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Irish in Ontario during the Victorian era

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IRISH IN ONTARIO DURING THE VICTORIAN ERA

By

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A Major Research Paper
Presented to Ryerson University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
In the Program of
Immigration and Settlement Studies

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the Immigrant Irish in Ontario during the Victorian Era. Through analytic lenses of xenophobia and social inclusion the historic period is analyzed in the context of immigration and settlement. The two major groups discussed are the Protestant Orangemen and the Irish Catholics. The ruling Protestant class had a great deal of influence over the settlement of the Irish Catholics as this paper discusses. The exclusion and inequity of the Irish Catholics within Ontario is the crux of this paper.

Key words:

Irish; Orangemen; Xenophobia; Catholic; Protestant.

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Introduction¹

The purpose of this paper is to discuss how Irish immigration to Ontario during the Victorian era (1830s-1910) was influenced by the systematic exclusion of the Irish Catholics in the settlement process which was a direct result of the influence exerted by the Orange Order and the Catholic Church combined. This discussion will be approached through the theoretical framework of xenophobia and social inclusion. Following the literature review of key aspects of this era there will be a discussion of comparative analysis for the involvement of the Orange Order and the Catholic Church, as well there will be a discussion of the manifestations of xenophobia and social inclusion in the events as well.

Finally, there will be a discussion of the potential implications for further analysis of this historical period and its relation to the contemporary treatment of newcomers in Canada. There have been increasing incidents of violence in the form of hate crimes since September 11th, 2001, and this will be addressed in the final sections of this paper.

Framework

Xenophobia

For the purposes of this paper, xenophobia will serve as partial theoretical framework. Xenophobia can be defined at its 'simplest' level as a fear of, or contempt for, foreigners or strangers. Xenophobia is different from racism or prejudice in that the

¹ In the interest of full disclosure the following is the compilation of an academic year's worth of work. All of the previous assignments have been written with this final product in mind to provide as broad perspective as possible. Therefore some aspects of this paper have been derived from past research.

target of the fear does not necessarily have to be of a different nationality. For example, one can have a fear of a black person from America, not because the person is black but because they are American. Xenophobia can be a fear of cultural manifestations as well, such as borrowed foreign words or phrases like 'je ne sais quoi,' for example. This fear of vocabulary may not result in a physical attack against the person but may lead to movements for linguistic purification.

Jens Rydgren's (1997) thesis in his discussion of '*reason for racism and xenophobia*' points fingers at political parties, or the 'meso-level,' also specifically radical right-wing groups, as the source for most modern xenophobia. Rydgren argues that these emerging 'meso-level' radicals are representative of a larger social issue stemming from the micro level. They are able to gain momentum due to their ability to spread their ideas around; differentiating themselves as manifest xenophobes compared to latent xenophobes (Rydgren 2003, 46). According to Rydgren, racism is "traditionally understood as an ideology that claims the fundamental inequality and hierarchal order of different biologically defined races" (Rydgren 2003, 48). For him, xenophobia "...is fear of individuals who are different or 'strange'...also characterized by a belief that it is 'natural' for people to live amongst their 'own kind' and corresponding hostility towards the presence of people of a 'different' kind" (Rydgren 2003, 48). Rydgren successfully connects the micro-meso-macro levels of society and indicates how the 'meso-level' brings the 'voice of the people' (however small) to become the voice of the government. Rydgren suggests (between the lines) that the reason why radical right-wing political parties have risen to power currently is due to the plain and simple fact that they are politicians and they are good at what they do-namely persuading people to vote for them.

The parties themselves, as Rydgren contends, draw on some issue of the populace that is uber-nationalistic and creates and hones their platform to appeal to enough citizens to gain power.

Andreas Wimmer (1997) explains xenophobia in terms of a four-model theoretical framework; rational choice theory, functionalism, discourse theory, and phenomenology. In rational choice theory, it is understood that xenophobia and racism stem from a rivalry between migrants and “indigenous” citizens. The functionalist, however, views it as a matter of cultural difference, with the immigrant responsible for the resulting conflict between new comers and the native born. Discourse theory suggests that power holders create a discourse of exclusion which serves to perpetuate the systemic racism in institutions (this point will be elaborated on further in the paper). And, lastly, phenomenology looks at xenophobia as an overarching symptom of a larger societal crisis (Wimmer 1997, 19-27)

The second section of Wimmer’s work discusses the rise of nationalism. Through three facets, the second dimension of his framework is outlined. The first discusses the ‘imagined community’ of the late nineteenth century as a political community based on common origin and historical experience. The second is the creation of a ‘real community’ of interest in territorial politics. The third, and final, dimension of nationalism is one of ‘multicultural empires,’ whereby a bureaucratic process becomes ‘ethnicized’ and only accessible to those who were part of the previously mentioned ‘imagined community’. It is through the idea of this ‘imagined community’ that nationalism is understood to be an evolving entity. The make up of the community itself changes over time as those who were once ‘outsiders’ are now part of the ‘in group’ and

no longer 'othered'. The numbers of those who belong to the 'in group', thus, expand and encompass once demonized people. Once part of the 'us' crowd, people tend to follow suit so as to blend in and not ruffle feathers. Those who were once outsiders now are marginalizing the new outsiders, the new 'other'. And so the cycle continues (Wimmer 1997, 28-9).

According to Hjerm (2001), the appearance of nationalistic and xenophobic values has been prevalent in all societies, as has been the notion that education is meant to dilute the extremism that comes from those values. The problem forms when the realization of the boundaries in which the education system functions draws on the very same mythology and imagery that feed extremist values. The self-perpetuating programs come, for the most part, from the dominant group's ideology. In the context of this paper, this ideology would be that of the Family Compact and its associate, Orangeism. This ideology had pervaded area schools and other institutions whose very existence often was at the discretion of ruling Protestants and Lodge members. The pledge of loyalty made to the British Crown and, by extension, the Protestant church, is one of many symbolic practices that, even though Ontario had public common schools, alienated non-Protestant children (Hjerm 2001, 37).

Social Inclusion

For the purposes of this paper, the discourse of social inclusion will serve as a second aspect of the theoretical framework. Social inclusion, according to Omidvar and Richmond (2005), involves basic notions of belonging, acceptance and recognition. For newcomers, the realization of these notions is manifested in their full and equal

participation socially, culturally and politically. According to Saloojee (2005), there can be negative manifestations, or the opposite of inclusion, such as, the denial of goods and services, lack of resources for self determination, and not being recognized as full and equal citizens; essentially being systemically shut out (Saloojee 2005, 181-191).

Gillian Cowlshaw's (2006) article about 'cultures of complaint' serves to underscore the sentiments of Wimmer's discussion on discourse theory. Cowlshaw notes that, in political discussion, the choice of vocabulary to describe racialized conflicts can be used to claim ignorance of the underlying social issues. In this way, members of the *disenchanted majority* feel that they are actually the victims when it comes to inclusion in multiculturalism. Unfortunately, in these situations the *actual* minorities' issues (of marginalization) are not addressed until they, in essence, *boil over*. The resulting impression often is that the 'riot erupting' came with no warning to those in power; which Cowlshaw claims is due to the discourse and choice of vocabulary they used to skirt the issue and claim innocence when confronted by the populace (Cowlshaw 2006, 431). This specific use of such vocabulary, for example, the use of 'social disorder' as the reason for habitual social issues of unemployment, alcoholism and the like, echoes the complexities found in the previously mentioned theories of Wimmer, all which can be understood better when systemic racism is addressed.

