UNIVERSITY OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

STEPPING STONES TO THE NEW WORLD:

ISLANDNESS AND MIGRATION FROM

SOUTHEASTERN IRELAND

to

NEWFOUNDLAND, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND,

and the

MIRAMICHI of NEW BRUNSWICK

1700 – 1850

by

GRANT A. CURTIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Arts

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Abstract

The purpose of this case study is to investigate the role islands play in their own colonization and settlement by human societies. It examines the early nineteenth century colonization by Southeastern Irish of two islands – Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island – and a section of the mainland, the Miramichi River Valley of New Brunswick. The aim of this nissological (study of islands) examination is to increase the knowledge of the history of the Atlantic portion of British North America and the role islandness (characteristics of islands) played in this history. As Ian Ross Robertson warns, the history of an island cannot be understood without considering the role of the history and heritage of the ethnic groups that settled there.[1] Furthermore, it cannot be understood without also studying the interactions of the settlers with their island environment or in their mainland environment.

The methodology is to isolate the role of islandness by establishing the parameters of a "controlled" retrospective historical study based on the research of John J. Mannion.[2] He examined the cultural transfer and adaptation of Southeastern Irish immigrants to Newfoundland Island, the Miramichi River Valley and an area near Peterborough, Ontario. This current study expands his methodology to Prince Edward Island and the additional role of islandness in the settlement of the three study areas. (The area near Peterborough is not included in this current study.) Following a chapter on Ireland, each study area has its own chapter, taking a brief look at the natural history of each study area and its history of European settlement with the focus on the Southeastern Irish in the first half of the nineteenth century. This includes an examination of the initial pattern of settlement, a brief description of the ethnic and social makeup of the study area and then a short focus on the elite controlled, resource-based economy of each study area. The final chapter makes comparisons of the study areas and draws conclusions about the effects of islandness on them. My thesis will attempt to show the actual effects of islandness on the historical development of the study areas.

The significance of the inclusion of the Miramichi is that it acts as a control for the hypothesis: *that for the Southeastern Irish migrants, the immigration experience, settlement patterns, ethnic and social makeup, and elite controlled primary resource economy on the islands, differed from their compatriots on the mainland, precisely because they had settled on islands with characteristics of islandness.* By examining migrants who emigrated from the same place, for the same reasons, by the same means and about the same time period we are performing a controlled experimental study. The major conclusion to this research is that in fact the evidence does support the hypothesis - islandness did have an impact on the evolution of the settlement of the islands.

Preface

My academic interest in geography, history and natural resources dates back to my final year in high school. I wrote my major paper on "The Square Timber Trade in White Pine in the Ottawa Valley in the 1800s." An undergraduate degree in biology contributed to an interest in natural history, ecology and the application of the scientific method. History courses in Canadian, Atlantic and Prince Edward Island studies led to an undergraduate degree in history. Throughout the course work towards obtaining my graduate degree in Island Studies I have continued to be interested in the mix of people, time, migration, geography and islandness.

I selected this topic because I was interested in historical migration and islands. This interest was stimulated in part by Dr. Patrick Nunn,[3] a professor from the University of the South Pacific. He was a visiting professor in Island Studies to the University of Prince Edward Island and taught a summer course in 2006 called *Special Topics: Nature-Society Interactions on Islands*. The course had an historical approach which studied examples of catastrophic events such as tsunamis or earthquakes, which were almost instantaneous, other processes that happened gradually over hundreds or thousands of years, like deforestation or glaciation, or those which happened over millions or even billions of years, for example, the movement of tectonic plates. These events caused changes in the interaction between humans, human societies and the environment. "Nature through environmental change forces humans and human societies to change and evolve. This has been identified as environmental determinism."[4] However, this statement downplays the role of choice by human individuals and societies to adapt to environmental change. My major paper for Nunn's course was comparative and was entitled, "The Effects of Climate Change on the Long Distance Voyaging of the Norse in the North Atlantic Ocean and the Polynesians in the South Pacific Ocean."

Later I also enrolled in a directed Island Studies course taught by Dr. Lisa Chilton and Dr. G. Edward MacDonald. Both are in the Department of History, Faculty of Arts, at the University of Prince Edward Island. There I studied the history of the migration of immigrants from the United Kingdom to the Canadian island provinces of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. This course left me with many more questions than answers, and I was also faced with my own unsatisfactory grappling with the historiography, history and nissology (the study of islands) of my major essay, "Immigration History of British Isles Immigrants to the Islands of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island." I wanted to attempt a second, more satisfactory thesis to describe and analyze a group of migrants coming to Atlantic Canada. The research of John J. Mannion, Brendan O'Grady, and other researchers has provided me with the opportunity to write a comparative thesis on the topics of historical migration, islands and islandness in the North Atlantic Ocean.

The methodology is to isolate the role of islandness by establishing the parameters of "controlled" retrospective historical study based on the research of John J. Mannion.[5] He examined the cultural transfer and adaptation of Southeast Irish immigrants to Newfoundland Island, the Miramichi River Valley and an area near Peterborough Ontario. This current study expands his methodology to Prince Edward Island and the

additional role of islandness in the settlement of the three study areas. (The area near Peterborough is not included in this current study). Each chapter of a study area begins with a brief natural history commentary followed by a history of European settlement with the focus on the Southeastern Irish in the first half of the nineteenth century. This includes an examination of the initial pattern of settlement, a brief description of the ethnic and social makeup of the study area and then a short focus on the elite controlled, resource-based economy of each study area. My thesis will attempt to show the actual effects of islandness on the historical development of the study areas. The final chapter makes comparisons of the study areas and draws conclusions about the effects of islandness on them.

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my wife, Mary Margaret Land whose love and
support made it possible for me to write and complete this thesis.

I would also like to thank my family and friends here in Prince Edward Island and in
Ontario including Dr. Robert and Connie Curtis, the late Kathleen and the late Don Land,
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

I
Nissology the study of Islands

Islands have existed throughout a major part of the geological history of the Earth. Biological organisms originally were created and evolved in the oceans, but they gradually began to colonize terrestrial ecosystems, including islands. After hundreds of millions of years of evolution, humans evolved and in relatively recent times humans began to colonize some of these same islands.

Nissology – the study of islands – focuses on the fundamental physical relationship between an island and the water around it. It also examines the social relationships and interaction of humans and islands. Islands often create in humans a feeling of boundedness,[7] or a sense of discreteness and insularity. Another characteristic of islandness is that it acts as a filter or conduit, or perhaps an interface between the island and the rest of the world.[8] David Weale proposes that for an islander "islandness become(s) a part of your being – a part as deep as marrow, and as natural and unselfconscious as breathing."[9] How then does islandness affect the experience of settlers colonizing islands, as opposed to those settling on a section of the mainland?

This thesis examines the nineteenth-century migration of a people from the island of Ireland to three colonies in British North America. Newfoundland Island is often referred to as "the Rock," describing, perhaps, the rugged nature of the island. In sharp contrast, the island of Prince Edward Island is known as "The Garden in the Gulf."[10] The Miramichi River Valley lies in the northeastern part of the mainland province of New Brunswick,

which was once known as the "Timber Colony."[11] All three of these areas are associated with the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the North Atlantic Ocean and the continent of North America. The geography and natural resources of the two islands and one part of the mainland of the North American continent have dictated the ways in which humans have interacted with them. This interaction greatly altered and modified the environments of the study areas and shaped the settlers, their immigration experiences, their settlement patterns, the economies and the societies that settlers established in them.

II
Mannion's Model

Canada has a long history of accepting migrating people, refugees and other immigrants to its shores. That experience has created, in turn, a rich, diverse historical literature on immigration and cultural transfer. John J. Mannion, for example, has researched the literature of the post-Columbian mass migration of western European ethnic groups to North America. More specifically Mannion has studied the migration of the Irish to eastern Canada and has attempted to reconstruct the cultural landscape of this group of European migrants in the New World. In particular, he critiques the literature on the transfer and adaptation of Old World material culture to the New World as being too general in method, too general in conclusions and often under-researched. [12] Most Old World research chronicles the pre-migration period of an ethnic group, but it is sharply separated from the post-migration New World period. Mannion observes that European researchers tend to specialize on the pre-migration period of an ethnic group while North American researchers ignore antecedents in Europe and focus on the post-migration era. He argues the importance of bringing the two perspectives together. Furthermore, he feels the question of cultural

transfer and adaptation to the New World environment is very complex as there are many variables associated with the Old World antecedents, the Atlantic crossings and the New World settlements. There are so many variables, in fact, that it becomes extremely complex and is nearly impossible to analyze. Each variable may be important, therefore the researcher's approach must be to simplify and control variables and then analyze. He suggests that:

> *In such a study the first step is, perhaps, to try to minimize the effect of some of the variables. Some simplification might be achieved by selecting a single culturally homogeneous Old World group occupying two or more distinct areas in the New World; if these immigrants came from the same place, left at the same time under similar circumstances, shared common motivations, traveled in the same way and so on, differences emerging in occupance patterns between the new areas of settlement would be attributable, not to Old World conditions or to the Atlantic crossing but* **to differing conditions in the settlement areas**. *Conversely, if cultural groups sailed under similar conditions and settled in an area of the New World where conditions were similar, differences in their patterns of adaptation would have to be explained largely in terms of their Old World cultural heritage. In each case the explanatory variables are confined primarily to conditions on one side of the Atlantic.* [13] *(my emphasis)*

This thesis attempts to incorporate the concepts of islandness into Mannion's model by offering a case study of migrants from the southeastern region of the island of Ireland. They were a nearly homogeneous group of Celtic, Roman Catholic, rural farmers and pre-industrial artisans, sharing a common motivation to improve their economic conditions. Farmland was no longer available to many in Ireland because the number of people was growing very rapidly to the point that there was overpopulation. The landlords of many large estates would not allow their tenants to remain on their estates because they were

converting their fields to grazing livestock. Irish fathers could no longer continue to subdivide their farms into ever smaller plots for their sons. In addition to the economic driver, the Penal Laws imposed by the British Parliament and directed against Roman Catholics caused political and sectarian violence throughout Ireland. These "push" factors triggered a stream of out-migration.

In the first half of the nineteenth century Irish migrants crossed the North Atlantic Ocean in wooden sailing ships and they settled, some only for a short time, in British North American colonies. In order to examine islandness factors, this case study compares two islands, Newfoundland Island and Prince Edward Island, and a section of the mainland, the Miramichi River Valley of New Brunswick. All three areas had significant immigration from southeastern Ireland between 1815 and 1845. By comparing these three study areas, this thesis adapts the methodology and research of Mannion and incorporates islandness as a variable in their development. Differences emerging in the New World culture and settlement patterns, it may be argued, were due to differing conditions in the settlement areas; one of these differences was islandness. Perhaps the settlement of the Southeastern Irish on these two islands will highlight the effects of islandness in contrast to the settlement in the mainland.

Mannion studied Irish emigrants from southeastern Ireland, including the southeastern Counties of Waterford, Wexford, Tipperary, Kilkenny and southern County Cork.[14] (Refer to Appendix Figure 1) This study uses this same source area of Irish emigrants from these southeastern counties. The Irish settlement areas Mannion selected in the New World were three townships near Peterborough, south-central Ontario; three settlements in Nelson parish, Miramichi, northeast New Brunswick; and settlements near

St. John's and the Cape Shore, all on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland Island.[15] The current study also looks at Irish settlements on the Avalon Peninsula and the Miramichi but unlike Mannion, additional research also examines Irish settlement on Prince Edward Island, where the Irish formed a significant ethnic minority and grew to become 25% of the population at the middle of the nineteenth-century. The research of Brendan O'Grady[16] and others indicates that small Irish farming communities were evenly spread across Prince Edward Island. Except for Charlottetown there were no large concentrations as there were in Newfoundland and the Miramichi. There were small concentrations of semi-distinct Irish communities on Prince Edward Island and thus it provides not only a comparative example of islandness but also a different physical pattern of settlement for analysis.

Irish immigration to Newfoundland had occurred throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and was strongly associated with providing provisions and labourers for the English cod fishery. Emigration from Ireland to all parts of Atlantic British North America sharply escalated after the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815, and large-scale immigration continued for several decades to the three study areas. However, by the time of the Great Potato Famine of 1845-48 in Ireland the immigration influx into the study areas had nearly ended. Thus, this study is pre-famine and does not include the tidal wave of one million desperate "famine Irish" that came to North America, primarily to the United States, as a result of the famine.

In addition, there are other caveats and factors to be considered. Irish immigrants were perhaps more rapidly assimilated into many communities in the North America than other Europeans. Donald Akenson feels they had a great advantage over continental European immigrants because many Irish were able to speak English. This "Anglicization"

had been occurring in Ireland for centuries.[17] Whether the Protestant Irish, both Anglicans (Church of England) and Presbyterians (Church of Scotland) were more readily assimilated than the Irish Catholics is not clear. British North American societies in general had a Protestant majority of English Anglicans, Scottish Presbyterians and smaller Protestant denominations. Only in Quebec was there a Catholic majority and most of that was primarily French speaking. The Catholic Southeastern Irish culture persisted in more geographically isolated communities in Newfoundland and northeastern New Brunswick. The Northeastern Irish migrants who were usually Protestants had one strike against them – they were Irish. The Southeastern Irish migrants were usually Catholic so they had two strikes against them – they were Irish and Catholics. Geography, the Penal Laws and sectarianism contributed to this isolation most strongly in Newfoundland, to a lesser level in the Miramichi and perhaps to the least degree in Prince Edward Island. However, even on tiny Prince Edward Island both the Irish and Acadians moved west to avoid the dominant and domineering Scots and English.[18] Many of the indigenous M'kmaq also lived isolated on Lennox Island in the northwest. In each of the study areas Catholic Irish were socially isolated because they were Catholics and Irish in colonial societies largely controlled by the British, from the largely Protestant Parliament in Westminster. Akenson states it is important that there is no "positive evidence (for) the contention that Irish Catholicism was a cultural system that implied technological, economic and social backwardness."[19]

The hypothesis is that for the Southeastern Irish migrants the immigration experience, settlement patterns, social and ethnic relations, and the elite controlled economies of single primary industries, on the islands, differed from that of their compatriots on the mainland, precisely because they settled on islands with characteristics of islandness. These features

and characteristics of islandness will be fleshed out as the thesis is developed. This case study, then, attempts to isolate the effects of islandness from other factors influencing an island's development, especially in the case of cultural transfer and adaptation.

III

Atlantic Canadian History and Historiography

A dominant feature of the historical literature of Atlantic Canada is that it is rather limited in the number of comprehensive works that actually deal with all three study areas. There are some works which deal with certain themes in the Maritimes. There are very few sources that deal with the region as a whole, including Newfoundland.[20] While there have been many sources written about the three cases studied here, the link between islandness, immigration and culture has not yet been considered in detail. This thesis thus attempts to fill some gaps in the immigration history of the North Atlantic. The role islandness played in the settlement patterns in the case studies is examined geographically, historically and nissologically. The most significant author for the current case study of Newfoundland and the Miramichi is John J. Mannion. For Prince Edward Island, Brendan O'Grady and Andrew Hill Clark are key authors.[21] The writers of colonial and provincial New Brunswick history include Graeme Wynn and W. S. MacNutt[22] respectively. Some of the best documented histories of a small parish in New Brunswick are books about Old North Esk, a small parish in the Miramichi, written by Willis David Hamilton.[23] They do not directly deal at length with the role of the *Southeastern* Irish in the Miramichi but do give a detailed account of early settlement there.

An excellent historiographical source on the Irish in nineteenth century Canada can

be found in *The Untold Story*: *The Irish In Canada.*[24] In this book William Baker divides the historiography of the Irish in Canada into pre-1970 and post-1970. Prior to 1970 there was no general account of the Irish (neither Catholic nor Protestant) experience in Canada. However, a major weakness in the pre-1970 literature was that it put little emphasis on the distinctiveness of the pre-Famine, Irish Catholic immigrants.[25] Baker poses three questions about interpretive themes of the pre-1970 scholarship and then asks them of the post-1970 historical writings.[26] In general the pre-1970 literature adopted an image of the Irish Catholics as poor, urban, often ghettoized, unruly, frequently violent, and assumes that they had brought their problems in Ireland in their "baggage" to Canada. Baker observes that the pre-1970 literature reinforced the notion that the core of the Irish Catholic experience was not that of a distinct, pre-Famine Irish (including the Southeastern Irish) but rather that of the later Famine Irish. Gilbert Tucker has described the Famine Irish as "probably the most diseased, destitute and shiftless that Canada has ever received."[27] It is this image of the Famine Irish that dominates the pre-1970s literature of Irish Catholics in Canada.

