realm, as I can personally testify, having had the command of large bodies of them during the border troubles of 1837-8. They are all loyal and true. In the event of a war, the Catholic

three hundred men who composed that remarkable body, the one who quickest commanded attention is said to be Dr. Stuart Robinson, of Louisville, Kentucky. Whenever he rose to speak, you could hear a pin fall; then presently there was such an ebullition of applause or such a roar of laughter that you could hardly hear what the speaker said. Dr. Hall, Dr. Adams, and Dr. Paxton of New York had their admirers, who pronounced them the most eloquent men living. But the professors and teachers, whether Scotch or American were rather inclined to admire the passionate eloquence of the French, and the finest impression was made by Dr. Godet, of Neuchatel, long known for his commentaries on St. Luke and St. John." Now Dr. Stuart Robinson is not an American, but an Irishman, from Strabane, County Tyrone. well known in Toronto, for he was among the refugees in Canada during the American war. He preached at Knox Church, but some of his remarks were interpreted as advocating slavery, and the Globe attacked him. For some months he was silent in consequence. Ultimately, a room in the Mechanics' Institute was taken for him, and there he preached until he, at the close of the war, returned to his old charge at Louisville. He held on to his property, and is now a wealthy man, the minister of the largest and most influential church in the South.

We have already seen what Ireland has done in supplying priests to the Catholic Church. In fact, all the energy of that church in Upper Canada is due to Irishmen of a type already given, and many more examples of which might be supplied.

In Ontario the most prominent Roman Catholic Divine is Archbishop Lynch, who was born near Clones, County Monaghan, in the Diocese of Clogher. Having been educated for the Church and ordained, he manifested a predilection for missionary labour, and having worked in Texas among Spaniards, Germans, and Irishmen living in a semi-civilized condition, having visited Paris and Rome on special missions, having, moreover, founded a House of his Order in Niagara, he, in 1859, was appointed Bishop in partibus and coadjutor to Monseigneur de Charbonel, Bishop of Toronto, whom he succeeded in the following year. In 1862 he again visited Rome to be present at the Canonization of the Martyrs. He now became "Prelate Assistant of the Pontifical Throne." He assisted

INDEX.

Archibald, Donald, 158

ABERDEEN, Earl of, 476 Abraham, his faith, 1 Mr. Cyril, M.P, 661 His poetical account, 206, Ard Righ, the, 17 Acadian. 208, 222 Art in Canada, 611 his contempt for General Smyth, father of, born, ib. progress of, 612 on Winder and Chandler, 214 not encouraged, 613 on Newark avenged, 233 glory and beauty of Canadian landscape not yet appreciated, 617 his sketch of American manners fifty years ago, 235 Artists, Canadian, 617 Adamson, Dr., 433 Artistic Genius of Irishmen, 35 Adelaide, Irish settlers in, 303 Ardagh, Rev. Samuel B., 594, 628 Typhus fever breaks out in, 304 Arcadia, dreamed of by Talbot and Lord Dacre, 108 Age and piety, 179 Agitation, 509 Armed revolution condemned by Col. Ague and fever, 358-9, 375 James E. McGee, 44 Alfred the Great, 394 Arnold's march from Boston to Que-Alison, William Henry, 157 bec, 81—83 Allan, Hon. William, 400 Arthur, Sir George, succeeds Sir F. Allen, Arnold, with 300 men crosses Head, 406 Lake Champlain, 75 requested to summon the Legisla-Allen, Colonel, sent by Montgomery ture, **413** to surprise Montreal, 78 Assembly, promised to Quebec, 71 delay in granting, a cause of dis-atis Aikens, Hon. James, birth and political career, 275. faction, 72 of Upper Canada meets, quarrel Airey, Mr. Julius, 124 Colonel, ib. between, and Metcalfe, 493 America, Discovery of, by Saynt Aylwyn, 489 Brandon, 51 Attachments, romantic, 393 Irishmen met there on all sides, in Australia, the Irishman in, 66 the eighteenth century, 52 civil war of, part played in by Irish-BAGOT, Sir Charles, sent out as Govmen, 65, 66 ernor of Canada, 476 Americans retreat from before Quecharacter of, 477 Hincks induced to join his Governbec, 86 cruelty of, 89 ment, ib. plan the conquest of Canada, 207 vilely assailed, 485 death of, 483 Anderson, William, 95 Anglicanism, Father of, in Canada, Bailey, John, 353 Bailey, F. G., 604 Anglin, T. W. 164 Baldwin, Admiral, 173, 400 Baldwin, Rev. A. H., 629 Annexation and Independence, 252, Baldwin, Capt. Henry, 173 Baldwin, Robert, the Emigrant, 172 Archibalds, the, 153