According to Mitchell and Shillington (2005), the concepts of social exclusion and the movement towards social inclusion are not one and the same. In fact, the two concepts can be associated with vastly different *raison d'être*. Social exclusion is the ideology that a marginalized group is in need of rehabilitation, whereas the onus of advancement toward social inclusion is solely based on the shoulders of society. Social

inclusion demands that society must adapt in order for the excluded group to be included
(Mitchell et. al. 2005, 34)

Push Pull Factors in Irish Migration

...The Irish have been shunted into the recesses of
Canada's collective memory. In that memory only one
event is vivid—the arrival of the Famine hordes in 1847...

(Houston and Smyth 1990, p3)

Migration is a social process in that there are many people involved in the process, and it includes interactions within many different contexts that would not normally manifest themselves. This new dimension in the dynamic global socialization process has generally been thought to be controlled in two ways. Migrants are seen by neo-classical theorists to move for personal economic gain. These same theorists often argue in support of bureaucrat measures to effectively stop the flow, much like the turning of a tap. This, of course, does not begin to give a blanket explanation to the mid-nineteenth century Irish case when the Blight nearly wiped out entire counties. Even though there was some relief in the form of aid from government and church and benevolent societies; the number of migrants rose higher than any one had expected. Measures were taken in receiving countries to counteract the flow, but these tactics were put in place far too late. One can effectively argue that neo-classical theorists have tended to depend too heavily on the micro level for explanations and to totally negate macro factors. As Castles similarly notes they “seem to have little ability to predict or explain

specific migratory flows” (Castles 2004, p858; MacDonagh 1994 p 371-6; Castles 2002, p566).

Micro forces are not to be totally brushed aside, however, as they do help determine some general aspects of migration. In times of dire straits, families may send one or more members to work in other areas in order to maximize their joint familial income, thereby bettering their chances for survival. This micro instance effectively creates a macro industry, the ‘migration industry’ which involves all those in the chain of migration; from facilitators, like lawyers, brokers and bankers, to receivers, like employers, pastors and doctors. All these people, and more, are involved in the migration chain. Castles notes that these ‘agents’ have a vested interest in the continuation of this process and, thus, may go above and beyond the law and government authorities so as not to break the migration chain; in effect they are the ‘bakers’ of transnational communities.

A number of reasons have been identified throughout the core literature on Irish migration history as push and pull mitigating factors in the mass exodus of Irish during the Victorian Era². This era is most important when discussing Irish history as this is the period asserted by scholars as the time when Canada, specifically Upper Canada, received the bulk of its Irish immigrants who were either pushed or pulled into migration from Ireland. According to Kelley and Trebilcock (1998), the major influx of immigrants from Ireland happened between 1830 and 1850. This influx was a result of economic conditions, and, starting in 1847, the Irish Famine. In conjunction with the Famine, landlords throughout Ireland were attempting simultaneously to clear their lands of

² For the purposes of this paper the era discussed will extend slightly beyond the reign of Victoria herself, 1830-1910

excess tenants; and so, too, were the local parishes and union chapters trying to alleviate their burden of poverty-stricken brethren (p21).

The beginning of the British domination in Ireland as a colonial Protestant power house is agreed to be during the Tudor reign (1453-1603); Henry VIII being the instigator, his successors being the perpetuators, combined with subsequent acts in Parliament to marginalize Catholics and their ability to practice their faith (Beckett 1966, 154-5). The Evangelization of the Protestant faith has been paralleled with the British rise in power, while the Catholic Church (it has been implied) was seen as a cancerous threat to the newly established Protestant Church and its global imperative.

According to Ignatieff (1993), "Englishness was defined antagonistically as the creed of an Anglo-Saxon Protestant nation locked in battle with continental Europe, the Papacy and the Irish Catholic". Essentially, the very idea of 'nation' in Western Europe came to be during Henry VIII's Protestant Reformation, and the attendant birth of the Protestant Ethic, a national rebuking of Catholicism led by the Tudor Crown. Ironically, this coincided with the Tudor conquest of Catholic Ireland; showing its 'capacity for conquest' (p222). This Protestant Ethic played a large part historically in the British treatment of the Irish. The Famine, in fact, was seen as divine intervention by God to smite the sins of the Irish, while reaffirming that Protestantism was the true way: Indeed, anti-Catholic sentiment is seen throughout historic texts on the Famine.

Though Ireland was under Colonial rule, it is considered to have been a great failure of the British state's nation-building abilities. The Providentialism of the Protestant ethic at the heart of the British identity effectively made it impossible for Irish Catholics to be assimilated successfully into the Union. If a "state did not succeed in

converting its citizens to the new religion [Protestantism]... they might as well be lost” (Ignatieff 1993, p223; Hobsbawm 1990 p85-6). According to Gray, the British felt that even though the Irish were overpopulated and underdeveloped, there was still work to be done. However, their laissez-faire approach would not work in this ‘case’. While priming to be the successful colonialists that history teaches, the ruling party [Whig] essentially dug in to help with their ‘sleeves rolled’ and pitched in to do what the Irish could not possibly do without British help (interference). Such things ranged from the division of land to the incorporation of the compulsory ‘poor law’, which shunted the poor directly into workhouses in poverty stricken urban counties.

Providentialism has echoed throughout the classical economic and government ideological framework. Ideology, if you will then, is a framework of ideas, a world view. The ideology of the government in power, and for the most part, what revisionist historians believe, sheds light on the reasons why the British government handled the Famine crisis the way it did. Some government officials felt the need to follow procedure to the letter, while others believed there was a divine wish that the Irish come under Protestant authority, and they followed that ethic to its extreme (Gray 1995, p87-8).

The defeat of Napoleon and his army was seen (and portrayed by those with influence) as a providential sign of favouritism towards Protestantism, since France was a predominantly Catholic nation and a long-standing rival of England. Such sentiments go as far back as the time of Joan of Arc, with her divine insight, and eventual prosecution (Whelan 1988, 136-7).

In Ireland, due, in part, to notions that differences between Protestants and Catholics were as innate as race, the search for such differences has always been a

defining factor of oneself (the thought of '*I* am different from *them*'). For the most part, those who were descended from Celtic stock have defined themselves as a truly different race than the Anglo Saxon oppressor. For Celts, the definition of defiance reaches as far back as the Roman conquest and the wall that was built between present-day Scotland and England, a manifestation of conflict that only sees common ground in the disdain for the Irish and Catholic. When this philosophy is the mind-set of those in power, it is bound to influence any criteria set up for self-identification, meaning this quest to define *us* to *them*. Under such circumstances, there is an inevitability that when searching for differences, one is bound to find them. Therefore, it is easily concluded that when opposing sects seek to define themselves, it is with relation to the proverbial, or literal, other, such as the Protestants who are different from Catholics because of X, Y, and Z. These differences will be proclaimed from the highest echelons that this other is more often than not (specifically with the Protestant versus Catholic prerogative) a demonized other (Akenson 1988, 127-9). Once this demonization has been established as a normative way of seeing things and becoming sanctioned, it becomes necessary to separate themselves from this other in order to keep the '*us*' pure. As Ignatieff, however, rightly or wrongly, queries, when does this ethnic pride turn to ethnic cleansing, where do these arguments of purity extend in to purification? (Ignatieff, 1993).