Baker then describes important developments in the history of the study of Irish Catholics after 1970. There was increasing use in methodology of more sophisticated and rigorous statistical analysis and subjects of study were broadened beyond political history to wide-ranging socio-economic history. The use of conceptual frameworks was also increasing, to study for example, "social conflict, inequality, transiency and working- class culture, all of which are relevant to a study of Irish Catholics in Canada." [28] Baker specifically uses Mannion's "study of Irish material culture and adaptation" as an example of this post 1970 Irish Canadian socio-cultural history.[29] He also refers to Angus A. MacKenzie's book on the Irish of Cape Breton to further illustrate that not all the Irish

Catholics were poor, unskilled, city-dwellers.[30] Baker says that the 1970s literature broadened the range on Irish Catholic studies and added important changes in interpretation but did not go very much beyond the central tendencies of the pre-1970s historiography.

Canadian historians of Atlantic Canada have tended to be preoccupied with the underdevelopment of the area, especially when compared to New England. Failure is the *leitmotif* or recurring theme of Atlantic regional history, according to Peter Pope. For him there are four intersecting contexts in early modern Atlantic history: "the development of a migratory European cod fishery, the rapid evolution of post-contact Native societies, gradual European settlement and eventually, the conflicting imperial ambitions of France and Great Britain."[31]

The historians of early Atlantic Canada also deal with a number of existential questions, according to Pope. For him the single most important historiographical question is, "Who ought to be here?" Atlantic Canada was the site of territorial battles between English and French military forces for over a century but the question of who ought to inhabit this sub-arctic island (Newfoundland) was a question that challenged the very establishment of settlement itself.[32] In Prince Edward Island and the Miramichi the issue of belonging had less to do with international politics, and more to do with internal relations with other ethnic groups. All four contexts are addressed in this case study with special reference to the Southeastern Irish, many of whom were active participants in all four of these intersecting contexts.

Pope has also recently written a book on the early English plantation society of Newfoundland called, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century.* The book deals mainly with the English Shore[33] (Refer to Appendix Figure 2) but

also describes the role of the Irish as suppliers of provisions and labourers for the migratory fishery and later, settlers for development. He suggests that "accidents of geography" limited agricultural production for self-sufficiency, but the riches of the cod fishery provided the local Newfoundlanders with a new type of cash or credit economy similar to modern consumerism. And it is true that capitalism scattered Europeans, including the Southeastern Irish, across the Atlantic.[34]

Where Pope has focused primarily on the early European history of Newfoundland Sean T. Cadigan has written a comprehensive book on the history of Newfoundland and Labrador which discusses the gradual involvement, class conflict and struggle of the Irish within the social, economic, religious and political development of Newfoundland. The Irish demonstrated their discontent and fought against their suppression by the English bourgeoisie of merchants, clergy and politicians of St. John's and the Westcountry of England. Cadigan's book provides a description of a bipolar Newfoundland society divided by ethnic and class conflict.[35] David Dawes has perhaps written the most recent book dealing with religious and ethnic tensions in the early settlement of Newfoundland.[36] Religious sectarianism and ethnicity fanned the flames of chronic violence.

Scott See has documented the violence between Catholics and Protestants in New Brunswick. The Catholics were often Irish immigrants and a variety of Protestants, natives and immigrants were organized into the Orange Order partly as a response to the influx of Roman Catholic Irish. The Orangemen sought to protect their economic position, social power and culture and they used vigilante tactics to do so. The Irish Catholics reciprocated the animosity and antipathies with violence in Saint John, Woodstock and Fredericton. However, some areas with high proportions of Irish Catholics, such as the Miramichi,

experienced no collective violence in the late 1840s.[37] O'Grady devotes an entire chapter on the Prince Edward Islands' Irish Catholic versus Scottish Protestant antipathy, which resulted in "the Belfast Riot." However, O'Grady stresses that the central issue was the "Land Question" not sectarian violence and that exemplifies the "epic" quest of nearly all immigrants to Prince Edward Island.[38]

Edited collections are a common vehicle for interdisciplinary collections of articles of Atlantic Canadian history. For example, Mannion has edited a book of articles about the spread of settlement across Newfoundland. In its introduction he states that one of the salient themes of Newfoundland historiography is the sluggish rate of immigration and population growth for over two centuries.[39] There was a gradual collapse of the migratory fishery during the first decade of the nineteenth century with the fighting of the Napoleonic Wars. However, during the next three decades immigration increased and the population almost quadrupled due to in-migration and development of the stationary fishery. The Irish formed 75% of the British passengers sailing from Britain to Newfoundland during these three peak decades of immigration. Gordon Handcock's article examines primarily the migration to Newfoundland of the English from the south west of England but he also discusses the parallel migration of the Irish from the south east of Ireland.[40]

Thomas P. Power is the editor of another interdisciplinary book about the Irish in Atlantic Canada.[41] It includes a detailed study by Mannion of the Southeastern Irish village of Inistioge, County Kilkenny which is representative of an antecedent source of migrants to Newfoundland.[42] Cyril J. Byrne and Margaret Harry are the editors of another book of Canadian and Irish essays about Newfoundland. *Talamh An Eisc: Canadian and Irish Essays*[43]. *Talamh An Eisc* is the Irish name for Newfoundland, meaning "the land of the

fish" or "the fishing ground." Also in the book *Talamh An Eisc: Canadian and Irish Essays,* George Casey identifies two weaknesses in the historiography of Newfoundland. First it was not an official British colony until 1824 and therefore there is a lack of documentary evidence and government reports. Second, most local historical records have a religious or ethnic bias.[44] As he describes it, the conflict between Irish Catholics and English/Scottish Protestants was a major barrier to social growth and development in Newfoundland and throughout Atlantic Canada. In Newfoundland, particularly on the Avalon Peninsula, English Anglicans and Irish Catholics were approximately equal in number. However, the Protestants had the controlling hand in Newfoundland's polarized society.

In Prince Edward Island and the Miramichi there was a greater variety of ethnic/religious groups and the various interrelationships were more complex. For example, Ian Ross Robertson has examined the relationship of the Highlanders and Irish on Prince Edward Island. He concludes that he could only make one generalization with certainty: "that if the history of Prince Edward Island is ever to be made fully intelligible, it must be seen in the context of the heritages of the peoples who immigrated there."[45] Perhaps this generalization can be made for all of Atlantic Canadian history and all the many peoples who have immigrated to this region. This current study emphasizes the role of the Southeastern Irish in the settlement and development of Atlantic Canada. Their role is also significant within the context of other peoples including the Scots, English and Acadians who are traditionally considered the major ethnic immigrant groups.

In summarizing the historiography of Prince Edward Island, J.M. Bumsted once described the commonly held view that Prince Edward Island's history has been dominated by the land question, Confederation, the Strait of Northumberland and *Anne of Green*

Gables.[46] As with Pope's list of four intersecting contexts in Atlantic Canadian history only three of Bumsted's list will be considered by excluding consideration of the novel by Lucy Maud Montgomery. Bumsted argued that the narrow focus on these issues has made our understanding of Island history limited. "The tension between the internal, often sentimentalized 'specialness' of the Island and its need for outside connections has been both powerful and endemic in Island historiography."[47] In other words, Prince Edward Islanders saw themselves as unique because their home was an island. Furthermore Bumsted highlights the study of ethnic groups as a major trend in the modern historiography of Canada. He states that "over the past thirty years, Canadian historians have concentrated on recovering the voices of these groups."[48] Atlantic Canadian historians are part of this trend and this current case study is specifically attempting to recover the "voices" of a marginalized group, the Southeastern Irish. They stuck out due to their religion, accent and ethnicity. However, on Prince Edward Island a common cause arose between poor Southeastern Irish farmers and poor Highland Scottish farmers against the absentee proprietors. This common cause may have helped to break down some of the social barriers between the various ethnic groups. It was important on a small island to be considerate and to be aware of your neighbours – if you wanted to be a good community member.

A reference for popular reading about the relationships between Canada and the Irish is *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*.[49] This two volume book contains a remarkable variety of subjects and themes. Section III is devoted entirely to the history of the Irish in Atlantic Canada. One historical theme is "New Ireland Lost," which is a common theme in Irish Atlantic Canadian literature. It may reveal a sense of loss of the opportunity of creating another, perhaps utopian, Ireland in the New World. In *The Untold*

Story: The Irish in Canada, the theme is used twice in Section III essay titles. One refers to the Irish in Prince Edward Island and the other refers to the Irish in New Brunswick.[50] Using this term is suggestive but also somewhat ambiguous. The "New Ireland" theme is further used in two book titles, one of essays about the historical New Brunswick Irish and the other, once again, about the Irish in Prince Edward Island.[51] The *New Ireland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence* theme is also adopted in the subtitle and articles of three special issue volumes of *The Abegweit Review*.[52] These titles may speak to historians' attempts to deal with both romantic views and the harsh realities of the Ireland on the east coast of the Atlantic Ocean and a "New Ireland" on the Atlantic's west coast.[53] Were the Southeastern Irish attempting to recreate another Ireland in the New World? In the three study areas there were very different physical geographies. Did any of the three study areas create settlements that were styled as "Old World" Ireland?

A number of historians have written articles and books about the Irish in New Brunswick. Some include references to the unique population of Southeastern Irish in the Miramichi. P.M. Toner has edited a book entitled *New Ireland Remembered*, cited above. In it, William Spray has documented in two essays the reception of Irish in New Brunswick and the Irish of the Miramichi.[54] In *The Untold Story* Toner mentioned that the Miramichi Irish were the most visible Irish community in New Brunswick. Eighty per cent of the Miramichi Irish were Catholics and they formed the second largest concentration of Catholics in the province.[55] The establishment of the timber trade had brought large numbers of Irish from port cities, including Waterford and Cork in the southeast, and Londonderry in the north of Ireland (Ulster), to the Miramichi, Saint John and many other parts of New Brunswick. Many of the Irish who disembarked worked in the timber trade

until they were able to buy or rent land. Some remained in the city of Saint John while others moved on, often to the United States.

Peter T. McGuigan has written a volume on the Irish in the People of the Maritimes series.[56] It certainly also needs to be acknowledged that other authors have written articles and books about the Irish in other areas of Atlantic Canada besides the current study areas. This includes Terence Punch who has written extensively about the Irish in Halifax and Nova Scotia.[57] The Halifax Irish had strong, significant genealogical and historical connections with the Newfoundland Irish and the Miramichi Irish.[58] Of course there are larger studies of the region that deal with specific themes of one facet of Irish history or another. Sources with some information about the history of the Irish in the Atlantic region as a whole include an edited book by *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, by Phillip A Buckner and John G. Reid.[59] On a less academic level, there are works such as *Atlantic Ocean: The Illustrated History of the Ocean that changed the World*, by Martin W. Sandler.[60] These books do not deal specifically with the Irish but they do reveal the interconnectedness of British North America with the rest of the Atlantic World and indeed throughout the entire World.

There are other edited books of interdisciplinary essays produced by older, more traditionally trained writers of Atlantic Canadian history. Francis W.P. Bolger edited a history of his native Prince Edward Island in 1973, the centennial year of the province joining Canada.[61] The Irish played a significant role in colonial Prince Edward Island but his book tends to concentrate on the role of important or significant historical figures, Irish and otherwise. MacNutt's book about colonial New Brunswick is similar in that it also deals with important people such as politicians and governors but rarely mentions the lives of

ordinary fishers, foresters or farmers. He does emphasize the importance of the forests to New Brunswick.[62] These books are in a more traditional style of Atlantic Canadian history that focuses on wars between European imperial powers, political developments, battles and treaties, or on more important people, usually men, such as politicians, prominent businessmen, and military leaders. Bolger and MacNutt were trained in an era in which political history tended to dominate the disciplines of Canadian history and Atlantic Canadian history. This tradition focuses less on the lives of ordinary people such as the Irish immigrants at the grassroots level. For example, the book *Westcountrymen in Prince Edward's Isle*[63] deals specifically with the James Yeo family. They were owners of ships, shipbuilding firms and shipping businesses which built over 350 wooden ships in approximately 80 years.[64] There is little mention of either the Irish, or the Westcountrymen skilled craftsmen, labourers or local suppliers of timber who actually built those wooden ships.

A significant strength of the literature of Atlantic Canadian history is the interdisciplinary approach of the historical geographers. The Newfoundland historical geographers include John J. Mannion, Gordon W. Handcock, C. Grant Head, and John Davenport Rogers.[65] In 1959 Andrew Hill Clark published the groundbreaking historical geography of Prince Edward Island, *Three Centuries and the Island: A Historical Geography of Settlement and Agriculture in Prince Edward Island, Canada*.[66] Clark's central theme is the development of agricultural production. He links ethnicity with agricultural production and agrarian practices. In addition, his book outlines the development of various ethnic groups and their role in the evolution of patterns of agricultural land use.[67] In a similar way Graeme Wynn has written a historical geography of

New Brunswick, *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick.*[68]

This interdisciplinary approach of history and geography may lead to a productive combination with a third discipline – nissology – the study of islands. None of the literature documented above concerning the history of the Southeastern Irish in Atlantic Canada thus far includes nissology or islandness. This current case study thus expands our knowledge of the history of Atlantic Canada by incorporating Mannion's methodology into the immigration history of Prince Edward Island (and Newfoundland). Furthermore the Miramichi is used as a "control" or standard which allows comparisons of the two island study areas. As noted nissologist, Godfrey Baldacchino has written:

> that there is no better comparison for an island than another island, there may also be no better comparison for a mainland than an island, since the processes and dynamics that occur habitually on a mainland may be enhanced and exacerbated in an island setting.[69]

Of course, the comparisons of islands to islands, and islands to the mainland, are central to the hypothesis and theme of this current study. A recent trend in the historiography of Atlantic Canada, certainly in Prince Edward Island, is to examine the immigration histories of smaller visible minority groups including Lebanese and Afro-Americans.[70] These micro-minority groups along with the Irish, (both Protestants, and Catholics), the Acadians and Mi'kmaq, endured racism and prejudice. This racism was imposed on them by the more powerful and wealthy Scottish and English majority. No doubt there was reciprocal racism on the part of the minorities. Are small islands sites for more intense nativism, sectarianism or racism?

A nissological thesis by Margaret Doyle compares many aspects of the history of

Ireland and Prince Edward Island and the role of islandness in the social evolution of women's rights on the two islands.[71] Geography dictates that Ireland, Prince Edward Island and also Newfoundland are islands in the North Atlantic. As such, there have been the essential similarities in boundedness and a potential for insularity, isolation and the creation of a sense in islanders of being apart from "others." They share a common colonial heritage in the British Empire, and they have similarities in ethnicity, culture, and to a certain degree elements of language and religion. All three islands were primarily rural communities with a history of economic struggle due to a lack of industrial base and problems caused by a pattern of out-migration.[72] Their colonial past has created both distinct similarities and very great differences in cultural transfer and adaptation. Each island has a unique natural history, which helps to explain the way in which their distinct island cultures have evolved.

IV
An Overview of this Case Study

The current case study is organized along geographical and topical lines, embracing three disciplines: nissology, geography, and history. Chapter 1, the Introduction, has discussed nissology provided a description of Mannion's Model and outlined the hypothesis of this thesis, then presented an overview of this case study, including a brief historiographical overview of Atlantic Canada, the region where the individual case studies are located.

All of the case study chapters share a similar structure. Since geography, the particular landscape of each settlement area, is central to the thesis, each chapter begins with a geological, geographical, and natural history section. This is followed by a brief overview of its history prior to the Irish settlements being studied. Having established the setting and

historical context, each chapter then proceeds to an examination of the experience of the Southeastern Irish, with additional subsections dealing with specialized topics, for example, the economy, settlement patterns, and relationships with other ethnic groups.

Chapter 2 necessarily begins with the Irish context, discussing and describing the Southeastern Irish source counties and their out migration from Ireland. What motivated these people to leave Ireland? What was the historical context of their migration?

Chapter 3 addresses two Southeastern Irish settlements on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland Island. It briefly discusses the natural history of the Avalon Peninsula and the development of the Southeastern Irish in Newfoundland, their settlement pattern there, the cod fishery and their relations with the English on the peninsula. Highlighted in this chapter is the very early development of the cod fishery in the 1500s. This is centuries before the other areas of British North America were beginning to be colonized by the British. The extreme isolation of the outport fishing villages is also highlighted because isolation is a very significant and fundamental characteristic of islandness.

In Chapter 4 the study then follows the cohort of Southeastern Irish who immigrated to the British North American colony of Prince Edward Island, a very different physical setting than Newfoundland, and the experience of this cohort on that island. The creation of semi-Irish communities, widely dispersed across the Island, is touched upon. There were no significant physical barriers to subdivide the population of rural Islanders and no major exclusive ethnic regions developed. The Irish were in close proximity to other ethnic rural peoples, in particular Highland Scots, and this had a significant effect on the evolution and resolution of the historic Land Question (the prevalence of large-scale, leasehold estates) there. Ethnic cultures often have exacerbated social tensions on an island but the Southeast

Irish farmers found common cause with the Highland Scots in dealing with absentee proprietors.