Kerr, William, M.P., 661 Limerick founded on this continent, Kilkenny, Statute of, 22 Killaly, H. H., 433, 436, 489. Limerick founded by the Danes, 17 King Arthur, Tales of, and the Irish siege of, one of the most glorious occupation of South Britain, 13. things in the history of the world, King Brian's wife, the Irish Helen. fruits of the siege denied the be-Kingsmill, Colonel, 622 sieged, ib. Kindness and politeness of Irish, 39 Lindsay, 246 of Irish character, 65 leading men of, 346, 347 King, Dr., 476 Lindsey, Mr. Charles, preface vi., 68, Rev. William, 632 387Kingston, a force of 2,000 thrown Lisgar, Lord, 662. into, 228 Literary Garland, 593 in early days, 365 Literature, Irishmen and, Mr. Wilworthies of, 366-372 liam McDonnell's works, 346 Lord Sydenham's (Thompson's) en-Irishmen in, 36 trance into in 1841, 439 Livingston, John, 165 settlers in, 593 Local self-government, importance of, Kirkpatrick, George A., M.P., ib. 444, 445 Logging Bees, 134, 348 LACOLLE MILLS, Wilkinson fails to London (Ontario) early Irish settlers take, 236 in, 380, 381 Lafontaine, 480, 489 Londonderry, settlement of, 54 his house attacked, 562 Long, Thomas, M.P.P., 662 those inside fire, ib. Lovekin, Richard, settles in Clarke, Lake Ontario, command of, passes 170 out of British hands, 75 Love in the wilderness, 362 Land property is like no other pro-Love of country, a virtue in Ireland perty, 46 as elsewhere, 45 Language, uniformity of, in parlianoble in the Irishman, 63 ment and public documents, 414. Lower Canada divided into counties, cities, and boroughs, 105 Landscape, Canadian, glory of, 617 discontent in, 386 Lane, John, M.P.P., 662 Loyalty in Lord Elgin's time, 550 Lawrence, John, 97 Lynch, Archbishop, 635 Lauder, Venerable John Strutt, 627 Lumberers, 311, 353 Lawyers, Irishmen as, 35 Lundy's Lane, 238 Law, Courts of, established, 71 Lyndhurst, Lord, 476 Leader, 278 Legends, Irish historians have delight-MACDONALD, Rt. Hon. Sir John A., ed too much in them, 51 384 part of pageant welcoming Lord Legislative Council, First, 88 and the elective principle, 417 Sydenham in 1841, 439 Legislation, fruitful, 575 precocious statesmanship of, 534 Lemoine, J. M., his opinion of the quizzed by George Brown, 542 conduct of Carleton, 87 joins Brown in opposition to Hincks, Leonardo da Vinci, 614 585 Leopard, the, brings Chesapeake to. Premier, 645 197at Baldwin's funeral, 652 Lexington, battle of, 75 on D'Arcy McGee's death, 658 Lewis, Bishop, 625-6 Sandfield, government beaten, on Lewiston fired, 233 a vote of want of confidence pro Liberty, early struggle for, 407 posed by Mr. J. A. Macdonald, Library at Ottawa, 656 653-654

Whelan, Hon. Edward, 169 War—continued. Vincent raises blockade of Fort Whitby, the first settlers in, 289 George, ib. White, Tom, 328–330 Chrysler's Farm, 229 Wilcox, Joseph, 177 Wilderness, weariness of life in, 289 flight of Americans, 230 subduing the, a noble work, 63 Wilkinson, 228 Hampton repulsed, ib. failure of the invasion, ib. McClure sets fire to Newark, 231 Wilkes, Robert, 661 Fort Niagara taken, 232 Willcocks, William, 173 brings emigrants to Canada, 394 Newark avenged, 233 imprisoned because he makes use Black Rock taken, ib. triumphant feeling of the colony,236 of strong language regarding a fall of Fort Erie, ib. brother member of parliament, Ryall's gallant attack, 237-8 178Lundy's Lane, 238 Wilson, Dr. Daniel, on Moore's boat enemy retreats to Chippawa, 239 song, 187 Drummond determines to take Fort on Paul Kane, 615 Erie by storm, ib. Wit, an Irish—Maurice Scollard, 273 Peace with France, 240 Wolfe, 394 the British fleet blockades Ameriand the taking of Quebec, 68 can ports, ib. Wolves, 171, 376 effects of, 241 Women, Canadian, fifty years ago, the great effect of, in Ireland, 241 unprepossessing, 247 243, 244 prices, 243 Irish, 285 purity of, 65 Ward George, 109 noble, 118-120 Warden, how to be appointed, 466 haters, 118 Warrens, the, 290 Wood, Andrew Trew, M.P., 661 Washington, his favourite aide-de-Woods, Mr. John, 594 camp, 59 Workman family, the, 331-336 Waterford, 17 Waterloo, Irishmen at, 33 Yachting, 296 Watters, Hon. Charles, 163 Yeo, Sir James Lucas, 225 Watson, Samuel James, a true poet, York (see Toronto) becomes capital of 618, 619 Upper Canada; 172 Wellington, Duke of, 106, 476 taken; and the fort blown up, 212, Wells, Joseph, 397 213Wesley, John, 180, 183, 184 first impression of, 261 Wexford, 17 township of, early settlers in, 277



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