The Battle of the Boyne in 1690 brought William of Orange to the English throne and solidified the Protestant faith as the true religion of the British throne and the dominant one of the ruling class. This economic advantage for Protestants spread to Ireland and shifted the minority Irish Protestants to a position of power. This new-found power helped gain the triumph over the Tudor Catholic establishment for control of

Ireland (Edwards 1998, 63). From this came the birth of Orangeism in Ireland, which was an organizational manifestation of the real struggle between Protestants and Catholics for land and power. The rise of Orangeism pushed Irish Catholics towards Canada where land was abundant and the only struggle there was to maintain power, but at least families could be fed.

During the 1840s, the potato crop in Ireland became infected with a blight and 90 percent of the harvest rotted before it had been picked. With nothing left to live for in Ireland, hundreds of thousands of families fled overseas between 1847 and 1849. For Canada alone, there was an influx of nearly 100,000 people from Ireland seeking refuge. They landed at Canadian quarantine stations and, within a year, nearly a third of those who had landed had died.

The immigration season ending in 1847 had seen its largest cohort of Irish immigrants to date, but these people had not been willing migrants. They were the first of the Irish Famine refugees to enter Canada, and they came in the hopes of better job prospects than they left behind. The blight had ruined its second crop in a row and there was now a mass exodus late into the year (most of the migrants made their sea voyage from May through October as this was the growing season and day labour was more plentiful). Those who came late in the season were in a more vulnerable position than those who came earlier due to health risks and low job prospects as the harvest was over. Also this had been the largest cohort and the officials handled it within a set of expectations that led them to underestimate that year's cohort. In Canada, the demand for temporary labour had been high in the carpentry field during the 1820-1830s, creating a means for Irish immigrants to earn cash which allowed them to purchase land. This was

followed next by the need for railway labourers and these were just the beginning of the pull factors for Irish immigration to Canada (Houston and Smyth, 1990; 3-128; Kelley and Trebilcock 1998, 21-50; Edwards 1997, 369).

Landing and Quarantine

The authorities had more than enough opportunity and communication with front-line workers to know what was needed and what would have helped alleviate the situation created by the flood of Irish refugees in the mid 1840s. The cholera outbreak of 1832 had had very similar circumstances to the 1845-49 Famine regarding the health services required and the out reach by, as well as sentiments from, the colonists, including their resentment of officials and their lack of preparedness. The ships that came into Canadian ports in the late 1840s were laden with widows, elderly and children, and while on the ship many succumbed to ships fever. The Irish who suffered from ships fever were considered fortunate by some who managed to land in Canada. The spread of disease amongst those on the emigrant ships was due to the deplorable conditions and the ships' general lack of hygiene; creating long waiting times at quarantine reception centres. The line up became miles long during the summer of 1847. By July 1847, the quarantined sick numbered 2,500 and doctors were falling victim to the fevers as well, causing a shortage in ships' doctors. As of 1842, there had been passed the British 'Passenger Act' which did not require a doctor to be on board during passage and this caused a high demand for nurses. This was also seen as one of the reasons for the quick progression of ships fever and the increased numbers of dead throughout the voyage.

Ships' captains were providing passengers with as little as legally possible. This included food, water, space and medical attention (Parthun 1988, 857-8).

With the increasing numbers of doctors dying while attending to patients in quarantine stations, the demand for nurses was so great at times clergy were given permission to hire nurses at will. This included hiring from amongst the refugees themselves because they were seen as a perfect fit for the job. They were already at the stations and were usually found administering to sick family members, so the extension of this care to ship mates was only logical. Priests eventually helped beyond the usual saying of prayers for the sick, and began administering water and food along with their blessings. Clergy also came to number among those afflicted with fever and other illness because of their vulnerable positions as death-bed confidants. Toronto's first bishop, Michael Power, was one among the many who died while ministering to the sick and needy; he fell victim to typhoid which he contracted at a Toronto quarantine station. According to Gilbert Tucker, as cited in Parthun (1988), this cohort of refugees during the 1847 boom was amongst the most 'diseased, destitute and shiftless that Canada ever received (Coogan 2000, 377; Mackay 1990, 204; Parthun 1988, 857-8; Woodham-Smith 1962, 21; Baker 1988, 61)

In the early years of settlement, especially in the 1830s, only a minority of the Irish had been transient people in search of day labour. The Famine Irish, however, had strong social and economic motivation to succeed, and this was seen in their children who moved further into the new frontier and staked claims with money earned while with their family. Free land grants, were beyond a rarity for Catholic Irish to receive, almost to the extent that between 1825 and 1850 impoverished Irish immigrants who arrived had

nothing to prosper on, because they spent their entire life's worth on the sea voyage and immigrant taxes. To plainly state the case, the Catholic Irish were out of luck as Canada was not the place for destitute settlers hoping for cheap farm land. These newly arrived Irish were not ones to give up however, and their resulting work ethic paid off eventually, if not with the first generation then with the subsequent generations who were determined to put down solid economic roots. The larger families had fared better when there was capital to rely on and work, where basic agriculture jobs were plentiful but not lucrative. So, more hands in the field meant more money earned towards familial goals (Houston and Smyth 1990, 127-52).

There is evidence to show some degree of Catholic and Protestant cooperation in solving community problems where social services were not developed on either side. Local groups worked to alleviate the distress of Catholics afflicted with fever and dying on crowded immigrant ships. These Protestants were not from the ruling class but from the same socioeconomic class that their Catholic counterparts were from, the working class. Though many scholars see this as a ploy to better their own lot in life, the acts of charity and compassion in not allowing the refugees to starve and die was to the detriment of Protestant well being, but it did enhance their image as good Christians. The Protestant ethic, as put forth by Weber, is that everyone has a particular calling in life, and that to fulfill this calling to the best of their abilities meant to directly serve God. That meant the call could be to come to the aid of all of God's children, including those assumed to be rivals.

In parallel to the Protestant assistance received, the Catholic Famine victims were mobilized and assisted by a few more affluent Toronto-area Catholics. While this was

going on, the bishops were not exactly helping the cause, but they were seen to be the force behind facilitating the ground work for their own denominational aid societies. In fact, according to Parhtun (1988), Catholic mutual aid and benevolent societies began to appear in during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Such societies provided basic assistance to struggling Catholic migrants in an often-hostel environment, meaning primarily Protestant neighbourhoods, and helped preserve ethnic bonds and cultural identity. Such societies became the basic framework for the contemporary social services agencies that help current migrants to Canada (Fitzgerald and King 1990, 78; Parthun 1988, 854-5).

The large influx of immigration to Upper Canada followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The Orange Lodges that followed the immigrant arrivals facilitated unification of the Irish Protestants and acted as settlement reception centres, as we will see in the coming sections. Orange Lodges were a form of networking for startup employment for sons of Lodge members as well as potential family alliances through advantageous marriage among member children. As of 1850, there were 40,000 Orangemen registered with Lodges in Ontario. Within a decade, that number had increased to 100,000 (Senior 1972, 7-47; Pennfather 1984, 65-7).