Chapter 5 examines the Southeastern Irish cohort in the mainland colony of New Brunswick, more specifically in the Miramichi River valley area.[73] Again, the discussion begins with the natural history of the study area and the immigration and settlement history of the Southeastern Irish. Were there characteristics of islandness that resulted in different immigration experiences and initial settlement patterns on the islands than those on the Miramichi mainland? Did these three areas suffer or thrive on economies of a single primary industry? The Miramichi is a control or standard, which allows for comparison with the islands

In Chapter 6 comparisons of the three study areas are discussed and conclusions proposed. Settlement patterns, social and ethnic relations, and the elite domination and socio-economic control of the study areas are compared and contrasted. Finally islandness and the role of boundedness and isolation are described in the context of island studies theory. These characteristics of islands are not unique to islands. For example, they may be found in continental coastal areas, small states, or mountainous regions. However, taken together islands have certain characteristics in combination that can be described as islandness.

Mannion's work examines cultural transfer and adaptation. This study utilizes his research model and incorporates O'Grady's research on the Southeastern Irish of another island, Prince Edward Island, integrating it with the research on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland and the Miramichi. Mannion's model attempts to decrease the number of variables involved with the Old World antecedent settlements, the motivations to emigrate,

the migration, and to isolate the variables of conditions in the New World. This study also expands his model to include the variable of islandness, characteristic of the two island study areas. It describes and analyzes the effects of islandness characteristics on the immigration experiences, initial settlement patterns and the economies of single primary resource areas on islands and mainlands. By focusing on the available data through an islandness "lens" this current study creates a synthesis of geography, history and nissology. While generating this new nissological knowledge it provides a unique approach, and attempts to fill a few gaps in the knowledge of the historical development of Atlantic Canada.

CHAPTER TWO: SOUTHEASTERN IRELAND

I
Natural History and Prehistory

Any study of cultural transfer and retention must begin with the culture that is affected by physical re-location. This chapter, then, examines the source for the immigrants under study in Atlantic Canada, Southeastern Ireland, providing a historical, economic, cultural, and social context for their out-migration. Their experience of the New World would be shaped by their experiences in the Old. The southeastern counties of Ireland include the modern counties of Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary and Cork**.** That this area of Ireland sent out settlers to Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and the Miramichi was itself a product of geology, geography, invasions, settlement and human interactions.

Ireland's population was the fastest growing in Europe in the 19th century. There was no industry, except the linen industry in Cork, which had also collapsed in the 19th century. Unlike the British North America colonies where land was cheap and labour expensive, in Ireland, land was expensive and labour cheap. In Ireland the struggle between various factions for centuries led to violence, outright war and subjugation over the basic resources – land and the food it produced. Islands often have limits on the amount of agricultural land and this coupled with religious and ethnic conflicts led to the reoccurrence of tragedy in Irish history in Ireland but also in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and the Miramichi. The romanticized "New Ireland" theme is common in the literature of Atlantic British North America.

Ireland's position as a small island on the north-west coast of mainland Europe puts it in the path of North Atlantic depressions moving in off the ocean. This creates a

distinctive climate: a cool summer, wet and mild in the winter with lots of rainfall and modest amounts of sunshine. The high rainfall is conducive to the richness and growth of flora especially in the higher land in the west. The south-west part of Ireland is out of the paths of the rainfall from the Atlantic depressions. It is warmed by the Gulf Stream and warm, moisture-laden south-westerlies. The south-east of Ireland is drier and more continental in climate characteristics than other parts.[74]

The source of migrants in this study was from the southeastern part of Ireland. The human history of southeastern Ireland is tightly and often tragically bound to the human history and natural history of Ireland as a whole. John Feehan states that "Ireland owes its natural distinctiveness to its unique geology more than anything else."[75] One starting point in time to begin the study of the natural history of Ireland is with the supercontinent of Pangea, which began to break up about 250 million years ago. The northern part, Laurasia, separated from the southern part, Gondwana.[76] Between 180 and 200 million years ago the northern continents of Europe and North America began to separate and move apart, away from the Mid-Atlantic Ridge.[77] Thus, the Laurasian continent divided and Ireland moved east with the Eurasian tectonic plate and Newfoundland moved west with the North America plate. Feehan suggests that this separation started approximately 210 million years ago and that this ultimately resulted in the formation of the northern Atlantic Ocean. Furthermore, Ireland was initially on the Earth's surface in the southern hemisphere and has moved steadily northward with continental drift ever since its formation into its present latitude in the northern hemisphere.[78]

The Carboniferous and Old Red Sandstone rock layers of Cork, Kerry and Waterford were crumpled into parallel folds of ridges and valleys. The Carboniferous rock

was eroded away and the Old Red Sandstone, which was harder, became the high ground, forming the spectacular mountains of the south. The sheltered and fertile valleys in the south became some of the best grazing land in Ireland.[79]

In recent millennia the islands that became Ireland and Britain were joined during the last ice ages to continental Europe. The last cold stage is called the Midlandian in Ireland. The northern two-thirds of the island were covered by glaciers while Munster and south Leinster was covered by frozen tundra.[80] When these glaciers melted Ireland was separated from Britain by the Irish Sea, St. George's Channel and the Celtic Sea. The island as a whole has been described as basin-shaped and if viewed from the sea by a circumnavigating explorer has the appearance of a mountainous country; but once this fringe of mountainous country is penetrated the island is low-lying, and generally flat with the very middle depression forming a land of lakes, fens and bogs.[81]

The overall regional habitats particularly the varied woodlands are a result of geological heritage of rock, the glacial debris from the Ice Age glaciers, the soils they produced and the interaction of climate and topography. The flora and fauna have evolved in local ecotopes and habitats as a result of climatic change and human influence. The theory of biogeography predicts similar flora and fauna within the British Archipelago but the proximity to continental Europe also has had an impact.[82]

The submergence of the east coast occurred 7500 years ago and finally made Ireland an island.[83] Marie and Conor Cruise O'Brien propose that the Early Stone Age Era peoples do not appear to have reached Ireland. Middle Stone Age fishers and food-gathers of post-glacial Europe crossed from Scotland to Antrim, following coastlines and tree lines. They may have walked across or used skin boats called *coracles*[84] These Mesolithic people

were the earliest Irish and they lived an "intensely conservative lifestyle…loved the water-side, lake and island, and this preference conditioned the siting of homesteads for some thousands of years afterwards."[85] In fact, some built and resided on artificial islands called *crannog* in Irish. Feehan suggests the Mesolithic people had little impact on the vegetation of woodlands, wetlands fen or bogs in the pre-agricultural periods. The Mesolithic people were followed by a succession of invaders and settlers.

The Neolithic people of the New Stone Age are well known for the massive stone structures they built. The *megalithic* ("built of great stones") structures varied from solitary standing stones to massive decorated passage-graves. The Neolithic inhabitants were farmers and raised crops and domestic animals and mastered pottery making, spinning and weaving.[86] The Celtic Bronze Age in Ireland lasted one and a half millennium and left a legacy of beautifully crafted bronze weapons, copper and native gold personal ornaments. These people left no written records but sometimes buried their dead in the megalithic tombs. Much of agriculture remained unchanged but the entire island of Ireland was occupied by the beginning of the Bronze Age.[87] Marie and Conor Cruise O'Brien feel it is impossible to consider the emergence of the Iron Age in Ireland without keeping in mind the prehistory and folk-memory of a low density, sparse, population poorly able to defend itself and dominated by small war-bands who became the aristocracy. The population was significantly Celtic-speaking and conquest-minded, trying to subjugate the many peoples of Western Europe[88]

The Iron Age in Ireland was not the Iron Age of Rome and it traces its roots to barbarian iron-using peoples who swept across Europe from east to west starting seven hundred years before the Roman invasion of Britain. Their language was Indo-Germanic

and we call it *"Celtic."* The evidence points to a complex of self-contained tribal units among whom warfare, internecine and external, was endemic."[89] These tribes went on to sack Greece and Rome. Much of what we know about the Celts is found to be in common with the Irish in salient terms of religion, customs and traditional practices.[90] In the Mediterranean world, the names of the British Isles were: *"Ierne"* in Greek or Latin, *"Hibernia"*- was Ireland; while *"Albion,"* once all of Britain, became Scotland. Seven centuries before the time of the Roman Conquest the British archipelago was dominated by the Celtic language and culture, as were Gaul and the Iberian peninsula.[91]

Historical invasions from Europe by the Belgae began in the first century BC from north-east Gaul to south-east Britain and later to Ireland.[92] The south-east of Ireland was often the route of many of these invaders. The Roman general Agricola considered invading Hibernia (Ireland) from Britain but reconsidered and Roman invasions threats stopped in the fifth century AD.[93] This meant Ireland remained un-Romanized. Thus, the Irish traditional native *"Brehon Law"* competed with Christian law in the Irish consciousness for a number of centuries, in fact, until the Tudor Conquest.[94]

The Celtic Irish had successfully remained outside the reach of the Roman Empire but not the Roman Catholic Church. Some Christian missionaries came from Wales. They called the Irish Celts *"Gaels."*[95] Other missionaries were sent by Rome. In the year 431 Pope Celestine in Rome appointed a Bishop named Palladius to convert the Irish and care for the Christian people of Ireland.[96] This is the beginning of the recorded history of Ireland. Palladius may have been St. Patrick, the saint traditionally associated with the Christianization of Ireland.

The homes of the Iron Age Irish were essentially similar to other early Christian

period homes. Towns and villages did not become part of the landscape until after the Norse

began to raid and then settle in the ninth century.[97] There were successive waves of Norse

invasions and occupations much of it in the south-east. The final battle with the Norse was

their defeat at the Battle of Clontarf in 1014.[98] The south-east had thus become somewhat of

a "cockpit" for conflicting cultures. However, between "rounds" there was intensification of

a dense trade network, especially around Waterford. Celtic traditions and arts are other

indicators of how the Irish Celts flourished despite the presence of the Norse. The Irish

polity rallied after the initial shock of the Norse invasions which evolved from raids to

establishing settlements.[99] Christianity brought many changes with Ireland's relationships

with Rome and other parts of Europe, especially England [100]

II
Early English Colonial History

In 1166 a typical dynastic feud between Irish kings resulted in the deposed king of

Leinster, Diarmait Mac Murrough, of eastern Ireland inviting Henry II, the Norman king of

England, to invade southeastern Ireland. The Normans who responded were mercenaries

less bound to the English King and more bound by their desire for Irish land after their well

worked territorial conquest of Wales.[101] The Norman conquest included the capture of

Waterford and Wexford and many parts of southeast Ireland. This area of Ireland became a

nearby source of men and supplies for trade and support in fighting wars waged by the

Normans and other future English kings.

As a counter to the Normans the Irish hired foreign troops, *"galloglasses,"* from

Scotland and the Isles of Norse-Gaelic stock and settled their families in Ireland. For their

part the Normans knights intermarried and created three great earldoms in the "Pale," the

English colony on a narrow strip of eastern Ireland centred on Dublin.[102] They also practiced fosterage, whereby children from one noble family were raised in another noble family to strengthen alliances. Hence the term *"Hibericis ipsis hiberniores"* (more Irish than the Irish themselves). Ultimately, the Irish absorbed the Norman Conquest, and as England waged the Hundred Years War and then the War of the Roses, no English King up to Henry VIII could concentrate on Ireland let alone finance a re-conquest.[103]

Economic ties were important in southeastern Ireland, and successive English Kings had sought to stimulate trade since the late twelfth century. Ultimately Waterford (in south-east Ireland) and Bristol (in south-west England) were declared privileged staple ports within a year of each other. Thus, the English demonstrated they wanted to improve trade in the Celtic Sea,[104] and trade grew significantly between southeastern Ireland and southwestern England during the middle ages. Brendan Smith proposes the year of the colonial parliament at Kilkenny in 1366 as a starting point for examining some of the political, social and trade issues between Ireland and England. He looks at the period between ca. 1360 and ca. 1460.The inland trading networks of both Bristol and Waterford also encouraged economic contacts between western England and southern Ireland.[105] (Refer to Appendix Figure 3) Even in the late medieval period Waterford remained in the sphere of English kings. For example, the port and the English monarch had close civic and religious ties. Waterford kept records of its rights, and history, and petitioned the English kings. Its merchants used the English chancery equity procedures, the church kept records and the records of officeholders were maintained.[106] In the 1400s Waterford was drawn into the Hundred Years' War between the English and the French which turned the Irish Sea "into a battlefield of sorts."[107] Waterford was in the vanguard of this war, suffering attacks

and damage.

Many absentee English landlords of Irish properties were not prepared to defend their land against native Irish kings and these rebel English lords often opposed the English Kings. Several declarations were made that settlers from England should colonize these re-conquered lands. By the middle of the fifteenth century the politics and socio-economic life of southern Ireland was more stable than it had been for the previous century. "The magnate marriage alliances that helped hold the Anglo-Irish component of the king of England's realm together had important implications for the relationship between Bristol and Waterford in the fifteenth century."[108]

Between the Norman Conquest and the Protestant Conquest by the Tudors was a period of relatively peaceful development. However, the issue of the Pope against King Henry VIII was a rallying call for war. The Irish sided with the Pope and for the first time, this included both Irish church government and civil state. The various leaders of Ireland had included compromise and extemporization up to the reigns of the Tudors.[109] The O'Briens state that "The Irish were now in constant revolt against English rule throughout Elizabeth's reign."[110]

The O'Briens further describe an enduring pattern of domination by superior Protestant English forces of Catholic Ireland. Religious differences intensified a cycle of increasing national animosities and hatred. For England the solution was to uproot the hostile Catholic population and establish Protestant English and Scottish settlements mainly in northern Ulster. However, in other parts of Ireland the plantation solution was not consistently applied over a long enough period of time to succeed.[111] Economically and socially, the Catholics were oppressed and denied a good or modern education. The English

and Scottish conquerors vilified the conquered and held them in contempt. The English planters were determined to hold onto their plantations and the Irish were equally determined to recover their lands.[112] The Irish rebels and Irish Royalists became involved in the Civil War of England and both sides were crushed by Cromwell's Ironsides in 1649-52.[113] Cromwell's main objective again was to root out the rebels and settle ex-English soldiers in their place. The O'Brien's claim the real shock of Cromwell was not his cruel ferocity but rather it was the efficiency of his anti-Catholicism and the determined manner[114] in which he dealt out what could be called "ethnic cleansing." What had been established by the transplantation was a landed ruling class mainly of English and Scottish origin of some type of Protestant denomination usually Church of England (Anglican) or Church of Scotland (Presbyterian) which subjugated the Roman Catholic Gaelic-speaking peasantry. This Protestant Ascendancy would last until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[115] The consequence of the great Cromwellian and later Williamite confiscations entailed the massive consolidation of highly fragmented medieval holdings.[116]

Estimates by Sir William Petty, at the time, suggest that in 1641 the Catholics held three-fifths of the land in Ireland. By 1665, after the Restoration settlement which partially reversed Cromwell's campaign, the Catholics held one-fifth of the mostly poor land in the western province of Connaught. They benefited little from the expanding export of agricultural products of beef, butter, hides, tallow and grain. Six-sevenths of the population lived at the subsistence level, growing and eating mainly potatoes and weaving their own cloth.[117]

The Irish Catholics sided with the Catholic English King James II who ascended to the English throne but was forced into exile from Waterford to France, a result of the

"Glorious" Revolution of 1688. In the following year James arrived back in Ireland and he soon controlled most of the island. However his forces were defeated by William of Orange at the Boyne River in 1690. James' only loyal troops - the Irish Catholics - were England's irreconcilable enemies. [118] The Irish Catholics had become involved in a second international war between the Pope, the French, the Dutch and the English. Hatred built on hatred and "the weaker party was doomed to be oppressed, and the weaker party was the native population of the smaller and more remote island."[119]

William wished to tolerate the Catholics to a degree but the Protestants of England and Ireland felt menaced and opposed Catholicism. The governments of four English monarchs William, Anne, George I and George II established a series of anti-Catholic statutes – the Penal Laws. Under these laws Irish Catholics could not sit in parliament or vote in parliamentary elections; they were excluded from the bar, the bench, the navy, the university, and all public bodies; they could not possess a horse worth more than five pounds, or weapons. Catholics could not go to schools at home or abroad. Complex land ownership laws stripped almost all the land owned by Catholics and placed it in Protestant hands. The conversion of any Catholic relative to Protestantism could result in that relative taking complete ownership of their entire (Catholic) family's property. Catholics bishops and unregistered priests were exiled and executed if they returned to Ireland.[120] The Penal Laws were rarely used to their maximum extent but they existed and were a constant, intimidating threat directed against Catholics.

Another law prevented manufactured Irish woolen goods from being exported to any other country besides England which enforced heavy duties against these Irish products. This law ruined the woolen industry and prevented the establishment of other industries in

Ireland.[121] Many Irish Presbyterians sheep farmers and woolen manufacturers emigrated to North America. As time passed the Irish Protestants became aware that the distinctions between Catholics and Protestants so obvious and clear cut in Ireland was increasingly blurred by the English. The laws were circumvented by some educated English who found the laws distasteful after the Catholics had been crushed and no longer posed any threat. The 1770s brought the first relaxation of the Penal Code and concessions to the Irish in general. The Penal Code in the British Empire was finally rescinded in 1829.