Settlement

Among the incoming cohorts of immigrants to British North America from the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 through to the mid-1860s, Irish immigrant numbers exceeded those from England, Wales and Scotland, and in the majority of those years

they exceeded the combined total of the three regions. In the years leading up to the Famine 1821-41, the majority of Irish out migration came from the Protestant areas in and around Belfast. These migrants were prosperous and able to establish themselves far better than those arriving during the height of the Famine. In Ontario, Protestant Irish was the largest settlement group as well as in British North America (Akenson 1988, 9-23; Houston and Smyth 1990, 20).

As the influx of Protestant Irish became evident, the numbers of those hailing from the county Ulster who were newcomers coincided with the migration of sympathizers for both 'Orange and Green'. As both sides of the conflict in Toronto grew, the city quickly earned a nickname, which it retained for decades, as the 'Belfast of Canada', because of its similarity to its namesake in terms of the polarization of its residents. This qualification was due not only to the influx of Belfast immigrants but also because of the geographic locations within the city of the two groups. The juxtaposition of Protestants in the area just north of the Catholics was the key to the reproduction of old world animosity between the ethno-religious identities (Jenkins 1988, 79-80).

Backlash and a shattered Protestant consensus is what met Catholic Famine refugees in 1840s Toronto. Protestants, inclusive of Irish Protestants, disassociated themselves from the immigrants, forcing Irish Catholics into lowest ranks of the work force, and causing enclaves to form amongst countrymen as ethnicity was trumped by religion (Cottrell 1998, 38). Urban-dwelling Irish Catholics found it a struggle to rise above minority status in Ontario cities and towns, whereas those Irish Catholics settling into 'virgin territory' had much more autonomy because there were acres of land between them and their neighbours allowing for the emergence of a *neutral* zone, of sorts, and a

greatly diminished sense of competition for day labour work. According to Akenson (1988), studies have shown that the Irish in Ontario were not subject to the same style of urban ghettoization process as their American, and especially Boston, counterparts were. And this was due to the proliferation of single-family dwellings in Toronto versus the multiple family dwellings in American cities (Houston and Smyth 1990, 170; Akenson 1988, 46).

Political animosity was also greatly diminished in Canada. Toronto was the centre for the 'rebellions and change,' whereas the rural areas had greater worries about Mother Nature and the harvest. In 1871, 78% of the Ontario population was rural dwelling, and 77.5% of those rural dwellers were Irish. By 1901, 57.1% of those in Ontario were rural dwelling, and 58.4% were Irish. The majority of Upper Canadian Catholics were Irish as well, but the other major ethnic representations were Scottish Highlanders and French Canadians (Houston and Smyth 1990, 170; Akenson year, 24-41).

The dichotomous tensions that were within the ranks of the Irish of Ontario were found to be more between the first cohort of Protestant pre-Famine migrants, who came in as the prosperous settlers against those who were opposite in everyway; the Famine Irish who were majority Catholic as well as poor and sickly. This was not to remain the standard however; by 1861, rural Irish Catholics had risen and had become equal with their non-Catholic counterparts in terms of capital accumulations. This dashed the dominant theories at the time which propounded that Irish Catholics would fare better in urban centres because of their similarity to the areas from which they had fled. The autonomy of settling in the rural area had led to greater prosperity for Irish Catholics than critics originally fathomed (Akenson 1988, 27).

The influential touch of the Orangemen had much more consistent results where settlement and integration were concerned. Membership within the Orange Lodges varied between rural and urban areas, as was the case with most social interactions, even religious service attendance. Within the urban centres, there was a broader spectrum of socioeconomic backgrounds as well as ethnic origins in the various neighbourhood Lodges. Later, the Lodges would be divided up by neighbourhood to better reflect the electoral divisions of the neighbourhoods. This variance and diversity within the urban centres was due to the multiplicity of professions found therein. From working day labour to ruling upper class, all walks of employment could be found in quite a small and concentrated radius. The Lodges were integral parts of the neighbourhoods; so much so that when Toronto's federal election districts were reconfigured in 1876, the Orange Lodges followed suit. As the general rule, a member belonged to the Lodge in his home neighbourhood which restricted the socioeconomic diversity within the urban Lodges (Houston and Smyth 1980, 101; Kealey 1988, 836)

Social Exclusion of the Catholic Irish

According to Jenkins (2003), 'Toronto was religion obsessed one way or another and socialization in homogeneous neighbourhoods perpetuates like minded acquaintances'. This is in reference to the 'ethnicization' of established socioeconomic neighbourhoods that were developing specifically in Toronto. Catholic fears that Orangemen might indoctrinate their children eased with the 1863 establishment of a Catholic school board. Keeping the two groups separated allowed them to follow separate

religious education, though requiring them to adhere to an otherwise standard curriculum. This separation of schools meant that children were not introduced to anyone but those of the same faith background and resulted in a lack of exposure to others, thus perpetuating old world processes of nurturing children to one ideology or another. Not being exposed to anyone of a different background legitimated the principles that were instilled at home, school and church. In this particular situation, Irish Protestants continued to look down upon Irish Catholics as inferior beings; due to the lack of exposure, Irish Catholics were viewed as being "as foreign as Italians and were cause for suspicion" (Jenkins 89-90; Wilson 1989, 19).

Up until the 1850s, Toronto was so homogenous in its Orange Protestant makeup that the Irish Catholics remained as the most 'foreign group of significance'. Though the Irish Catholics amounted to the majority of the underclass of Toronto, they were not alone 'ethnically' speaking. The Orange Order in Toronto spanned most levels of the social spectrum while retaining its roots within the working class, in which the bulk of Irish Catholics were also included. The first cohorts of Orangemen inducted into the Lodges were of Irish Protestant decent. This tradition did not remain. The Orangemen had, since their inception, been exclusively Protestant, however for decades they remained primarily Anglo Saxon. This was not an exclusive club they were allowed to join; it came to include other ethnic backgrounds, especially in British North America. First Nations people, as well as members of the Protestant Black community, were allowed to join Orange Lodges. "Orangemen easily accepted the principle of 'melting pot' even though they insisted upon the Protestant mould" (Kealey 1988, 829; Houston and Smyth 1977, 6; Senior 1972, 73).

Orange Lodges were also not inclined to allow women to be excluded from the Orange ideology. During the years 1890-1912, some one hundred and ten Ladies Orange Benevolent Association Lodges were opened. The Orange Order made settlement and integration increasingly easier for newly arriving Orangemen as there was some semblance of a continuation of the old system they were leaving behind as well as its hierarchy. Beyond the addition of the Ladies Lodges to the mix, there were also Juvenile Lodges formed, which increased the sense of institutional completeness as Orange members only were allowed to marry each other. If an Orangeman married a Catholic he would be kicked out of the Lodge and stripped of his rank and privilege. Not surprisingly, then, entire families participated in activities from 'Boyne Water baptisms to Orange Funeral Rites' (Pennfather 1984, 56-65; Houston and Smyth 1990, 180-7).

Lodges and Churches

Though it was dubbed the 'Belfast of Canada', Toronto did not have the same type of housing segregation that was apparent in the original Belfast. In fact, the Protestant and Catholic clashes were not maintained in any particular territory as was the case in Belfast. The annual marches on July 12th were an 'expression of the power and control of a self-convinced charter group', a group whose members believed it was their duty to defend the foundations of the nation. Those foundations were based on the same preservation principles as for the British foot hold within the United Kingdom. In the quarter century between 1867-1892, Orangemen and Catholics clashed openly in the

streets of Toronto twenty-two times; seventeen of those incidences occurred on either July the 12th or March 17th (Houston and Smyth 1990, 108-11; Kealey 1988, 842).

The Catholic Church was not so highly organized early on in Ontario, as they did not have an official 'diocese' until Toronto was created as one in 1842. Its first bishop, Michael Power, was installed in 1841. He is credited with forging the diocese in less-than-pleasant circumstances. As well, he died while ministering to the fever-stricken Irish refugees, as he succumbed to the fevers himself. His parishioners were carving out their territory in a very volatile city, and this struggle instilled in them a sense of pioneering pride which enabled the Catholics of Toronto to rally within their tight-knit community, the Irish especially, and demand schools for their children. The power of the Catholic Church depended on the demographics in the diocese from which it drew its support. At the turn of the twentieth century, of the 57 percent of Ontario population deemed British, one third was found to be of Irish origin and the majority of those were Catholic (Houston and Smyth 1990, 40).

In the rural townships of Ontario, gangs of Orangemen would band together to keep Catholics away from their town. Even though not all of the township residents agreed with the gang violence, none of them rose to the aid of Catholics by assisting in arrests. As Mood and Cross have noted, as cited in Houston and Smyth (1990), "The situation in 1870 also does little to sustain a view held by some that 'the essential elements for the success of the Orange Order in community were religious tensions and religious balance'. The order was not necessarily strongest in zones where Catholics and Protestants were numerically equal. Ideologically Orangeism was born of the perceived threat of Catholicism" (Houston and Smyth 1990, 31-41).

Catholics who were residing in urban centres tended to reside in the larger urban centres. These Catholic Irish tended not to infringe on the established Protestant foothold. This habit of staying away from the Protestant-saturated areas was one of the ways that can be used to understand why the clashes between members of the two groups failed to erupt to the violent precipice that they did in Northern Ireland, though on one occasion soon after his installation as the second Archbishop of Toronto, John Walsh (1889-1898), was stoned by Orangemen. This was seen as evidence of rising fears concerning the Catholic Church's growth in the area. However, the idea of the perceived threat of Catholicism came not from the formation of churches but from the actual growth of potential parishioners because the rise in the number of Catholic churches came only from a demand that was based upon actual immigrant community needs (Houston and Smyth 1990, 40,180). Initially, the church's reach was limited due to its lack of infrastructure, cash flow and clergy. Due to the sprawling nature of settlers, priests, who were already few in numbers, were scarcely seen more than three times a year (Houston and Smyth 1990, 168-175). "... Simultaneously, the school system was a potential cultural wedge which could be forced between the migrant generation [of Irish] and the first generation born in Canada..." (Akenson 1984, p268). Bishop Charbonnel, as early as 1851 began to advocate for separate schools for Catholic children. His platform was simple. He defined his challenge as a right, not a privilege, for Catholic children to have separate schools to help preserve their cultural and religious heritage. By the mid-1850s a clear power struggle had emerged, along with well defined sides of the controversy. In this regard, the *Toronto Mirror*, a daily newspaper, had 'crossed the floor' on the debate from the Conservative standpoint that had rejected the idea to become not just a medium,

but a champion, for the Catholic right to separate schools (Akenson 1984, p275; Fahey, Curtis 1988, p819).

School board elections, even after the separation of the schools in Toronto in 1863, were not by secret ballot. By 1880, a power struggle between the secular (Protestant) and Catholic boards arose. However, Archbishop Lynch, the third bishop of Toronto Diocese and its first Archbishop appointed in 1870, opposed the idea of secret ballots for fear of corruption, which he understood to be ballot stuffing and poll rigging; however he was quoted as saying that 'how can we know that they take the politician's money then vote for someone else?' (Houston and Smyth 1990, p 171-172; Starz 1988, p875). This debate parallels the image of 'Protestants versus Catholics' so well and in so many dynamic ways, that the equation of schools, turf wars, Orange Lodges etc., is not a stretch. Jenkins (2003) goes so far to say that because Toronto embodies many of the same particulars in society right down to the segregated schools, that it was fair that it be called 'the Belfast of Canada'. In his article, "Between the Lodge and the Meeting House", he discussed and illustrated the juxtapositions of the two major rival groups, Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics. They set up neighbourhoods in the same position as in Ireland, North versus South; drawing to mind the old axiom 'keep your friends close and your enemies closer' (p79).

The Orange Order derived its oath-bound society in the fashion of a secret society whose members were self proclaimed defenders of the Protestant faith and the British crown. These central cultural beliefs helped them to embed their xenophobic relationship with the Catholics who emigrated with the first Irish Protestants who settled in British North America. In effect, the Orange Lodges became default settlement service agencies

for arriving Irish Protestants in British North America because there was no social infrastructure in place to help facilitate integration and settlement until the turn of the 20th century. Early on in Lodge history, however, there was not nearly as much financial assistance as there would be in the latter half of the 19th century. There was an abundance of social networking however, which can be seen to be every bit as important for the establishment of merchants and political parties. This was a network that remained close to the core of Toronto, which can be seen in the total absence of Lodges in the German-dominated area of settlement northwest of Hamilton (Houston and Smyth 1990, 38-180; Houston and Smyth 1977, 12).

Ontario remained the core of Orangeism for a century and a half, as the earliest Lodge may have been formed for military personnel stationed in Canada in 1799. It is also noted that the earliest July 12th parade was held in 1818 in the town of Toronto. With these dates secured, it is clear that Orangemen and their ideologies preceded the Famine refugee influx by at least 15-20 years. To ensure their foot hold in Ontario, Orangemen soon began settling in rural areas. By bringing their ideology and numbers together in a rural setting, they were able to secure the attention of the few Catholics in those areas at the time. In some areas, Orange Lodges were more readily available than clergy, and thus they sometimes doubled as houses of worship. This other aspect of the Lodges gave more strength to the Protestant faith than the Catholics had at their disposal in the early days, namely the ability to come together and worship as one (Houston and Smyth year, 16-24; Kealey 1988, 831; Senior year, 8).

According to Houston and Smyth (1980), the majority of Orangemen came from three Protestant sects, Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian. This allowed the

Orangemen to appear to be from more ethnic backgrounds and, thus, they were more representative of the wider Protestant community than just an Irish immigrant minority. In the early days of the Lodges in Ontario, birth place was as important an aspect of Lodge membership as was being Protestant, however, this declined in the latter part of the 19th century when emphasis on Irish birth became much less prevalent (Houston and Smyth 1980, 90-104).

Early in Lodge history, membership captured a wide variety of occupations, especially in the trades. In fact, there were even some distinctly trade unionist Lodges. Though Lodge members were from similar walks of life, they shared more than just their employment and religious backgrounds. Socially, the Lodges were seen as a place of male bonding apart from women, though there were separate women's Lodges. Men came to escape the anxiety that began to inflict the general workforce and the city at large. The anxiety was from the growth spurt in industry as well as in population. Men from Ireland sought refuge in smaller, more intimate gatherings to reminisce about the old country and the way things used to be, a longing for simpler times, according to Kealey (Pennfather 1984, 8; Kealey 1988, 841).

Within Orange society, there were subsections which began to segment the larger populations into socioeconomic classifications that corresponded with the neighbourhood in which the Lodge was located. This also suited political interests in line with electoral divisions. As previously mentioned, this meant that every Lodge could back the one particular candidate in their riding instead of splitting the vote amongst different ridings. As well, local "merchants, undertakers or tavern keepers living in a working class neighbourhood found Lodge membership a prerequisite for attracting clients; each

candidate for Orange membership probably mixed these motives in distinctive ways” (Kealey 1988, 836-40).