III
A Portrait of Ireland c. 1750-1850

In the mid-eighteenth century Ireland's population was growing rapidly and the demographics set it apart from the rest of Europe. It took just over 100 years – between 1700 and 1835 for the European population as a whole to double; whereas the population of Ireland doubled in fifty years (1750-1800) from 2.3 to 4.6 million[122]. The rural population growth was outstripping the urban growth and the rate of urbanization was slowing down.[123] This was a feature almost unique in western Europe. In rural nineteenth century Ireland the prevailing system of landholding was estate or the landlord system. This system reached its zenith in the period c.1750-1850.[124] Thus it predated the exodus of Southeastern Irish but was beginning to loosen its grip at the beginning of the mass diaspora associated with the Great Potato Famine of 1845-48. During the mid-eighteenth century and before the establishment of a centralizing government the landlord was the supreme arbitrator of local life. He was often the driving force behind continuous and rapid changes in traditional society and the economy particularly in rural areas where the landlord was focused on the

"progress of enclosure and the expansion of the occupied area. He also sought to establish new growth points by way of small villages and towns which would provide basic services in the countryside."[125] In general by the middle of the nineteenth century the vast majority of land was leased out to tenants through a hierarchy of middlemen especially when the landlord was absentee or the estate was owned by an institution like Trinity College. As Hughes suggests it was "colonial" in nature and the greatest proportion of the population was subservient with the segregation of "planter" and "native."[126] The overwhelming economic purpose of agriculture in Ireland in the later eighteenth century was the production of crops and livestock for export to Britain.[127] The south-east had some of the best agricultural land in Ireland and was very close to south-west British market and trade routes.

Hughes examines the value of rural land property in 1850 which indicates the relative distribution of rateable valuation of property. These rates were based on soil sampling taken at random across the estate. A basic difference was made between the "worked" and the "rough" with great stress put on the potential to produce an agricultural product for a market. Accessibility to transportation routes and nearness to villages and towns was also considered. A broad designation can be made between a wealthy east and south-east versus lower values in the west and north-west. (Refer to Appendix Figure 4) The counties of the south-east are among those in excess of 10 shillings per acre which indicates successful establishment of commercial farming by landlords.[128] These included the most wealthy areas of southeastern Waterford and Cork, and areas around Dublin and the north-east which were also areas of finely finished mansions, parklands and wealthy long established influential families. In contrast when these areas are compared to the poorer

areas west of the Shannon River, west mid Cork and especially in north-west Leinster they indicate the most critical sociological divisions in Ireland. These socio-economic differences were hardening and were strongly influenced by language, religion ethnicity and other cultural factors.[129]

In those parts of Ireland most intimately involved with landlordism, massive regimentation of people and places led to a loss of personal initiative. In nineteenth century Ireland tenants with good leases were invariably of non-Irish stock tied to the system of privilege and patronage.[130] In the mid-nineteenth century especially in the south and in the east there was a large proportion of the population in the towns and villages that made their living directly from the land. Throughout the history of the systematic colonization of Ireland the planning and construction of nucleated towns and villages was often done by former soldiers as integral part of plantation schemes.[131] Yet some estates possessed territorial cores which could be dated back to medieval times.

Hughes divides Ireland into the two sections. One was the "colonial" section where landlordism triumphed absolutely. This was in the south and east which featured a high ratio of resident proprietors, a high number of privileged tenants, an expanding marketing economy and a diverse richness of life in the towns and villages. The colonial section included the southeastern counties which provided the migrants to Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and the Miramichi. The second section was in the north and the west which was marginalized culturally, economically and physically. These counties retained their Gaelic heritage but were poorly endowed. Their society was egalitarian, parochial and rural. The economy there was self-supporting due in part to isolation.[132]

The colonial section could be further subdivided based on tillage into two areas. One

area was truly arable land where wheat and barley were dominant and cultivated for the export trade. This area was south of the line connecting Dundalk Bay in the east to Galway Bay on the west.[133] (Refer to Appendix Figure 5) In the northern half wheat and barley made up less than 10% of the crops. In the southeastern district these crops occupied 30%.[134] Paradoxically some farms in this area were held by Catholic families for centuries and provide evidence that landlordism was not totally dominant. In these areas were some smaller towns, especially with medieval roots and overwhelmingly Irish population.

Another important agricultural activity was the rearing and fattening of cattle and sheep. Pastoralism and pastoral areas have always been important in Ireland particularly in the Midlands where landlordism had sunk its deepest but perhaps most insecure roots.[135] The estates of the midlands were often run by syndicates for some of most illustrious families in Ireland but they were often absentee landlords. The actual care of animals were in holdings of townlands with a central grazier unit and a fringe of very small cottier lettings. Cottier families had no firm commitment to the pastoral lands communities or to each other. Hughes blames the social and demographic instability in the area east of the Shannon with the rapid loss of the Irish language there.[136] (Refer to Appendix Figure 6) The landscape was bleak as small towns and villages grew up at the intersection of drove roads. Estates in contrast had highly embellished buildings for families with non-Gaelic names. Many of these small towns reached maturity in Penal times when planter families exercised their superior status and identity.[137] There was a dichotomy of urban functions which influenced the morphology of small towns. For the "planters" there was a central "market and court houses, an assembly room, the established church, endowed schools, together with fine multi-storey residences of merchants, shopkeepers and a small number of

professional people."[138] For the "native" quarter often on the arterial road leading west there might be a "fair green flanked by a haphazard growth of single-storey traditional types of houses with gaunt institutions of church and state established since 1800."[139] These included chapels, poor houses, dispensaries, infirmaries, national schools and convents which were meant to serve the needs and aspirations of the masses.

The second great territorial division in the nineteenth century in Ireland ran as a great crescent from north-east Ulster to the Shannon estuary and beyond to the south-west. This area was one of small farms, with few landlord estates, and the strongest Gaelic traditions. Irish was the language spoken mainly by illiterates and it was in rapid retreat in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Bilingualism was virtually unknown throughout the country and the Gaelic speaking areas were mainly Irish monoglots.[140] Some of the counties along the Atlantic Coast including Erris in Mayo, County Galway, excluding the south-east, west Clare and south Kerry, were collectively the poorest and least accessible areas of western Europe. They were the last areas of Ireland where 80% of the Irish spoke Irish. They were the latest to be farmed, probably by refugees evicted from other more desirable areas.[141] During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the barren land had small farms carved out by despairing communities.[142] Family farming should not only be associated with the Atlantic Seaboard and Gaelic speaking areas. Family farming was an important feature of northern Ireland in counties such as Armagh, Cavan, Monaghan, Donegal and Leitrim. Some of these farming areas dated back to the seventeenth century. These counties show patterns of colonization but they were still particularly self-conscious communities.[143]

Hughes concludes that the landlord estate system began to decline towards an

inglorious end at the time in mid-nineteenth century when it seemed to be at the peak of its power and influence. It destruction and collapse was brought about by an elaborate, lengthy and deliberate series of legislation and policies by governments in London and Dublin.[144]

Kerby A. Miller et.al. propose that:

> Despite brief periods of relative prosperity for graziers and larger tenants, especially between 1770-1814, Irish countrymen from the late 16th to the mid-19th century generally experienced both poverty and submission. The cumulative effects of this on Irish Catholic character and outlook often rendered them patient and resigned to their humble condition in life. [145]

North America provided the Irish with an opportunity to escape this humble condition. Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin conclude that the failed rebellion of 1798 resulted in a strong emigrant flow pushed by repressive governments trying to control the migration of suspicious ideas and sedition. They suggest that these emigrants of the 1790s were "modern" in that they paid for their fare rather than by becoming indentured.[146] They sought escape from Ireland and a better economic future. Thousands were revolutionaries and they ended up in North America. Most went to the United States where they contributed to the Anglophobia of the early American republic. They further suggest that by 1800 the outlines were in place for the pattern of nineteenth century mass emigration not just in Ireland but within the English-speaking world. "The predominance of the trans-Atlantic route was clear, as was the future importance of British North America (later Canada) as a destination of arrival and settlement."[147]

After the Act of Union in 1800 which united Britain and Ireland into the United Kingdom (with Wales and Scotland) there began a half century of "mass" migration from

Ireland to Britain (a half million) and North America (one million). In spite of this the population continued to grow in Ireland at a very high rate while the economy stagnated and thus poverty was further entrenched structurally. The eastern ports transported emigrants to Liverpool where the new steam-propelled ships transported them to British North America and more often to the United States. In the next 45 years the British government established 175 Commissions and Special Committees to examine Irish affairs and issues yet it was totally unprepared for the Great Potato Famine of 1845-48.[148] It is ironic as Fitzgerald and Lambkin state that there were famines in 1817-19, 1822 and 1831 during what is persistently called the "pre-famine" period.[149] Furthermore they suggest that well before the Great Famine there was little they could do to prevent Irish Catholic emigrants from passing through Britain or British North America to the "honey pot" destination of the United States.[150] The mid-point of this half century, 1825, marked the emergence of Liverpool as the hub of Irish diaspora and the turning point where Catholics outnumbered Protestants as the major component of the emigrant flow.[151]

IV
The Southeastern Irish Homeland

Mannion considers the migration from the southeastern part of Ireland to Newfoundland, Peterborough, and the Miramichi to be part of a single exodus of poor Catholic Irish across the Atlantic in the 1800s. Their primary motive for emigrating was economic distress. After 1770 the population of Ireland had grown very rapidly. During the Napoleonic Wars many areas of pasture had been converted to crop tillage. After the wars there was a reversion to pasture and small farmers with many sons could not divide up their farms into sustainable-sized farms. "*Gavelkind*" was the English term for the Irish land inheritance

tradition of dividing the farm into equal shares to male heirs.[152] Landlords who had once encouraged division of landholdings now forbid it and small tillage units were amalgamated into large grazing pasture farms.

The only significant industry in Ireland was the manufacture of linen in Munster, based largely in Cork. There were few other industries to provide jobs and the linen industry itself collapsed. There were other factors as well which depressed the economy which began to decline early in the 1800s. Ireland is famous for the potato famine of 1845-1848 but there were numerous other smaller famines before and after. Agrarian riots became common after 1815 and this was another stimulus to migration.[153]

The region's culture was also in a state of flux and turmoil. In the decades before emigration the number of Gaelic-speaking monoglots in the south-east was declining rapidly. By 1800 only half the Catholic population was ignorant of English. The number of southeastern monoglots of Gaelic was declining such that by 1850 Cork and Waterford were the only counties where over half the population knew Gaelic. As English spread more and more potential emigrants were exposed to emigration propaganda and knowledge about the New World and British North America increased. Knowing English – one of the major languages of the New World - gave the Irish an extra advantage over the emigrants of continental Europe in terms of understanding emigration advertisements, making decisions about emigrating and fitting in socially in the British North American colonies.[154]

Emigration was essentially an individualistic solution to the economic and social problems of the Irish rural farmers. The decision to emigrate was usually made by the individual or the nuclear (parent-child) family. It was uncommon for entire extended families to emigrate because once a few members of a family had emigrated some of the

economic pressure was taken off the home farm. The diversity of emigrant last names and the variety of location from which they came, indicates that in the study areas almost all these families were unrelated.[155] Mannion states, "It was the small farmers, victims of the change to pastoral farming, and their sons, who could no longer acquire land, who left in great numbers after 1815."[156] Those seeking to leave had, by then, a clear path to follow to the New World.

"Between 1675 and 1700 Ireland had established a regular export trade in salted provisions – pork, beef and butter - to victual the English fishery in Newfoundland."[157] Thousands of southeastern Irish were involved in the provisioning trade between Newfoundland and England. Ireland, especially the south coast, had several advantages in the development of this commerce in the North Atlantic. It was close to the trade routes between England and Newfoundland and it had the agricultural products to offer. It had a warm moist climate ideal for growing pasture for cattle, both, beef and dairy, pigs and sheep. Along with sheep, the primary market had been England but the Cattle Acts of 1663, 1667 and 1681 were used to proscribe Irish livestock and protect English farmers. The Irish salt provision trade in pork, beef and butter then switched to continental Europe, and the transatlantic colonies, and the provisioning market to Newfoundland took off and was sustained for almost three centuries.[158]

V
The Waterford Connection with the *New-Founde-Land*[159]

Waterford was initially a ninth century fortified Viking settlement. Its English name is from the Norse *Vadrefjord*.[160] Its harbour is the nearby confluence of three navigable rivers the Barrow, the Nore and the Suir. These rivers meander through a hinterland of rich

agricultural and prime dairy farmland.[161] The Irish of the south-east were involved with the exploitation of the fishery off the coast of Newfoundland from the fifteenth century. Fishing fleets from the Westcountry of England crossed the Celtic Sea, calling into the ports of Waterford, Wexford and Cork for provisions, freshwater and labourers before sailing across the Atlantic Ocean.[162] The labourers were called "green men," not because they were Irish but because many were unskilled and new to the fishing and sailing experience. This was also true of many of the English Westcountrymen. The conditions on the North Atlantic could be dangerous and loss of life was common and thus press gangs, in some years, roamed the ports of the Celtic Sea.[163] In the early years it was illegal to over winter or even to build permanent buildings in Newfoundland. Later arrangements were made whereby a person would be hired for two summers and the intervening winter was spent in Newfoundland. As the decades rolled by illegal over-wintering became more common. This had an advantage in protecting the fishing shacks, flakes and other wooden structures as the native Beothuk often burned unprotected buildings in the winter for the nails and other fixtures made of iron. It is unknown how many Irish men and women migrated to Newfoundland. If a military ship appeared on the horizon they usually fled into the woods for fear of being pressed. Around 1800 however it is estimated that there were 10,000 annually employed in the English/Irish fishery off Newfoundland.[164]

From the beginning of the Newfoundland fishery the vast majority of Irish migrant labourers were young male servants who came to work for English masters. Nearly all were Roman Catholic and many spoke Irish only, or poor English while their masters were Protestants, primarily Anglicans, speaking primarily English. This paralleled the situation and conditions back home in many ways. In Ireland, the people of English Protestant

descent were there as a result of conquest and plantation in the 1600s. In south-east Ireland, where most migrants were from, the Protestants lived in the ports and towns, and on the bigger farms, and they dominated rural landlord demesnes. In Ireland, between 1700 and 1730 Irish Catholics accounted for 80-90% of the total population. During this same period of time in Newfoundland this ethno/religious ratio was reversed i.e. 80-90% of the total population was English Anglican. A small Catholic minority operated in an Anglican English culture area, hence the name the English Shore of the east shore of the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland Island.[165] (Refer to Appendix Figure 2)

As conditions deteriorated in Ireland emigration grew more attractive. By the 1770s the arterial roads into Dublin, into Waterford (Tallow) and also the Protestant stronghold into Cork (Bandon) showed signs of poverty and ribbon development. Primarily Catholics, with one foot in the rural areas, and the other foot in urban areas, they tried to eke out an existence in the liminal zones.[166] Rapid expansion in rural areas led to more poverty, begging and vagrancy. The scale of the problem would grow and almost overwhelm the government in the first few decades of the nineteenth century.

There was an interruption of trade during the American Revolution between Newfoundland and New England, and so companies of Irish merchants formed to sell goods in Newfoundland. *Finn's Leinster Journal* in 1785 noted the potential for the establishment of stores for coarse woolens, linens, boots, shoes and other articles of home manufacture in St. John's, Placentia and other ports near the fishers. Three years later in 1788 forty ships, "chiefly" English, rendezvoused off Waterford to take merchandise to victual Newfoundland. That this had not happened earlier was lamented by the *Clonmel Gazette*.[167] During the late 18th century there was little increase in the number of Irish ships involved.

However, as the English fishery grew, particularly the planter sector, the demand for Irish labour also grew. English ship owners and shipmasters began to hire Irish servants from the traditional trade network within the Waterford hinterland. Passengers were considered another commodity to augment the profits of the transatlantic voyages. In 1697, fares outbound were 3 pounds and 2 pounds return. Fifty passengers thus provided a gross profit of 100 pounds.[168] Almost all the Irish were servants. As James Story, the first commodore to note the Irish traffic, wrote: "The trade of Irish to Newfoundland is all sorts of frises, linen cloath, bandle cloath, hats, shoes, stockings, beefe, porke, bread, butter, cheese & all sorts of small merchandise, their returns for it are fish."[169]

As Cyril Byrne observes: "The Irish-speaking population of Newfoundland in the eighteenth and nineteenth century which originated from within a forty-mile radius of the city of Waterford came out to the Newfoundland fishery to make money."[170] Many returned to Ireland, others went to other places but that same forty-mile radius provided migrant settlers who stayed in Newfoundland and formed a distinct people in eighteenth and first half of nineteenth century Newfoundland.[171] It is not surprising that in Newfoundland the Irish language was so widespread because it was so common in south Tipperary, South Kilkenny, Waterford and west Wexford. This area was an Irish- speaking stronghold until mid-nineteenth century[172]

Bryne further states that:

> The Irish population engaged in life in Newfoundland in much the same way in that they did in Ireland…life was a mixture of pleasure and pain – card playing, drinking and good company against the miseries of a life pursuing fish and having one's hands burned with hauling ropes and handling pickled fish.[173]

Another commentator Sir Richard Bonnycastle was in Newfoundland in 1842. He saw it as essentially Irish, and coined the term "Transatlantic Ireland" for Newfoundland.[174] Yet another commentator, Henry Winton more specifically stated "Newfoundland is merely Waterford parted by the sea."[175]

This, then, was the Southeastern Ireland that had begun pushing out migrants to what is now Atlantic Canada in the 18th century. Arguably, its people were formed by their local history, and their manner of living, farming, and trading had been shaped by both the landscape and their relationships. They were a predominantly agricultural community, although heavily enmeshed in larger patterns of trade, but population explosion, agricultural change, and economic pressures were making it more and more difficult to maintain traditional patterns of inheritance and land use. Out-migration had become an attractive option if not an absolute necessity. By the second half of the 18th century, Newfoundland had become a popular release valve for the various tensions that were squeezing Southeastern Ireland. In time, other parts of Atlantic Canada would attract them as well. As the commentators quoted above show, the Irish would shape their new home, but, as Mannion argues, their new home would shape them as well.