Orangemen transcended socioeconomic segregation in some respects as many of the neighbourhoods from Rosedale to Cabbagetown had honorary members who were prominent but played no part in the Lodges’ operations; they did not attend meetings, nor did they pay any dues. There is also evidence to show that the majority of leadership positions in working class Lodges were held by members of the working class. This is not to say that middle class Lodge members were not in positions of power. They, too, held a disproportionate number of Lodge leadership positions (Houston and Smyth 1990, 106; Kealey 1988, 835-9).

Prior to the 1830 establishment of British North America’s first Grand Lodge by Grand Master Ogle Robert Gowan, Orangemen did not need a warrant to begin to establish networks and gather to discuss issues at hand. There are data to suggest that multiple Lodges were in existence, however, prior to Gowan’s reorganization and installation as Grand Master in the 1830s. In fact, it was this early organization that laid the groundwork for Irish settlement and the seeds for establishing the first Grand Lodge itself. Warrants for new Lodges were issued every year after its establishment up until the mid-1960s (Houston and Smyth 1990, 20-24; Kealey 1988, 835).

After 1830, the issuing of warrants for new Lodges would only be granted by the Grand Master if there was enough proof received from those applying for Lodge creation that there would be sufficient numbers of potential members who were true Orangemen. The Grand Lodge was wary about starting Lodges that could ultimately end up closing; this would be seen as a point of weakness on the part of Lodge officials. In essence, there

was a reoccurring need to show the strong foot-hold of the Protestant faith against the perceived Catholic threat (Houston and Smyth year, 22-3).

Gowan's changes within the makeup of the Lodges included an overhaul of the traditional role that Lodges played in men's social lives. For him, the lodge should be a place where members found a release from the workdays' pressures, especially after the onslaught of the industrial revolution. This, too, migrated with the settlers to Ontario and quickly became the burden of Orange leaders in British North America as it was in Ireland. The leaders were pressured to control the excessive behaviour of their underlings, but this had become too great a challenge by 1850. In response, Gowan broke rank and tradition and created Temperance Lodges; this he concluded would help moderate the general population of the Lodges, and if not, at the very least give an alternative location for socialization to those who did not drink to excess. Temperance Lodges, concluded Gowan, represented the creation of a refuge for the 'large masses of intelligent and educated men...' removing them from the 'festive bowl' of the everyday Lodge (Kealey 1988, 841)

Though Orangemen were strictly sectarian in their political approaches, religion, in general, permeated every aspect of cultural life (Houston and Smyth 1977, 14). Protestant churches acted as a consolidation of 'the ethnicities' (Irish, English, Scot and American), and in light of this, no one denomination of Protestantism was synonymous with 'Irish,' which was the case of Catholicism early on in Ontario's history (Houston and Smyth 1990, 169).

Politics and Policy

At the time of the Famine, the Treasury Undersecretary responsible for the 'everyday' policy decisions in Ireland was Charles Trevelyan. Trevelyan was a deeply religious man of the Protestant faith, and through various interviews at the time he was found to have a strong belief that the Famine had been ordained by God to teach the Irish a lesson. Trevelyan's sentiments were seen as the dominant perspective held throughout the British ruling class, and often was used to justify their own actions, meaning their lack of interference to come to the aid of suffering Irish Catholics; even at the cost of human lives. This attitude resonated within the family of Ogle Robert Gowan as well. He was an upper-class Protestant Irishman who came to Canada to establish himself and his family, following the hopes that immigration was thought to bring. His uncle had been a strong influence in his life and was a longtime member of the Orange Order in Ireland. Gowan's uncle introduced him to the Orange ideology before he left for British North America, instilling in him a need to defend the faith and honour the loyalty towards the Protestant Crown.

Upon arrival in Canada, Ogle Robert Gowan continued on his Orange crusade and laid the groundwork to have a political party rooted in the ideology of the Order that, ideally, would serve as the immigrant voice in Upper Canada. Gowan hoped to have Canada, as a whole, continually ruled under one Protestant dominant ruling class. His entire career was devoted to maintaining an Orange strong hold in government. Though philosophically similar to the Tory party, the Orangemen were not one and the same, as the Tory party allowed Catholics as well as Protestants to join and run for office. This was understood to be where Gowan lost his foothold in the government; his consuming

vision of an Orange nation. Even without Gowan's lack of success, the founding principles and ideologies of the Orange Lodges found their way on to the transatlantic voyages nonetheless. The principles came by way of civilian and military hands as did the occasional warrant to set up a Lodge in the early years of the 19th century. The issuing of warrants diminished gradually by the turn of the 20th century because of both changing sentiments of residents after settlement and the subsequent integration of generations whereby the children of Lodge members grew together with the supposed enemy (O'Grada 1995, 45; Houston and Smyth 1980, 16, 146-7).

To offset the cost of the 1848 cohort of Irish, immigrants were charged higher landing taxes, and ships' captains were held liable for anyone who fit the profile of someone who was likely to become a public charge. The negative profile awarded to the arriving Irish was grossly exaggerated. The Irish became stereotyped as lazy, and people who would fail to find work. As well, they faced the stigma of alcohol abuse, violence and lack of general morals. In reality, there were many systemic barriers keeping them from achieving their full potential; the common axiom in largely Protestant areas was 'Irish need not apply' (Edwards 1997, 373; Parthun 1988, 857).

This anti-Catholic sentiment, albeit an unofficial policy, permeated all aspects of the settlement system, including the hiring practices of those in need of short-term labour. The collective reception stance was steeped in British tradition to defend the faith and proved that the ideologies of the Reformation were by no means a spent force of the 17th century. Catholic aid societies rose in response to colonial non-intervention of those who shared the mindset of Trevelyan. This intervention was regarding the poor Catholics, particularly Famine victims in the latter part of the 19th century. Persecution of the

Catholics upon their arrival in Toronto was due to members of the preexisting Protestant community and the negative stereotypes that had been perpetuated by this social group during the previous decades (Whelan cited by Poirteir 1995, 136; Parthun 1988, 855-7).

Irish settlement between 1830 and 1841 was influenced heavily by the political situation at the time in Canada, which was dominated by what is known as the Family Compact. This Compact was at its peak over this eleven year period; however, it has not been readily discussed by historians for multiple reasons. The Family Compact was an agreement that developed in Upper Canada whereby the ruling upper-class Protestant elite were holding the real power of the government in the form of influential executive committees as well as well-placed advisors to the Lieutenant-Governor. With so much power being held by the elitists, there was little left for the elected Legislative officials to do. The Compact not only had people in powerful places, but Compact members also controlled the allocation of land and land grants. The land that was allocated was conveniently handed over to Protestant churches and their parishioners. Those Irish who were members of the Protestant church fared much better than their Catholic counterparts during this time, as they were given the choice plots and had less bureaucracy to deal with (Senior 1972, 13-15).

It was not until William Lyon Mackenzie's foiled Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837, followed by the creation of the united Province of Canada, that the Family Compact lost its hold on power. As well, the implementation of 'responsible government' that came into being within this short time frame also played a large part in quashing the Compact's oligarchy. Mackenzie attempted to use the unleveled playing field of the Catholic-Protestant conflict to his advantage by bringing to light the gravity of the

economic gap between the two groups. In doing this, he underscored the earlier discussion of 'meso-level' xenophobia; a politician reaching out to the general populace discussing what changes were needed in the current regime and basing his platform on such promises that he alone could be the power that changes the order of things. William Lyon Mackenzie used the hatred between the Catholics and Protestant Orangemen to further his own political agenda; even so far as to remind Catholics and Orangemen of the "implacable and sworn hatred that existed between them." His rebellion was quickly quashed and Mackenzie subsequently fled into exile. After his amnesty was granted, he became a legislative assembly member in the United Province of Canada from 1851-58 (Senior 1972, 22).

Compare and Contrast:

Xenophobia

The following section will be put forth as the basis for recommendations and conclusion of the remainder of this paper. In the interests of clarity, this section will be divided into a dissection of the literature review into two components corresponding with the two focal framework areas used in this paper, namely, social inclusion and xenophobia. Xenophobic manifestations can be seen within the political sphere and the social sphere. Systemic exclusion because of xenophobic tendencies can be better explained through the framework of social inclusion and the models found therein; this will be discussed in the following subsection.

Using the description of the 'meso-level' of xenophobia put forth by Jens Rydgren, the political sphere of the time was such that from the British occupation of Ireland to the British rule in Ontario, it was the Protestants who held the power over the

Catholics. These same ruling Protestants, both in Ireland and in Ontario, spoke only for the Protestant residents, and not for the Catholics; in Ireland this was an imbalance of power of the minority over the majority, however, in Ontario there were more Protestants settled than there were Catholics in the early 19th century. Though clearly out of the time-line scope of this paper, it is important to note that Toronto did not elect a non Protestant as Mayor until the 1955 election of Nathan Phillips, a local Jewish politician who was first elected to city council in 1926. Also worthy of note was that the election of Phillips was the end of the Orangemen strong hold on the city for the first half of the twentieth century. In fact, every mayor prior to Phillips had not only been Protestant but also a member of an Orange Lodge. It is important to also note the first Catholic Mayor was Art Eggleton (1980-91) (Toronto Archives, N/A).

Social manifestations of xenophobia are much less constrained to the election polls and the politicians as was the case where political manifestation were concerned. The first discussion would be the general tendency to have a social stigma against hiring Irish Catholics, the 'Irish need not apply' approach, which was directed at Irish Catholics. Thus, Catholics were restricted to lower-level jobs upon arrival. However, union positions were held for Protestants, as there were a few strictly trade unionist Orange Lodges, whose very existence implied the Catholics were not welcome in this sector of the economy.

The existence of the Orange Order itself is a blatant example of the forms that the social manifestations of xenophobia can take. This Order, by definition, grew out of fear of Catholicism, and the growth of its members was seen as a direct threat to the Protestant faith and Crown, a fear that the Orangemen had of those who worshipped

differently from them. They went so far as to include other races in their Lodges, just to prove they were not a racist group but a group dedicated to the antagonism of the Catholic faith. The number of warrants issued for new Lodges in Ontario during the years 1845-1860 can be attributed to the influx of Irish Famine refugees to Ontario, when seen in graph from there is an obvious increase just after the Famine influx (Figure 1³).

FIGURE 1
NEW ORANGE LODGES IN ONTARIO 1830-1900

Source: GOLBNA Register of Warrants (manuscript 4 vols.).

The edict of the Lodge was to defend the Protestant faith and the British Crown from Catholicism. This, along with the annual July 12th parades, represented a flexing of

³ Houston and Smyth, 1977, p25

proverbial muscles on the part of the Lodges. The historical parades of March 17th and July 12th, both in Ireland and in Canada, sometimes turned violent. None, were as violent as in Belfast however. Toronto did rightly earn the name 'Belfast of Canada' for a reason. That reason is found in the direct juxtaposition of the neighbourhoods known as Cabbagetown and Corktown; Protestant- and Catholic-dominated respectively.

Though the parades were never fully concentrated within the neighbourhoods, they were actually more domineering because they took place on the main streets and, according to Jenkins, 'border streets' were sites for 'invasions' of the Catholic neighbourhoods. It was remarked by a journalist of the time that youth were the ones who conducted the 'invasions' merely to frighten the families inside. However, the stoning of newly arrived archbishop John Walsh in 1889 was more than just a youthful transgression.

Social Inclusion

Within the framework of social inclusion, the first point of contention is that the Catholic Church demanded as well as perpetuated a segregated Toronto as seen by Jenkins. There were not only segregated communities and churches, but they also pushed for a segregated school system. The clergy wanted to diminish all of the Protestant influence as well as attempt to reinforce and maintain a single 'cultural identity'. This is in sharp contrast to the ideals of the inclusive classroom which seeks to allow contact between newcomers and native-born Canadians which, in time, normalizes the classmates' perception that though people are culturally and linguistically different there is no need to keep people separate for separation's sake.

The second contention is that with the creation of a similar atmosphere in Toronto to Belfast, Toronto was dubbed the 'Belfast of Canada'. As discussed in the previous subsection outlining the xenophobic aspects of the social geography of Toronto, the fact that the power dynamics reflected the juxtaposition of the chief rival neighbourhoods, according to Jenkins, shows that the power dynamics mirrored an oppressive culture.

The third contention is the attempt by and subsequent struggle of the Irish upon arrival to deal with a system that set up barriers to their potential success. There was an understanding that they were landing in a 'new frontier' even in the urbanized areas of Upper Canada. This built up a spirit of pioneerism and engaged the newcomers in a positive challenge to establish themselves. If the first generation did not become successful upon settling, the second generation would take up the proverbial torch and carry it forward.

The fourth contention is that the Protestant majority saw the Catholics as a threat; subsequently they set up strict regulations when it came to the common school curriculum as a way to co-opt the perceived papal threat. The Protestants were able to remove the Catholic threat from their schools in a more complete way than simple conversion, with the creation of separate schools. Catholic children were not forced to pray anything that was not in the Catholic Catechism.

So What? Implications and Recommendations

This look at an historical focal point is important for a number of reasons that help with the understanding of the process of settlement in contemporary Canada. First, a look at this historical point sheds light on a past event that is not as fresh in the memory as

some contemporary issues, such as the treatment of the Japanese during the Second World War as well as the historic treatment of nonwhite immigrant applicants prior to the point system's implementation. The point system was established in 1967 when, then Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson's government passed the Immigration Act. This system was established to abolish discriminatory immigration policies that previously kept minority applicants from being admitted. The basis for immigration application since the establishment of the points system allows for a merit based approach to selecting potential immigrants (Citizen and Immigration Canada). The discussion of this past event allows for the development of a roadmap of sorts to show that full integration is possible; however there will be the ethnic dimensions of race and religion that will always need to be taken into consideration if this roadmap is to be applied to contemporary issues.

Additionally, this discussion can raise awareness about the issue of evolution of the acceptance of newcomers within the greater society. Irish Catholics, though they were of a white Christian background, were not of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant stock that made up the majority of English-speaking Canada, namely Ontario, in which they were destined to settle. Such a realization can open the dialogue on the pretext of discussing integration processes, starting from the forced migration of a particularly disliked group of people, their settlement, the animosity surrounding the settlement and the eventual integration of the group. These issues were not discussed here due to the limitations of the premise that the Irish Catholics were accepted into the fold of the greater society by the mid 20th century.