CHAPTER THREE: NEWFOUNDLAND

I
Natural history and Prehistory

The Irish who streamed into Newfoundland in the eighteenth century were migrating into an

island with a European connection dating from the dawn of the 16th century and a settlement

colony that had taken root in the 17[h] century. They had to adjust themselves to a climate,

landform, economy and society that were the most markedly different from their homeland,

southeastern Ireland. Ireland has been called England's oldest colony. However, there is an

argument to be made that Newfoundland was the oldest colony, though it was not an official

colony until 1826. Paradoxically Newfoundland was the oldest and also the newest colony

in the region.

This chapter describes the gradual colonization of Newfoundland, the coming of the

Irish, and, in particular, the establishment of two distinctive Southeastern Irish communities

on the Avalon peninsula. They highlight several important characteristics that helped

determine the degree to which the Southeastern Irish were able to transplant – and retain –

their traditional patterns of settlement and ways of life. First, the rugged nature of the

climate and the landscape dictated to what extent the Irish settlers could re-create their Old

World farms. Second, the overwhelming importance of the cod fishery in Newfoundland

inevitably meant that the agricultural Irish would from the outset have to adapt their way of

living to an economy dominated by the sea. Third, the Southeastern Irish experience in the

Avalon peninsula illustrates the critical importance of a defining characteristic of

"islandness," that is, relative degrees of isolation. Isolation dominated the history of

Newfoundland and its effects would only gradually recede as the centuries rolled by. Newfoundland was isolated from other places, and settlements within Newfoundland were isolated from one another. Such isolation may have insulated Irish Newfoundlanders from other cultural and social influences, but it was not considered a virtue. This chapter traces how the isolation from other outports and other colonies was overcome, while isolation due to the harshness of conditions – especially in winter -- was only partially overcome.

Newfoundland Island sticks out into the North Atlantic Ocean in such a manner that more than any other study area it has been defined by the sea. Cape Spear on the southeastern Avalon Peninsula is the most easterly point in North America. George Tomkins et. al. include the island in the Appalachian physiographical region. The island has 10,000 kilometres of coastline and the extensive coastlines may be regarded as the most important geographical features of the region.[176] The fragmentation of the sea by the land and also of the land by the sea has meant "there is no focus of water or land routes in the Atlantic region, to compare with Montreal, for example."[177] However, it could be argued that the Avalon Peninsula and thus Newfoundland Island, does have one predominant harbour, St. John's which was a focus and entrepot for the peninsula and the island.[178]

Another very important geographical feature is the Grand Banks, off the southeast shore of the Avalon Peninsula, which falls within the 100-fathom depth contour. Geologically the Grand Banks and other banks are submerged extensions of the mainland and islands. It is almost the same size in area as Newfoundland Island itself and it became one of the richest fisheries in the world. (Refer to Appendix Figure 7) Fish is what brought the Western Europeans to Newfoundland and it was the first Canadian staple. Fishing has been the foundation of the economy of the Avalon Peninsula and Newfoundland Island in

general for 500 years. Thus, the Grand Banks and other bank areas are also very significant geographical features. The mixing of cold water from the north -- the Labrador Current -- and warm water from the south -- the Gulf Stream -- in the shallow waters of the fishing banks creates ideal conditions for the growth of plankton which fish thrive on.[179] Added to this mix is fresh water from many rivers and their tributaries and estuaries, including the Great Lakes, the St Lawrence River, the Gulf of St. Lawrence and many rivers of Labrador.

The island's climate is also influenced by these ocean currents, and it is sub-arctic boreal, being cooled by the Labrador Current and warmed by the Gulf Stream. In winter, the Avalon Peninsula can be almost surrounded by a non-permanent pack ice which has a marked influence on navigation. The pack ice and icebergs make navigation nearly impossible for small wooden boats. The peninsula is also uniquely within the western edge of a mid-latitude Atlantic air mass, and thus receives some severe snow falls but it can also receive 40-60'' of rain, and fog may be present at times almost year round.[180] On the Avalon the January mean dips to 24 degrees and in all the study areas the growing season is less than 130 days. The summer is cooler, wetter and shorter than in southern Ireland. The higher precipitation in the Avalon favours the growth of root crops including potatoes, cabbage and turnips and pasture grasses for pastoral farming.[181]

The relief, underlying rock, climate, and vegetation have all had an influence on the soils. The upland area of the Avalon Peninsula is formed of harder quartzites slates and limestones, which are less rugged and at lower elevations than the highlands of the rest of the island.[182] The topography along the Cape Shore is one of spectacular cliffs where the old eroded sparsely wooded plateau meets the sea. Every few miles the 400 foot plateau is dissected by streams which erode narrow valleys, many of which are the sites of settlement.

The alluvial soils of the "flats" are excellent for pasture. The slopes of the valley and the plateau are rarely cultivated.[183] Near St John's the topography is also rugged and the soil is shallow and stony with low humus content. Heavy rainfall combined with low evaporation rates in both the Cape Shore and St. John's area have combined to create highly leached, acidic soils. The soils of the Island are podzols and they are too recent or immature to be fertile.[184] The original distribution of vegetation on Newfoundland Island was similar to Canadian Shield and montane forests, which are mainly coniferous. The Avalon Peninsula currently has a mixed land cover of coniferous forest with some subsistence farming.[185] This is because most of the soils were swept away during the Pleistocene glaciation from glaciers from the Labrador Centre.[186] Although most of the surface is rocky and barren, the island's few areas of improved farmland are found mainly on the peninsula.[187]

There is evidence that ancient peoples called Palaeo-Indians (Maritime Archaic) were the first aboriginals to cross the Strait of Belle Isle from Labrador around 3000 B.C. They lived on the Newfoundland Island, relying on hunting seals, walruses, whales, birds and fish on the coast and caribou in the interior. They did this for two millennia and then disappeared perhaps due possibly to a climate change or a change in resource base.[188] From approximately 1,000 B.C. to 800 A.D. there was a succession of Dorset peoples on Labrador and Newfoundland. They were also heavily reliant on the resources of the sea, particularly seals, and if persistent winds kept the pack ice far offshore for several succeeding years this may have what caused the collapse of the Late Dorset population.[189] Alternatively the collapse of the Late Dorset people may have been caused by the arrival of the Thule. The seafaring Thule had superior technology, including single-person kayaks and larger multi-person umaiks for hunting whales and transportation. They may have

supplanted the Late Dorset people and the Intermediate Indian People who also crossed the Strait of Belle Isle. Cadigan suggests that "Trade of materials, knowledge, and marriage partners from Labrador to the island would have been easy because the narrow Strait of Belle Isle serves as a highway as much as a barrier."[190]

There followed a succession of ancient peoples, including the Little Passage people, who were the direct ancestors of the Beothuk. Like their ancestors, the Beothuk themselves ranged over the entire island but probably never numbered more than 500 to 1000.[191] Archaeological evidence indicates that during the summer season they lived along the coasts in small groups fishing, hunting seals, other marine mammals and birds. In the interior they hunted caribou especially in the winter. With post-European contact in the sixteenth century they gradually moved into the interior all year long. During the early migratory period of the fishery the Beothuk burned and looted the fishing facilities when the Europeans returned to Europe in the fall. They collected the iron from nails and other iron hardware and used them for tips on weapons like spears and arrows. The Beothuk where systematically hunted by Europeans in retaliation and that, combined with mortality from disease and starvation led to their extinction by 1829.[192] As can be seen by the succession of First Nations each relied heavily on coastal and marine animals. They relied on relatively simple technology to obtain their food from a very narrow resource base. This made them vulnerable and although some groups lived on Newfoundland for millennia ultimately their societies collapsed and their small populations went into extinction.

The first Europeans to reach Newfoundland were the Norse. The Little Climatic Optimum from 750 A.D to 1250 A.D. was a time period of long distance voyaging.[193] The trade winds were persistent, skies were clear and there was limited storminess. The Norse

crossed the North Atlantic from Scandinavia reaching the Shetland Islands (c. 800), Faeroe Islands (c. 860), Iceland (c. 870), Greenland (c.982) and subsequently Newfoundland (Vinland) (c.1000).[194] L'Anse aux Meadows on the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland Island became a staging area for Lief Eriksson and his family for further exploration of the island[195]and other southern coastlines.[196] There were likely never more than ninety people on the coast, and it appears the Norse came in conflict with the First Nation peoples of North America whom they called "Skraelings." Iron swords were not all that effective against the stone tipped spears, and the bow and arrows of the First Nations.[197] Ultimately the explorations and settlements on Newfoundland were dependent on the Norse farmland settlements of Greenland.

After the Little Climatic Optimum period ended there was a period of transition and climatic cooling. The Little Ice Age from 1400 A.D. to 1850 A.D. was a period of colder climate, increased variability of trade winds, increased dust from volcanism and increased storminess, which severely restricted long distance voyaging by the Norse in the high North Atlantic.[198] The farmland colonies on Greenland withered and the Norse withdrew from Newfoundland. Cadman suggests that the knowledge the Norse had about Newfoundland had little impact on Christopher Columbus, or John Cabot (Zuan Caboto), or on the consciousness of other European explorers about what lay beyond the northwestern horizon.[199]

The Western Europeans, including the British, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish started to cross the Atlantic Ocean at the end of the fifteenth century. Initially they were not interested in colonizing Newfoundland or "taking possession" of the island.[200] Their primary interest was in the commercial fishery, for cod in particular. Perhaps their

voyages were possible because they were sailing at lower latitudes than the Norse and the climatic effects of the Little Ice Age were not as extreme at these lower latitudes. Also, their ships and other nautical technology became more sophisticated and had greater tolerance for extreme weather conditions, which did not end until approximately 1850.

England and other nations gradually increased their interests in the cod fisheries on the Grand Banks. Other Europeans envied the riches Portugal and Spain had plundered in the Caribbean, Central and South America. English adventurers like Martin Frobisher, Sir Francis Drake and Sir Humpfrey Gilbert sailed the seas looking for new routes to the Orient and plundering Iberian silver and gold treasure ships. In 1578, Gilbert convinced Queen Elizabeth I to establish or "plant" an English colony on the North American mainland. Following familiar fishing routes he sailed into St. John's in 1583 and despite the presence of many ships from several other countries in the harbour claimed Newfoundland Island for England.[201] It should be noted that other Europeans had already been in Newfoundland coastal waters and used sections of shoreline for almost a century or more.

II
Migratory Fishery:
16th Century British Colonial History

The migratory fishery and whaling enterprises to Newfoundland were well underway by the beginning of the 1500s. They were among the earliest continuous European activities in the North America but only occurred in the summer months. Some First Nations peoples resisted intrusions into their territory while others traded for furs. Bristol merchants backed the Venetian mariner Zuan Caboto (John Cabot) who sailed across the Atlantic in 1497 to an uncertain landfall, possibly Cape Breton, Newfoundland or Labrador and claimed the site

for the English crown. Bristol merchants continued to trade local cloth for French and Iberian wines and expanded into markets in the Caribbean Sea and Atlantic Islands like Madeira, the Azores and the Canary Islands for sugar, spices, fruit and wines. Their dependence on these markets increased in times of war and they knew about the Atlantic cod fishery (the Portuguese may have already been fishing there), but they sought Oriental precious metals, gems, spices and cloth instead.[202]

The Portuguese claimed Newfoundland Island by right of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1493 and sent some explorers there but concentrated on South America and circum-African trade routes to India and south-east Asia. Portugal's involvement in the Newfoundland fishery was limited but still greater than England's in the first half of the sixteenth century. The premier fishers of the coast of Newfoundland were the Basques from Spain and France. They had significant access to salt from the Bay of Biscay and could transfer their technology and expertise from the salted-cod fishery of the eastern Atlantic to Newfoundland's Grand Banks. The Basques were also sending whalers to the waters off Newfoundland and Labrador to hunt bowhead and right whales. By 1600, the Basques had depleted the whale stocks and transferred their efforts to the cod fishery. The Spanish economy generally, and more specifically, the Basque fishing industry were decimated by the defeat of Spanish Armada by England in 1588. The French Basque fishery moved into their Spanish counterpart's place. Cadigan summarizes that throughout the sixteenth century no Western European country had consolidated the cod fishery and over fifty European ports were sending ships across the Atlantic by the end of the century.[203]

The Europeans left Europe in the spring, established inshore fisheries on the Newfoundland coast during the summer and returned to Europe in the fall. When they

reached the island fishing crews built cookhouses, shelters, stages for processing the cod and flakes for drying on beaches. Only after 1545 were ships built large enough to stay offshore and pickle their catch in brine and return to Europe more quickly. There was in this period increasing hostility towards the First Nation peoples whom the Europeans blamed for destroying fishing stations in wintertime raids.[204] Cadigan suggests the Beothuks actually prospered during their first century of European colonization from the iron materials they collected without altering their culture and communities.[205]

By the second half of the sixteenth century the English began to contemplate colonizing Newfoundland Island to control the fisheries off its shores. However, the English government did not have the resources to finance this but it did continue to listen to speculation about Newfoundland's potential for rich timber lands, shipbuilding yards, mines of precious metals and minerals, productive farms and factories.[206] It was in this context that Sir Humphery Gilbert had laid claim to Newfoundland for Great Britain in 1583. War between Spain and England lasted seventeen years and only ended in 1604. This had largely forced England to delay colonization. Spain attempted to bar English cod from its markets during the 1590s but Irish, Dutch and French merchants bought English cod and sold it for higher prices in Spain. Cadigan observes that "West Country merchants knitted together an interest in the Newfoundland fishery that would last centuries and built on the longer trading relationship between ports such as Bristol and Portuguese ports to ensure access to salt.[207] As part of this network, English ships leaving the West Country of England, crossed the Celtic Sea and stopped in ports of southeastern Ireland for provisions and labourers, and then set sail for Newfoundland Island and the Grand Banks.

III
Migrants and Settlers:
17th Century British Colonial History

It is impossible to understand, or to appreciate the Irish presence in Newfoundland unless you consider the overall history of the settlement context and in some ways it is very complicated. The settlement history of the Irish starts earlier in Newfoundland than the other study areas. In 1610, King James I granted the London and Bristol Newfoundland Company a charter for the entire island of Newfoundland. It was hoped that a colony in Conception Bay named Cuper's Cove (Cupids) and directed by John Guy would profit the company. Colonists could fish earlier, and later, than the migratory fisherman, would not have to rebuild wharves, stages, buildings and boats, and, perhaps most important, could claim the best fishing grounds and beaches for drying cod. For the first half of the seventeenth century it was not clear whether Newfoundland should become a settlement for planters and settlers or be reserved as a migratory fishery. The colony probably did not make a profit but it did spark an interest among other merchants in establishing other colonies. These investors saw the Avalon Peninsula as a "new land" with no Christian inhabitants and therefore it could be and was claimed by the English.[208]

In 1617, another colony was established by the London and Bristol Company between Capelin Bay and Placentia Bay on the Avalon Peninsula. It was moved to Renews in 1618 but collapsed in 1619. A more successful colony was established at Bristol's Hope (Harbour Grace) in Conception Bay between 1618 and 1631. Another smaller colony was built between Ferryland and Aquafort on the north and Renews in the south but it too ceased to exist by 1628. All of these colonies on the Avalon Peninsula disappointed their financial backers but the settlers became the basis of the permanent European population on the

peninsula. The settlers learned that they were dependent on the fishery just as the merchants who backed the migratory trade began to realize they were dependent on the settlers. Many West Country merchants found they could profit by backing the migratory fishers and the Conception Bay settlers.[209] Pope argues that "between about 1620 and 1680, West Country fisher-folk settled the English Shore as part of a vernacular diversification of the original migratory fishery."[210]

Another major colony of the South Avalon at Ferryland was backed by Sir George Calvert, an investor in Virginia and the East India Companies, and a well connected politician in London who became the First Lord Baltimore of Ireland. He was also Catholic, and he meant Ferryland to become a bulwark against Protestantism in the New World. He brought his family, more Catholic settlers and a priest to Ferryland in 1628. Possibly some of the colonists were Irish as Baltimore's family had lived in Ireland from 1625 to 1627.[211] However, most of the one hundred settlers already living in Ferryland were Protestant and they were antagonized by his "Romish" sympathies. Baltimore's colony was plagued by French pirates, sectarian tensions, and a cooling climate during the early seventeenth century which allowed only root crops to be grown. In 1629, Baltimore moved to Maryland leaving a solder/agent Captain Edward Wynne in charge of the plantation to maintain Baltimore's investment in the lucrative fishery. The thirty odd fisher folk of all ages he left behind became some of the first English, and possibly first Irish settlers, of what is now Canada.[212]

In 1638, Ferryland was expropriated from Lord Baltimore but continued to grow under the direction of Sir David Kirke and later his wife Sara and their four sons.[213] They established a significant infrastructure for the resident fishery, constructing many times,

literally on, and around, the foundations of buildings built by Calvert's on-site manager Wynne. Kirke was a favourite of Charles I, the king of England, when he expropriated the Ferryland site. George Calvert's son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore of Ireland, but living in Maryland, tried to regain the Ferryland colony legally from the Kirkes several times but he was unsuccessful.[214] Kirke fell out of favour with the new Commonwealth government and died in England in 1654, but his wife and sons continued to prosper from vernacular diversification into resident boat keeping and other developing epiphenomena of the existing fishery. This type of capitalism was significant as it brought settlers from England who wanted to be householders in their own right and they could rely on the transatlantic trade network that was continuing to grow as a result of the fishery.[215] The Southeastern Irish were a small but integral part of this transatlantic trade network.

David Kirke was the last of the colonial proprietors of Newfoundland but he was also one of the first resident fish merchants. He and his extended family were actively involved in the inshore cod fishery and the carrying of cod as cargo to markets in fish cargo ships called sack ships. As Pope explains "the Newfoundland fishery, the Newfoundland sack ships and the Newfoundland plantations of the seventeenth century together composed an intricate and evolving system."[216]

By the late seventeenth century official colonization had failed and Newfoundland now became a colony without official colonial status and without official settlements. But a mechanism to maintain order was established early in the seventeenth century to settle disputes between migratory fishing interests and the growing resident fishery. "Fishing admirals" were the captains or fishing masters of the first fishing ship to enter a particular Newfoundland harbour in the spring of the year.[217] The Western Charter of 1634 gave the

fishing admirals full legal jurisdiction over all but capital crimes and theft of more than 40 shillings. These crimes were tried back in West Country English courts. Initially, the government sought to restrict the number of passengers going to Newfoundland and also to restrict the assignment of legal rights to over wintering shore crews.[218] By 1670 the fishing admirals and to a certain extent the government in London's policy became ambivalent towards the migratory fishery and the residents. There was greater interdependence and Newfoundland had become part of what some called the "Greater New England." People from the British Isles, including the Irish were becoming used to moving about the North Atlantic trading world, including other areas such as the Atlantic islands - Madeira, the Azores and the Canaries,[219] the Mediterranean and the West Indies. Thus, the Western Charter of 1634 recognized settlements but protected the migratory fishery rights to use of land, access to timber and shore facilities. As Cadigan writes, "West Country ship owners and merchants had built the trade without state protection, monopolies, or subsidy, as had been the case in other areas of imperial expansion, and did not want the government to interfere in their trade."[220] Under the Charter the Irish fishermen and settlers were subject to English laws in Ireland and also now in Newfoundland.

The English government also knew that the settlers helped hold its claim to Newfoundland from fierce competition in the fishery and the territorial claims of the French.[221] The French fished in Bonavista Bay, in Placentia Bay and St Mary's Bay. In 1662, the French built fortifications at Plaisance in Placentia Bay to protect their interests although there were never more than eight or nine hundred French present there. Pope states that English migration and settlement, like the evolution of the fishery, was predominantly vernacular. He asks, "how many people were scattered in these coastal hamlets along the

English Shore?"[222] (The English Shore was the east coast of Newfoundland Island from Trespassey in the south to Bonavista Bay in the north.[223]) In the summer of 1680, there were approximately 2,280 persons in the planter's homes. Planters were resident settlers of Newfoundland, who owned property, normally a fishing plantation.[224] Captain James Story, in 1681 reported that Irish ships trading in Newfoundland brought a "great many women passengers, which they sell for servants, and a little after theire (sic) coming they marry among the fisherman that live with the planters."[225] "Some 1,130 of 1,718 planters' servants over wintered in 1680-1681. Thus with 562 planters, wives and children in the households reported, about 1,700 persons inhabited the English Shore in the winter of 1681."[226]

As the population of the planters and their settlements grew, so grew the opposition of some of the merchant backers of the migratory fishery. Others argued that the resident planter fishery was as useful to the interests of Britain as the migratory fishery. The resident fishery and the migratory fishery were both "a nursery of seamen," and they both spent their earnings on British agricultural produce and manufactured goods.[227] The planters also increased the efficiency of the fishery by accommodating early or marooned crews, through access to timber, and the maintenance of infrastructure, (over-wintering boats and fishing rooms in particular).[228] Perhaps the strongest argument was the strategic importance of loyal English Shore settlers against French and Dutch interests in Newfoundland and the protection of British sovereignty.[229]

War broke out between England and France in 1690 and the English Shore settlers were defenseless against the attacks of French and Mi'kmaq troops. They destroyed every English Shore community except Bonavista and Carbonear. In 1697, a British relief

expedition drove back the French. Some English officials and merchants credited naval military power - others credited settlement with maintaining British sovereignty.[230] Two years later the King William's Act was enacted. It was a compromise between those who wanted settlement and those who thought settlement would damage the fishery and erode naval power.[231]

The war between France and Britain culminated in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. With respect to Irish settlement in the New World this was a watershed moment. Pope states that "significant Irish migration, seasonal and otherwise, did not reach Newfoundland until after 1713."[232] The defeated French gave up all territorial claims to Newfoundland and with the Mi'kmaq generally moved to other colonies on Ile St-Jean (Prince Edward Island), the Gaspe Peninsula and Cape Breton.[233] Under the treaty the French could continue their migratory fishing off the coast from Cape Bonavista to Point Riche.[234]

As Pope summarizes, the late-seventeenth-century English Shore was structured by its geography and by its history. Long-settled communities like Ferryland, St. Johns, Carbonear and Old Perlican had livestock agriculture and were relatively large and had a core of substantial family-based plantations. St. John's also had many smaller plantations. Women were in greater proportion in these larger traditional harbours, St John's, the old South Avalon outport of Trepassey, and the newer outport settlements of Torbay and Trinity. The women helped service the seasonal migratory fishery. However in most outport communities the proportion of women to men remained low. The large central ports of St. John's, Carbonear and Ferryland served as provisioning centres for Ireland and New England. The smaller English outports (had) interfaced with the French outports especially with "French Newfoundland capital" Plaisance. Communities near the limits of the English

Shore further interfaced with the Normans, the Bretons and the Basques on the south coast and the Beothuks, Bretons and the Basques on the northeast coast. Although these communities varied in many ways, they also had much in common.[235]

British-French rivalries led to another war which ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. France regained the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off the south shore.[236] By the end of the seventeenth century there was a core of two thousand residents on the Avalon Peninsula on Newfoundland Island.[237] Mannion notes, "Settlements along the east coast of Newfoundland, from Renews to Greenspond were almost entirely English in origin in 1700. There were some Irish present, but they were few in number."[238] Irish recruitment for the fishery for female servants, and male sailors and labourers, in the Newfoundland fishery followed naturally from the taking on of butter and salt meat in Irish ports of Wexford, Waterford and Cork. This recruitment for the Newfoundland fishery continued in the last decades of the seventeenth century and Ireland remained a reservoir of Irish servants and a few Irish names appeared in the planter censuses.[239] All this was about to change as the pressures in Southeastern Ireland to emigrate were increasing.

IV
Southeastern Irish Settlement:
18th Century British Colonial History

Before the beginning of the eighteenth century one aspect of British government policy was to train, maintain and retain sailors in the fishery for times of war. Newfoundland was thus a significant strategic resource for the Royal Navy. This policy depended:

> first, upon the yearly training of new recruits or green men
> (an arrangement for which the ship-owners were responsible)
> and secondly, and most important of all, upon the prevention
> of settlement in Newfoundland, which meant the
> maintenance of English ports as bases for the fisheries, to the

exclusion of a resident colonial fishery. The Island of Newfoundland, it was hoped, would become again "*a great English ship moored near the Banks*" during the fishing season for the convenience of British fisherman.[240] (*my emphasis*)

Gradually this policy was changed but significant Irish migration did not reach Newfoundland until after 1713. Southeastern Irish were leaving Ireland by the thousands for Newfoundland to become residents. The real boom began in the 1760's and was sustained into the nineteenth century. This influx would dramatically change the ethnic, social and religious makeup of Newfoundland.[241] Paradoxically, British attitudes in London and St. John's towards the Irish included suspicions that the Irish Catholic settlers were disloyal and would side with the French in times of war. In fact in the winter of 1697, thirty Irish settlers had deserted and joined the French forces of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville when he destroyed many settlements including the settlement of Conception Bay. After the destruction of Trinity Bay, twenty more Irish settlers deserted and went with the French when they returned to Plaisance.[242] The British authorities were also concerned about Irish spies collecting intelligence and about Irish solders deserting the British garrison in St. John's. British authorities concluded that St. John's was indeed captured in 1705 by the French because of the collusion of Irish spies and deserters. However, Mannion feels that the numbers of Irish deserters and spies involved were so paltry that this conclusion was unjustified.[243]

By the eighteenth century the island was slowly being settled in spite of the poor soil and the rigorous and severe climate, which many officials in the British government assumed would deter settlers and minimize the number of peripheral, poorly populated fishing outports.[244] The West Country of England had been the primary source of

immigrants to Newfoundland. However, the proportion of Irish settlers from the southeastern part of Ireland was starting to increase rapidly. The French had been forced to abandon Plaisance and other southern sections of the coast. The area of Placentia Bay along with St. Margarets Bay in particular became an area largely settled by the Southeastern Irish. There was a great demand for labour and West Country merchants hired Irish servants in southeastern Irish ports, including Cork, Youghal and Waterford. They also took on provisions and partnered with Irish merchants who were interested in the Placentia fishery and thus Placentia became "a great centre of Irish settlement."[245] In 1720, Captain Percy noted that West Country ships from Bristol, Bideford and Barnstaple were bringing great numbers of Irish Roman Catholics servants every year to settle on plantations in the south Avalon.[246] Bristol was also unique in the south west of England in having a large expatriate Irish trading community. There was "channelization" of commerce and migration between ports in England, Ireland and Newfoundland. In other words, certain ports tended to trade with some ports and not others.[247]

In fact some of Southeastern Irish ports were not at all connected with the English West country trade. Since before the turn of the eighteenth century there were independent Irish ships, with Irish captains, sailors, servants, and settlers carrying provisions from Irish ports and their hinterland to Newfoundland and returning to Europe.[248] London was the largest port in the British Isles, but Dublin was second, and greater than all the south Munster ports combined. Yet the south Munster ports were foremost in the England-Ireland-Newfoundland trade.[249] After 1730, small ports like New Ross and Yougal outstripped Dublin, and immigration and trade from Dublin to Newfoundland became peripheral. The Waterford harbour and quay became the pivotal port for supplying the

labour for ships from virtually every port of the English fishery. When these ships reached Newfoundland they scattered the Southeastern Irish all along the English Shore.[250] Governor Falkingham reported in 1732 that there were a large number of Irish servants trading in the fishery of western Avalon outports from Irish fishing ships, which overwintered and laid claim to fishing huts and property. Falkingham questioned the legality of these activities, but the Southeastern Irish persisted with their efforts.[251] Ships from Ireland were located in large harbours from Placentia to Bonavista, with larger concentrations in Placentia, St John's, Carbonear and Trinity.

Since 1719, Samuel Gledhill the Lieutenant Governor had treated the fishermen harshly, controlling the cod and provisions trades and interfering with master's rights and access to fishing rooms. In 1730, Henry Osborn was appointed the first Governor of Newfoundland. Newfoundland was now an official colony. He was instructed to set up some form of civil administration. In the District of Placentia he appointed three magistrates to settle a large backlog of disputes over wages, debts and property between Irish servants and ship masters.[252] Many English and Irish ship masters treated the Irish servants harshly by denying wages in cases of illness or other fabricated reasons, and beatings were common.[253] Some years, the contracts for winter work were difficult to secure and servants, both English and Irish, returned to Europe in the fall. There were a few Irish solders in the garrison in Greater Placentia and many Irish servants were employed there by English masters. In contrast, in Little Placentia the Irish were well enough established to have a social hierarchy with masters, mistresses and children forming a sedentary core. However, they were greatly outnumbered by Irish male single servants, who were transient. The prominence of some surnames like Power[254] in the Irish communities causes Mannion to

conclude that already the patrilineally extended families common to both English and Irish Newfoundland settlements had established themselves. The mingling of English and Irish in Newfoundland harbours reflected the ethnic mingling in the home ports in England and Ireland.[255]

Mannion describes the Catholic Irish at this time as "a small if sometimes disaffected minority dispersed in a sea of Anglican English."[256] British authorities by means of the Penal Laws tried to prevent Catholic worship, although this was partly a strategy to limit overwintering. Irish-Newfoundland families were forced to return to Waterford, or to go to Louisbourg for marriages and baptisims (although there are few records that many actually did). Both the Irish Roman Catholic Church and the Church of English found it difficult to establish missions under the harsh conditions of the maritime frontier.[257] British authorities linked Roman Catholicism, native Irish identity, potential disloyalty and collusion with Catholic France and the Vatican. However, no records have been found to indicate that any Irish labourers from Newfoundland ever actually deserted to the French fishery in the decades after the Treaty of Utrecht.[258] Another cause of British official antipathy towards the Irish was the large and increasing number who overwintered in the 1720s.[259] However, no serious attempts were made to regulate Irish migration to or from Newfoundland because in most cod fishing seasons labourers were in high demand. Boatkeepers and merchants needed Irish labour and within the space of two decades the Irish were nearly equal in number to the English. Together the English and Irish made up the vast majority of year round residents.[260]

By 1750, roughly 40 percent of the settlers on the "English Shore" of the Avalon Peninsula were Irish,[261] and in 1765, the total population of the English Shore was

12,000.[262] C. Grant Head suggests the mean distribution of the total summer population between 1768 and 1772 for the entire island was nearly 25,000.[263] The relative distribution of the population across the island had remained unchanged for a century. The pattern of year-round residency was roughly the same as the total in the summer population. However, for over a century a shift from St. John's to Conception Bay had occurred, such that forty percent of the winter population resided there.

Head states that Newfoundland was unusual, possibly unique, among the British North American colonies in two ways. First the percentage of women and children was very low, even in the winter time when the male servants formed 65% of the population. In a normal stable agricultural population, the percentages of men would be 25%, women 25% and children 50%. However in Newfoundland, in the winter the women made up 10% and the children 25% of the population, and in the summer their numbers were even lower at 5% and 15%, respectively. Conception Bay and St. John's had the highest percentages of women and children and the highest populations, and this reflects greater stability and higher growth potential in the future. The second outstanding feature of the Newfoundland population was the strength of its non-English, non-Protestant sector. During the winter, 45% of the population was of recent Irish Roman Catholic origin. Newfoundland probably had the highest relative number of Irish Catholics of any colony in the New World. During the wintertime 60% of the population of the Southern Shore, Trepassey and St. Mary's Bay were southern Irish.[264] Elsewhere, during the summer there were a large number of sailing crews and passengers but the proportion of Irish only changed slightly. The South Coast and the Eastern Great Northern Peninsula were the areas that were least Irish. The areas with the highest Irish concentrations were Placentia, Trepassey, St. Mary's Bay and Trinity, which

were approximately half Irish. Finally, in the summertime, other places including St. John's were only 20% to 30% Irish.[265] Perhaps a third outstanding feature of Newfoundland's population in the 1760s and early 1770s was the great differences in the winter and summer populations of some bays. As the eighteenth century progressed the numbers of Southeastern Irish who over wintered, settled down and had families increased with each decade. It was reported to authorities in Britain, in 1793, by Chief Justice Reeves that Newfoundland "has been peopled behind your Back." [266]

The greatest change in the eighteenth century was the large increase in year-round population. The total number of people who were summer residents doubled between the end of the seventeenth century and the mid-1700s but did not change significantly after that. In 1677 the population was over 9,000; it had increased to 24,000 by the 1770s, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was 27,000. In the seventeenth century 15% of fishers stayed for the winter, in the eighteenth century half the fishermen over wintered and in the nineteenth century 70-90% did so. By then, Grant suggests, "rather than the *fishery* at Newfoundland, one could speak better of the *settlement* at Newfoundland."[267]

At the same time as the population was increasing there was an increasing number and proportion of women and children. By the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century the winter resident population had more than doubled to 13% for women and 33% for children. There was no longer an overwhelming number of single male labourers. These changes brought more stability to the population on the island as families committed themselves to longer term residency. The percentage of Irish Roman Catholic remained about the same as the 40 - 45% ratio in the 1760s and 1770s. Little had changed perhaps because there were still a low number of women and there was ongoing

migration to the mainland. Now there were other large major centres of Irish Roman Catholics in the New World to migrate to. However Newfoundland was still the closest to Ireland and was a potential stepping stone to North America for the explosions of Irish immigration after the early nineteenth century Napoleonic Wars and the potato famines in Ireland.[268] Newfoundland was the first study area to receive an influx of Irish settlers from the southeast of Ireland. It was also the first see the end of significant immigration. By the 1830s, immigration had slowed dramatically, and by 1850 only the tiniest trickle of the Irish emigrant flow settled in Newfoundland.