Another aspect of Irish history that can be a topic for future research is the colonial imposition upon the Irish Catholics upon arrival in Canada. Was this treatment

racialization a manifestation of xenophobia in Canada or was it brought with the settlers from colonial Ireland. One could look into the influence of the Family Compact on the political policy and apathy towards the conditions in quarantine stations. As well the power of the Catholic church and how this affected the Irish in Quebec as well as the Irish in other parts of North America.

The discussion of the treatment of the Famine Irish by officials can be paralleled to the current status and treatment (or lack thereof) with respect to current refugees in Canada. Refugees landing here are currently going through a very similar process of forced migration that was experienced by the Irish approximately 160 years ago. These displaced people are being driven from their homelands because of factors beyond their control only to land in a country that has historically not been very receptive to refugees. It is only in recent decades that Canada has become the 'haven' for those who are displaced, or for those who simply want a better life than the one they are currently living. Canada has not exactly been the pillar of social acceptance and newcomers are falling victim, as the Irish did, to the latent manifestations of the xenophobia of yesterday; all of which can be rooted out to be due, for the most part, to their lack of social inclusion.

George Santayana's much cited axiom 'those who do not learn from history are destined to repeat it' is very apt in the discussion of immigration settlement history in Canada. The cycle of exclusion is continuing, and can be seen in the informal segregation of newcomers to low-income neighbourhoods and the seeming inevitability of newcomers to end up underemployed in low-wage jobs to support their family because their credentials are not being recognized, or the process of recognition is too long and

tedious. Within the past twenty years this trend that immigrant and minority families in low-income neighbourhoods make up the majority of the residents has been on the rise (United Way, 2004).

Finally, there is an underlying sentiment of xenophobia still present in today's society. Fear of newcomers is one common manifestation of xenophobia, to be sure. Past immigration policies in Canada have been xenophobic in nature, for example, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1885, in which a head tax was levied on incoming Chinese migrants to impede the likelihood of them bringing their families. Canadian Residential Schools for First Nations children in the early 1900s is another example of Canadian xenophobic attitudes. These schools were put in place with the sole intention of forcibly assimilating Native Canadian Children into the 'main stream' culture; often to the extent of abusive conditions.

Current security restrictions involving racial profiling have been the proverbial 'slap in the face' to many non-white Canadians. People who are not part of the visible majority are more often subjected to the heightened security measures that have been put in place since the attacks on the United States on September 11th 2001 which are in response to the US Patriot Act. Similarly, in Canada since September 11th 2001, legislation has allowed the authorities to detain and deport foreign nationals who pose a threat to national security. However, there have been criticisms of this new legislation, and it is seen by many as a violation of civil liberties because individuals can be detained indefinitely, without criminal charges ever being laid, on the basis of secret evidence. One could argue that the very existences of these types of government-sanctioned

policies are a clear and direct manifestation of xenophobia and an impediment to the goals of social inclusion.

In recent years, there have been attacks on a number of different ethnic and religious groups by white supremacist groups like skinheads and neo Nazis. These groups have been targeting places of worship, such as mosques and synagogues. As well, these groups have been targeting particular ethnic groups such as International students at universities on the east coast; specifically, Chinese students in New Brunswick. (MacKinnon, 2007) The issue at stake is social inclusion; these people are being targeted and violently told they do not belong '*they* are not one of *us*'.

The attacks on the Chinese students, in particular, are alarming in every respect, but not surprising. According to recent newspaper articles there have been escalating racial tensions in the area for quite some time. The perpetrators of the attacks on the Chinese students were three white teenage males, ages ranging from 15-19; all three have been charged in the incidents. The attacks were also linked to acts of racially motivated vandalism in the neighbourhood where the Chinese students lived (MacKinnon, 2007). In addition to the attacks on the students, the lone Asian Canadian city councilor in Saint John has received more than one verbal death threat with racist overtones. The councilor has mentioned he has previously received these types of messages; though reporting them to police never became public so as not to raise concern in the city. The earlier messages never included a threat upon his life. (MacKinnon, 2007)

In the Mississauga area, a mosque has been attacked for the third time since September 11th, 2001. (Kassam, 2007) The first time, shortly after September 11th, the mosque was a victim of a firebombing; the second and third attacks involved breaking

windows on the property and in vehicles owned by the mosque with large rocks. The rocks, on both occasions, were seen to be thrown by teenage males on bicycles. As in the case of the New Brunswick attacks, these incidents were being committed by teenagers. This is an alarming fact, on its own. The very idea that these teenagers, assuming they have gone through their respective provincial school curriculums, have been exposed and educated under a multicultural and socially inclusive classroom, yet still were committing hate crimes such as these, a clear sign there is a problem. One suggestion to counteract these types of incidents would be to expose children as early as kindergarten to a more enriching multicultural curriculum than the current lesson plans provide. Francis Xavier was the basis for the Jesuit motto 'Give me a child until he is seven and I will give you the man'. This leans toward early childhood education as the key to adult behaviour, and if correct, an intense multicultural education during the early years would suggest better understanding of multicultural needs throughout an adult's life.

These examples are not the only acts of violence in our society; however, they were current enough to the time of writing this paper to serve as reminders the topic of xenophobia in Canada remains a contemporary problem, and not one of the past that should be laid to rest. With Canadian population growth so dependant on immigration, one would think there would be a more proactive approach in provincial education systems to open a dialogue with students about the growing necessity of increasing immigration numbers to compensate for our low birth rate. As well, the need for immigration on an economic level should also be discussed, particularly in areas where there is a provincial nominee program in place to fast-track economic migrants and their

families to fill labour shortages and start up businesses; which, in turn, create jobs and rebuild the economy in places where it has been faltering.

Conclusion

This paper analyzed the Irish immigration into Ontario during the Victorian Era. Through the theoretical framework of xenophobia and social inclusion with respect to the push and pull factors of Irish migration, it can be concluded that in, this historic example, the migration of old world hostilities permeated through all aspects of society. The discussion surrounding the Landing and Quarantine, Settlement and Integration of the Irish shows the lack of preparation by authorities at the time; which resonates through to today with our lack of ability to fully integrate newcomers, to the point where second generation children do not feel they belong in Canada even though they were born, or, at the very least, raised here.

The sections on the role of the Lodges and the Catholic Church as well as the section on Policy and Politics, show how institutional completeness sometimes can aid the progression of xenophobia and the impediment of social inclusion of the larger society. Granted, people were able to integrate fully into their neighbourhood with the social networks these organizations provided; however, they were also the catalyst for much of the late 19th century's street violence. When the Orange parades were allowed to use the majority of the major roads without any impediment by authorities and the first non-Protestant mayor was not elected in the City of Toronto until 1955, it goes to show that politics and religion were closely intertwined throughout the early decades of Toronto's history.

Following the analysis of this historical era is a condensed comparative analysis of the major points of influence exerted by both the Catholic Church and the Orange Lodge through the framework laid out in the beginning of the paper, xenophobia and social inclusion. This comparative analysis led into implications and points of interest for contemporary comparative analysis with current issues facing newcomers in Canada.

Finally, the points of future research to look at are the current manifestations of xenophobia in the greater Canadian society. Acts of violence, in the form of hate crimes, have been on an increase since September 11th 2001, and they do need to be researched so as to come up with a working strategy to stop incidents such as the ones illustrated in the previous section.

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