V
An Economic Snapshot: Early 19th Century Colonial Avalon Peninsula

In southeastern Ireland the rural people were farmers and agricultural artisans. However in Newfoundland there was not nearly enough good agricultural land to support families without them also becoming fishers and sealers. Head observes that "Newfoundland in the early years of the nineteenth century, as in the seventeenth was synonymous with a great cod fishery."[269] By the first decade of the nineteenth century the total commercial exported production of the island was half a million pounds sterling of which 95% was produced by year-round Newfoundland Island inhabitants. The resident fishery had totally taken over the inshore cod fishery, producing 340,000 pounds sterling of dried fish and, 35,000 pounds sterling in train, or cod-liver oil. Winterers produced 40,000 pound sterlings in furs. Salmon production was almost 5,000 pounds sterling. Cod production was the mainstay of primary production on every part of the island. On the Avalon Peninsula cod, cod liver oil, and train oil were the exclusive products south and west of St. John's. From St John's northward seal

oil and train oil production were a little more significant making up 25% of total economic production.[270]

On the supply side, fish, some potato, root crops and salad greens were the only home grown foodstuffs. In 1807, half the supplies of other food came from the traditional triad -- Great Britain (beef, pork and butter), the West Indies (rum and molasses) and nearby British America and the United States (livestock). Half the bread and flour came from the United States, a quarter from British North America (Quebec) and a quarter from Great Britain.[271] St. John's and to a much lesser extent, Placentia were the only harbours that ran a surplus in flour and bread and this suggests that they were importing and distribution centres for all the other harbours.[272] Governor Gower observed about the changing appearance of St John's:

> … from a mere fishing station to a commercial town, and an
> emporium and depot for the whole Island, there being but few
> merchants in the Out Harbours who do not trade at that port,
> and deposit a part of their supplies for better security.[273]

Individual outport planters also brought their products (fish and oil) to St. John's, and bought their supplies there as well for the competitive marketplace was the strongest there. St John's had the "most numerous classes of Merchants, Factors, and other Traders settled there or arriving from other parts of His Majesty's Dominions."[274] By the end of the Napoleonic Wars, (1815) Great Britain had possession, almost exclusively, of all the fisheries on the banks and shores of Newfoundland, Labrador, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the Gulf of St. Lawrence (including Quebec, Iles-de la-Madeleine, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton). It also had a monopoly of supplying Spain, Portugal, Madeira, different parts of the Mediterranean coasts, the West Indies and South America

with fish.[275]

In London, Lord Liverpool had acknowledged that: "Newfoundland has for a long while been gradually increasing in Population, and in that respect is become a sort of Colony, and in the end it will become so entirely."[276] He went on to say "It is proper, however to counteract this Tendency as long as possible…"[277] However, the governor at this time was Governor Gower, and Gower noted that during the Napoleonic Wars the local fishers of Newfoundland had carried out the fishery with little help or labourers from Europe and considering natural increase in population, would need even less assistance in the future. He sought to relieve the congestion in St. John's harbour of merchant's stores, wharfs, fishing stages, flakes and other structures by establishing a street 200 yards back, and running parallel to the waterfront. He encouraged the leasing out of house lots and also leased out land for cultivation. Furthermore, Gower leased out fishing ship's rooms on the St. John's waterfront (traditionally reserved for the first ships arriving from England), on long term leases for private possession of trading in the cod fishery. Head believes that Gower's alterations were "the first great strokes" in London recognizing that Newfoundland was a settled colony.[278]

During the Napoleonic Wars prices for cod were inflated and reached new records as did the wages of the fishermen. Many potential emigrants from Ireland already considered Newfoundland an "Irish refuge," and with the conjunction of famines and high wages the floodgates of Irish emigration were opened. They crowded onto the Newfoundland-bound ships whose quarters were unsanitary, crowded and poorly provisioned. Many spent the entire voyage on the deck. However, when the British war with France ended in 1814, and with the United States in 1815, the economy began to decline. Many labourers who had

wintered in 1814-1815 could not find work in the spring. It is estimated that 7,000 – mainly Irish, immigrants had also arrived in this time period. The price of cod dropped, as did the servant's wages, which were halved, and a general economic depression ensued because the post-war demand for Newfoundland products including dried cod, oil, and salmon fell dramatically – mean while "the Irish flooded in."[279]

VI
Irish Settlement on the Avalon Peninsula
c. 1815-1845

Grant points out that: "Whereas in 1670 a Newfoundlander was a West Country man who fished the summer on the island, in 1820 the Newfoundlander lived there and might equally likely have been of Irish as of West Country English origin."[280] While the Irish in this study came from a generally similar background in Southeastern Ireland they settled in quite different areas. Mannion reminds us that in his research that the differences in transferability and durability of southeastern Irish culture depended not on Old World antecedents, nor on the migration experience, but rather on the differing conditions in the New World study areas.[281] The current study seeks to isolate the effects of islandness as one of these differing conditions.

The different sites Mannion studied in Avalon were the Cape Shore (Refer to Appendix Figure 8) and the communities north and west of St John's. (Refer to Appendix Figure 9) The Cape Shore communities were the most ethnically isolated; except for 30 English inhabitants in Placentia the entire littoral from Long Harbour to Trespasey was Southeastern Irish. Some Southeastern Irish on the Cape Shore lived their entire lives

without contact with other ethnic groups.[282] In contrast, although the Irish lived in discreet blocks, the St. John's Irish lived near English Protestant neighbours, most of whom had settled and established themselves before the Irish arrived.[283] The Irish Catholics of St John's and surrounding communities probably came in daily contact with the English Protestants.[284]

In all the study areas except for the settlements north of St. John's the predominant economic activity was commercial agriculture. The early years were involved in clearing the forest and subsistence farming i.e. trying to grow enough to feed the family and then growing a surplus for market sale. Unlike Ireland, labour was expensive, land was cheap and plentiful. Therefore, the land was cleared of forest slowly.[285] After twenty-five years of settlement farms on the Cape Shore averaged 15 acres in size and 8 acres in size north of St. John's. In Ireland, apart from County Waterford, 60 per cent of the farms were less than 30 acres and half of these were smaller than 10 acres. Thus with the exception of the St John's farmers most immigrant farmers in the New World study areas farmed more acres than in Southeast Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century.[286] The traditional crops and livestock of southeast Ireland were almost all grown in each of the study areas of the New World. However grain, was grown only sporadically in Newfoundland. In Freshwater and the Cape Shore pastoral livestock farming was emphasized - with the sale of dairy products and beef. Some farmers grew market vegetables for peddling in St John's. These included potatoes, cabbages and turnips which were subsistence crops elsewhere.[287] Up until 1830 the port of St. John's had been supplied with food from Waterford, Cork and some West Country ports. Thereafter, farmers had their local clients in St. John's and farmer-fishers also supplied St. John's by congregating on the city wharves. There was a local market for fish but the major

bulk of the catch went to city merchants for export.[288] Roads were built and extended from St. John's to allow farmers better access to the town.[289] Boats from St. John's in the fall collected butter from each cove. In the second half of the nineteenth century codfish became an important product in the Cape Shore. As in other parts of Newfoundland Island the cod were dried, salted and stored on the stages in puncheons (barrels) until the fall. A merchant ship from St. John's would collect the cod in the fall and the fisherman would travel to St. John's and receive provisions and other goods from the same merchant in exchange for the fish.[290] This form of exchange was called the truck system and the St. John's merchants maintained tight control of it. It should be remembered that large amounts of food, probably the majority of food, continued to come from Europe, the West Indies, other parts of British North America and the United States.

Mannion describes the initial settlement pattern of the Freshwater valley as one of dispersed farmsteads which varied from 5 to 50 acres.[291] (Refer to Appendix Figure 10) The Irish immigrants worked in non-fragmented tracts with all the farm buildings within the individual farm boundaries)[292] Outer Cove was another settlement north of St. John's where the Irish scattered their dwellings inland along the small streams running down to the coves. (Refer to Appendix Figure 11) The farms of Outer Cove were haphazardly scattered similar in a dispersed pattern to Freshwater and the fishing village of St. Brides of the Cape Shore. (Refer to Appendix Figure 12) Initially it was rare for more than two families to live in a cove on the Cape Shore. In only two cases—St. Brides and Branch—were there more than two families occupying a cove.[293] These were all einzelhof patterns of settlement.

In St. Brides on the Cape Shore the unified compact farm was typical. In less populated coves a more fragmented pattern of farm ownership sometimes happened.

Immigrant families cleared non-contiguous pockets of soil which were scattered across the landscape, often by streams, and located the farmsteads close to each other along the sides of the valleys. However their farmsteads were always located within the boundaries of the farm.[294] These farm lots were the smallest of the study areas. Most of the farms in the St. John's area were granted whereby five acres of land had to be cleared and a homestead built within the lot before full ownership was granted. This was similar to the stipulations of owning land in the Miramichi.[295] Along the Cape Shore and to some extent in the area around St. John's the immigrants ignored or were ignorant of these legal ownership regulations and they squatted.[296] Mannion states that despite "differences in the physical environment within and between study areas, dispersed settlement was characteristic of them all."[297] North of St. John's not everyone settled along the beach; some dispersed inland from the coast along streams and rivers where they could establish very small farms. Neither water, soil, nor slope influenced the creation of an *einzelhof* [298] pattern of settlement in any of Mannion's study areas. Even in the Avalon, where there was no superimposed land survey and all elements of supervision were lacking, the Southeastern Irish still established the dispersed *einzelhof* pattern of settlement with farm clusters within and between all study areas.[299]

Looking at Ireland's prevailing pattern of dispersed farms in rural settlement Mannion suggests it is tempting to regard the New World study areas as genetically linked to this pattern. No doubt many Irish farmers were familiar with the economic and other advantages of compact farm units. However the dispersed pattern of settlement in Ireland prior to migration was created by improving landlords. In the absence of landlordism (especially in the Avalon where all supervision was lacking and in contrast to Prince

Edward Island where landlordism dominated) in the New World it is surprising the immigrants did not establish farm clusters.[300] In Ireland the traditional homeland pattern of clusters of farming was organized communally and based on kinship. Extended families were all the descendents of a common great-grandparent. However the Southeastern Irish migration was not one of extended families. Rather it was a trickle of dissatisfied individuals and nuclear families migrating from farms and hamlets scattered across Southeastern Ireland.[301] Each family arrived in the study areas one by one and established their claim; all ties of blood to kin were severed as were their communal obligations.[302] On the Cape Shore one family might live in isolation in a cove for many years before another family arrived. The individualism and isolation of the New World was in sharp contrast to kin-centred societies of peasants in the crowded Old World. Mannion suggests that in many ways the movement of nuclear families to dispersed farmsteads in the New World was an extension of the policies of Irish landlords of dissolving overburdened kin-ship clusters and resettling the better tenants on consolidated farms. Some of the poorer farmers who did not acquire land were forced to join the migration to the New World.[303]

The Irish tradition of granting equal shares of the land to all the male heirs *(gavelkind)* was continued in the Cape Shore settlements south of Placentia. A study of land inheritance among 29 immigrant families indicate that out of a total of 98 sons, only 14 did not receive a portion of the ancestral farm.[304] During the second half of the nineteenth century partible inheritance trebled the number of farms without any increased clearance of the area settled. The original fields sometimes called "gardens" often were enclosed and contained the farmstead. A similar pattern of farm inheritance, transmission and settlement evolution was seen in the sons and daughters of the immigrants (second generation of

settlers). Mannion uses St. Brides as an example, where "the practice of partible inheritance resulted in a pattern of closely clustered farmsteads, arranged according to blood lines. This tradition of land succession and settlement evolution has been rigidly maintained to the present day."[305]

In summary, the Southeastern Irish in the Avalon represent a partial but incomplete transfer of landholding and farming patterns to the New World. Isolation and, for many decades, the lack of any concerted, top-down control by either state or landlords allowed the Irish settlers themselves to adapt their mode of living to their new home. At the same time, the vastly different climate, landscape, and economy helped to determine which aspects of culture were successfully transplanted and which ones mutated.

In the Avalon there was no superimposed land survey imposed on the landscape. However, in the other two study areas, Prince Edward Island and the Miramichi, this was not the case. In those study areas, a cadastral land survey was imposed on the landscape, and created a tightly regimented pattern to which new settlers must conform. Also, on the Avalon, there was no landlordism as there was in Ireland and Prince Edward Island to regulate and control how land was occupied and used. The result was perhaps a more organic adaptation of immigrant culture to the local environment.

The next chapter deals with an island landscape that more closely replicated that of Southeastern Ireland, the rolling hills of Prince Edward Island, which had even – although briefly – been named "New Ireland" early in the British colonial era.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

I
Natural and Pre-British History

The Irish were an integral part of the large ethnic mixture of peoples associated with the British Empire's conquest of Prince Edward Island. The Southeastern Irish were just one component of the Irish community that established itself across the Island. As with Newfoundland, geography helped to determine the pattern of their immigration and the ways that Irish culture was modified by that environment.

As in Ireland, agriculture was the economic base of Prince Edward Island, and that would have a significant influence on the process of cultural transfer and retention. Once again, too, isolation and boundedness would play a factor. Initially isolated from each other, settlement groups came physically closer together as the forest was cleared, and no significant physical features, no mountain ranges, no deep, wide rivers or lakes, divided the various European settler communities from each other. In this way, Prince Edward Island differed from Newfoundland, where the island's isolation from the outside world was often compounded by isolation between settlements. On the other hand, Prince Edward Island itself was cut off seasonally from the rest of the world by winter pack ice, providing a marked level of seasonal isolation.

As this chapter will demonstrate, the provisions of land ownership also made the Southeastern Irish experience different on Prince Edward Island from Newfoundland. As a result of the famous "land lottery" in London in 1767, the large-scale proprietors controlled most of the island for much of the settlement period (1763-1855). For the Irish settlers there was a boundedness on the island which clearly indicated the limits of their farmland and the

relationship of each farm to its neighbours. As the history of in-migration also makes clear, the nature of settlement and land ownership on Prince Edward Island means that it is difficult to isolate distinctly Southeastern Irish communities from the general Irish experience; historians have only considered the Island Irish as a group. However, when considered along with Irish settlers from other parts of Ireland, we can glean many significant characteristics of settlement and islandness on Prince Edward Island.

The geological structures that became Prince Edward Island were just starting to form over half a billion years ago.[306] Over the next 150 million years there was the gradual deposition of sedimentary rock of the Gulf of St. Lawrence Basin.[307] More recently, in the last three million years, there have been cooler glacial periods when ice formed and continental glaciers advanced. There were also interglacial periods when warmer temperatures melted the ice and glaciers receded.[308] This resulted in periodic land bridges forming in Northumberland Strait. About 11,000 years ago the continental glaciers were melting and the land began to rebound and rise. Animals, plants and people moved across the land bridge now covered by the Northumberland Strait. As the ice, melted the ocean levels also started to rise. When Prince Edward Island was finally cut off from the mainland the colonization of the island became more difficult. Prince Edward Island is now classified as a "flooded" continental island, with rolling hills, plains, rivers, bays, and estuaries.[309]

Prince Edward Island's climate is a humid, continental one with a short summer. The weather systems that influence it come from the northwest that is the Arctic/Quebec, the west from central North America and the south along the eastern Caribbean/Atlantic seaboard.[310] The winters and summers are moderated by the maritime environment of the Atlantic Ocean, especially the warming Gulf Stream and the chilling Labrador Current.[311]

The soil is loose, sandy and reasonably fertile, but what is noteworthy about the soil is the high proportion of good arable farmland found on Prince Edward Island. (In the twenty first century over forty percent of the land is still cleared for agricultural use.)[312] The soil itself is a significant resource which supported the Acadian forest of mixed deciduous and coniferous trees. After European contact – although the process took several generations – the forest was cleared almost entirely for farmland, shipbuilding, and timber for local use and export. The isolation and insularity of the island continued to prevent many species of flora and fauna from reaching it and made some human activity very difficult, especially in the winter months. Before European contact, the island had been the home of nomadic groups of Mi'kmaq for thousands of years. They spent the summers on the island but usually spent the winters on the mainland. They were hunters, gatherers and fishers though contact with Europeans would radically change their culture and they would be largely marginalized. (Refer to Appendix Figure 13)

The recorded history of Prince Edward Island begins with European contact by Jacques Cartier on July 1, 1534. Sailing from St. Malo, France he landed on the north shore and claimed the island for the French King Francis I.[313] In 1604, Samuel de Champlain made reference to the island, naming it Ile St. Jean. There was a series of grants to individuals and companies but these grants were largely unsuccessful and there was little impact on the physical environment.[314] It was one hundred and seventy-five years after Cartier's landing before continuous European occupation began.[315]

By the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the War of Spanish Succession between France and Britain in 1713, France retained Ile. Royale (Cape Breton) and Ile. St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) while the British were ceded peninsular Acadia (mainland

Nova Scotia) and most of Newfoundland.[316] Differences in interpretation in the size of the territory allowed France to retain most of what became New Brunswick.[317] Officially, permanent European settlement began in 1720. French-speaking Acadian settlers from France were encouraged by the French to primarily settle in Ile Royale. A few Acadians crossed Northumberland Strait to Ile St. Jean and some settlers, mainly fisherman, immigrated directly from France.[318] (Refer to Appendix Figure 14) By the mid-eighteenth century French settlements were concentrated at fishing harbours along the North Shore and farmlands were dyked from saltwater marshlands, especially along the Hillsborough River, but also parts of the coast, the garrison and capital of Port La Joie. (Refer to Appendix Figure 15). The effects of drought, field mice and forest fires caused crop failures but assistance from Louisbourg prevented starvation and the 1740 census found there was a total population of 450 people.[319] War broke out again between France and England in 1744. There was considerable hardship on Ile. St. Jean when it was occupied by British forces. Four years later the islands were restored to France. Acadians were encouraged to emigrate to Ile. St. Jean, but the number of migrant refugees fluctuated from year to year. Another census in 1752 indicated a total population on Ile. St. Jean of 2,233 persons over half of whom had arrived in the four years following the restoration.[320] The Acadians preferred to settle in fishing villages or near areas of natural pasture and slowly expand along a frontier from settled areas. Earle Lockerby states that refugees continued to arrive after the expulsion of the mainland Acadians in 1755 and comprised a third of the total population of 4,700 by 1758.[321] The Seven Years War broke out in 1756, and two years later Louisbourg fell again to the British forces. With the British occupation came the deportation of 3,100 of Prince Edward Island's Acadians. Lockerby estimates that an additional 1,500

fled from the island to the mainland, in advance of the British forces and only 100 to 200 Acadians remained on the island.[322] The island was considered empty by the British and available for settlement despite the presence of Acadians and Mi'kmaq.[323]

II
British Colonial Period

As a part of a formal peace treaty, (the Peace of Paris), between France and Britain, Ile. St. Jean became the Island of St. John and was annexed to Nova Scotia on October 7, 1763. In the same year, 1763, Captain Samuel Holland, the Surveyor-General of Quebec proposed to the British government that he conduct a geographically accurate scientific survey of British North America including the entire Island of St. John.[324] This survey would help with land settlement and develop the fishery in British North America. The Island of St. John was subsequently divided into three counties of 500,000 acres each (Prince, Queens and Kings).[325] Each county had its own town site (Princetown, Charlottetown and Georgetown) and was divided into 14 parishes of 100,000 acres. A total of 67 townships or lots of 20,000 acres were further subdivided from these 14 parishes. (Refer to Appendix Figure 16) Most of the lots had access to the sea or coastal inlets, which was very significant in the transportation of goods. In his survey, Holland included detailed information about each township's quality of farmland, forestry potential, harbour sites for the fishery, flora and fauna.

Upon completion of Holland's survey and his description of the townships, there was a great deal of interest among various parties with some claim on the largesse of the British Crown. These people were especially interested in proprietary land grants on the

Island of St. John. In 1767, the "Great Lottery" was held in London to distribute the townships to proprietors.[326] This group contained many individuals who became largely absentee proprietors but who rarely were interested in actually settling the lots or in paying the taxes or quit rents for the land they had so easily acquired. Francis W. P. Bolger suggests that the only advantage these absentee proprietors ever conferred upon the Island of St. John was the lobbying they did to create a separate colony from mainland Nova Scotia.[327] Two years after the lottery, the Island was granted colonial status separate from Nova Scotia. The proprietors wanted their property to be in a small jurisdiction, one they thought they could control more easily.[328] Travel between Halifax and Prince Edward Island in winter also made administration difficult and provided a justification for the political re-organization.

The proprietors had to pay annual quit rents of between 20 and 60 pounds per lot to the Crown. The amount varied with the quality of the land. The quit rents would pay for the expenses of governing the island. Within ten years they were obligated to settle about 100 settlers per township. The penalty for not meeting these conditions was escheat or reversion of ownership of the estate to the Crown.[329] The process of escheat in Prince Edward Island to break up the very large estate holdings of a few individuals was never as effective as it was in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.[330] As part of the responsibility of settling their property, proprietors could not recruit Roman Catholics or anyone from the United Kingdom. The settlers were to be Protestants from outside Great Britain and the British Empire – Germans or Huguenots for example were legal. The only exceptions were settlers who had been in North America for two years or more.[331] Under the leasehold system that had been established it was illegal for Irish, (either Catholics or Protestants), to emigrate to Prince Edward Island. Nevertheless settlers from Ireland, both Catholics and Protestants,

did settle and were caught up in this system of proprietors and tenants. They shared a difficult legal status in that their settlement was technically illegal.

J.M. Bumsted argues that the critical decision by British colonial authorities was not the lottery of 1767 but the acceptance of an autonomous government for the Island colony in 1769. Initially, the proprietors thought they could more easily control a smaller jurisdiction. However, the politicization of the Island's land system prevented the wholesale almost universal use of escheat of vast tracts of undeveloped lands as was done in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. [332] Another trend in evidence before the American Revolution was the growing distinction between Islanders and forces outside the Island, notably the absentee proprietors and the British Government itself. The establishment of a legislative assembly in 1773 added to the Island distinctiveness. Bumsted suggests this was premature, that it was done to put pressure on the proprietors to pay their quit rents. Besides giving the political leaders of the Island an inflated sense of importance, it also made it very difficult for the British Colonial Office to reorganize jurisdictions. In 1820, Cape Breton, another small, undeveloped island was re-annexed to Nova Scotia partly because it did not have a popular assembly to act on its behalf in protest. As the formation of Canada in the future would show, it was very difficult to merge legislative assemblies. Had the Island of St. John remained under the control of a governor and council it would have been much easier for British colonial authorities to merge it with Nova Scotia and/or Cape Breton.[333] Armed with its own legislature Prince Edward Island settlers and their descendents could loudly express their opposition to British Imperial policies and actions in British North America. With the repeal of the Penal Laws in 1829, at the British Parliament in Westminster and on Prince Edward Island in 1830, Catholics regained religious freedom,

could vote and hold public office. Now the Irish Catholics could also loudly express *their* displeasure with colonial policy and represent themselves in the future in the legislature, Province House, at constitutional and other meetings.

Thus, British rule was well established and early on settlement continued to develop under this absentee landlordism structure from roughly 1770 for the next eighty years to approximately 1850. Despite the initial laws governing settlement after 1816 it was no longer illegal for people from Britain including Catholics, to immigrate to the Island. Most of the immigrants came from the British Isles with the single greatest source of immigrants being Scotland. The Highlanders formed a larger proportion of the population than the Lowland Scots. There were also significant proportions of English and Irish. The total population of Prince Edward Island numbered over 4,372 at the end of the eighteenth century.[334] Thereafter the pace of settlement and immigration quickened. During the first half of the nineteenth century the basic patterns of settlement and population were established. There was rapid growth in population as a result of high fertility rates, large families and increasing immigration. By 1807, the total population had almost doubled to 8,730. [335]

The Irish settlers were part of these trends and their development on the Island mirrored that of the Island as a whole. For Irish immigrants, the leasehold land system on Prince Edward Island was not that much different from the difficult neo-feudal system of land tenure they had left behind in Ireland. Nevertheless, the nature of the landholding and the leasehold system, and subsequent settlement patterns were socially entrenched and stifling to growth and development.

III
The Irish Communities on Prince Edward Island

Brendan O'Grady divides the immigration of the Irish to Prince Edward Island into three phases.[336] The first phase of Irish immigrants he calls the "Colonial Pioneers (1767-1810)" which included a relatively large number of ordinary farmers and artisans. There was no predominant pattern or feature with this nondescript group but they did include an Anglo-Irish elite.[337] Toward the end of the Napoleonic Wars, a second wave of Irish emigrants, this time clearly from Southeastern Ireland, began arriving on the shores of Prince Edward Island. O'Grady refers to these Irish as the "Southeastern Immigrants" and they generally arrived between 1810 and 1835. It is this group from the Southeast that forms the focus of this study. During the mid-1830s, the geographical pivot of Irish emigration swung from the Southeast to the Northeast.[338] The third wave arose in Northeastern Ireland, centred on County Monaghan, and started in 1830, continuing until it began to dwindle markedly in the mid-1840s and had nearly stopped by 1850. These were the so called "Monaghan Settlers." They formed the majority of the four thousand settlers that came from Northeastern Ireland.[339] The unique cohort of Monaghan Settlers included another unique sub-group of northern Irish living in the Glasgow slums in Scotland who were known as the "Glasgow Irish."[340] They provide a unique twist on the story of Ulster emigration. A Prince Edward Island-born priest in Glasgow named Father John McDonald had inherited property around the Fort Augustus area from his father, Captain John McDonald. The Captain was Laird of Glenaladale, a Loyalist officer, and was also a resident proprietor. In 1772 he had brought as a group 220 settlers, the first significant body of Scottish Highland Catholics to settle on Prince Edward Island as tenants in the Tracadie (Lot 36) and Scotchfort (Lot 35)

areas.[341] In 1830, Father John McDonald initiated the migration of 206 Scots and "Glasgow Irish" tenants, many originally from County Monaghan, to sail on the *Corsair* to seek a new life on the Island.[342]

Among the first Irish who arrived in Prince Edward Island were British colonial officials. They were at the top of the social pyramid of Prince Edward Island along with other Anglo-Irish elite and included the first Governor Captain Walter Patterson, his attorney general Phillips Callbeck, and the first Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Desbrisay. [343] The second Lieutenant-Governor, Edward Fanning, was the son of Irish immigrants. Some of the elite became proprietors as a result of the London lottery in 1767 of Prince Edward Island's 67 lots or townships. They were part of a Protestant ascendancy group which was very influential in establishing and maintaining the British colonial structure of Prince Edward Island. Among these elite were governors, judges, administrators, business agents, entrepreneurs, land speculators, Anglican clergymen, and military personnel.[344]

Of course, there were many other Irish arriving in Prince Edward Island besides these elite during the late eighteenth century. They were not as influential individually, but they were many times more numerous. They included farmers, craftsmen, artisans, fishermen, labourers and their families.[345] In the census of 1798, about 10% of the heads of the 748 households on Prince Edward Island were Irish.[346] Perhaps the most outstanding feature of these Irish immigrants was their diversity. They included Anglo-Irish, Scots-Irish, Gaelic-Irish, Huguenots; northern Irish, southern Irish, Newfoundland-Irish; Irish Roman Catholics, Irish Anglicans, and Irish Presbyterians. They came from every part of Ireland and there was some overlapping, but most arrived as individuals or as members of nuclear families. Anyone who came by chance and stayed was called a "blow-ins" by the

local Irish. [347] Examples of these were Irish immigrants who were sojourners from Newfoundland. Some settlers came from New Brunswick or Nova Scotia. Others settlers with Irish backgrounds included British military personnel and Loyalists who arrived after the American Revolution. During the first fifty years of British colonization, perhaps because of the presence of the Anglo-Irish elite, the impact of mass Irish immigration was not that significant. However, ordinary Irish Islanders would make their collective presence felt during subsequent decades.

After the end of the Napoleonic wars, there was a very significant increase in Irish emigration to British North America. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers and sailors had been disbanded from the British Army and Royal Navy after the Battle of Waterloo and the end of the Napoleonic Wars. As many could not find work or land to farm, they emigrated. In particular many left the southeastern region of Ireland. The southeastern counties of Waterford, Wexford, Kilkenny and Tipperary and the most southerly parts of County Cork, especially around the port city of Cork, were the major sources of these emigrants. There were in fact a number of factors which influenced the pattern of settlement. Many of the disbanded British military personnel came from the southeast, which had for centuries provided labourers and provisions for the North Atlantic fisheries off the coast of Newfoundland. Many in the southeastern region of Ireland also knew about British North America and they knew some farmland was available in Prince Edward Island. Primarily, they emigrated to secure their financial future because in Ireland farmland was no longer in sufficient supply within families and thousands were out of work and landless. Several thousand settled on Prince Edward Island but probably an equal number sojourned and moved on, using the Island as a "stepping stone" to other parts of North America just as

Newfoundland had been a stepping stone for the "two boaters."[348]

The overlapping phase of emigration from the north of Ireland most notably from County Monaghan to Prince Edward Island that had started in 1830, gained momentum in successive, rapid waves, and then ended abruptly in 1848.[349] Three thousand of these settlers were from the central inland County Monaghan and contiguous parishes in the northeastern Ireland counties of Armagh, Tyrone and Fermanagh. O'Grady identifies these "Monaghan Settlers" as the largest single group among the Irish who came to Prince Edward Island in the first half of the 1800s. These flows of immigrants to Prince Edward Island were a small part of the overall outflow of hundreds of thousands of Irish migrating to British North America, the United States and other parts of the world. (Refer to Appendix Figure 17) However, by the time of the Great Potato Famine (1845-1848), the era of Irish migration to Prince Edward Island had nearly ended because most of the available farmland was occupied. During the famine, there was an even greater outflow from Ireland of emigrants and refugees, numbering perhaps well over one million who came from all 32 counties. However, most bypassed Prince Edward Island, many went to the Canadas, but the vast majority went to the United States.

O'Grady estimates that the total number of Irish immigrants was 10,000 and that they made up one quarter of the immigrants to the Prince Edward Island.[350] The many overlapping streams of Irish immigrants gradually created what might be called an Irish community – or communities – in the Island colony.

IV
Settlement Patterns

One of the most significant geographic factors determining the pattern of settlement was access to water. Samuel Holland's survey had provided nearly every lot with access by land but also access to water. In the absence of roads, farms in rural areas needed access to water for transportation of large amounts of agricultural commodities. Rivers, bays, and harbours allowed transportation of people and of large quantities of goods both in the summer by water and in winter by ice. Also, the Acadians had reclaimed areas of saltwater marshes, which had been dyked, drained, and, by using *aboiteaux,* produced pasture and marsh hay for overwintering livestock. Matthew Hatvany concludes that many other ethnic groups used marshlands as sources of rich stocks of fish, waterfowl and salt hay.[351] Significant areas were reclaimed by Acadians, especially along the Hillsborough River estuary of Prince Edward Island. These areas and many other salt water marshes were used and maintained by British settlers after the deportation.[352]

The harbours along the south shore were focal points for population growth. Charlottetown was the outstanding example of this, and Grady states that "for several thousand Irish immigrants it had been the major port of entry into the New World."[353] However by the 1830s, there were early concentrations of settlement on Malpeque-Bedeque isthmus (Lots 17 and18), Tryon and Cape Traverse (Lot 28), and Charlottetown (Lot 34).[354] The Irish were integral members of these communities. In 1833, Charlottetown was the only nucleated settlement on the Island with a population of 1,965 (with an additional 576 in its royalty) and 350 buildings.[355] Some of the rural Irish were not able to farm and many moved to Charlottetown for a variety of reasons.

There was a concentration of Irish in Charlottetown because it was a capital and an economic focus of trade. The Anglo-Irish elite and their descendents were a major and influential part of this colonial urban centre. The town provided economic opportunities to a wide variety of Irish professionals, artisans, tradesmen, and others. Charlottetown was also a garrison town and there were many soldiers and sailors, some of whom stayed on after they were disbanded from military service, and there were also a few deserters. Many Irish who could not buy, rent, squat on farmland or who were unwilling to do so, became unskilled labourers in both the rural areas on farms and in urban Charlottetown. In general farmers on marginal land gravitated to Charlottetown and many became unskilled labourers who had limited resources. Charlottetown was a transportation and communication centre and would continue to grow in a pattern such that thirty years later, in 1864, the proportion of Irish in the total population of Charlottetown was 40 percent.[356] By 1861, the only substantial village outside of Charlottetown was a new settlement on the eastern shore of Bedeque Bay called Summerside.[357] A shipbuilding and market centre, Summerside featured a more stratified class system than most other Island communities, even Charlottetown, but its working class tended to be more Acadian than Irish and the merchant class tended to be more English or Scottish than Anglo-Irish.[358]

A great many Irish arrivals, however, did fan out into rural areas looking for a holding of some kind. For the Irish immigrants, two factors were paramount: financial resources and timing. They needed sufficient financial resources to buy or lease the best farmland with the best access to water. This land was the most costly to buy or rent and Irish settlers tended to have insufficient resources. The best land had to have access to the water and that land along the coastal waterfront was occupied early. Gradually, settlements were

filling in along the coast and the later arriving Irish settlers had to move into the interior. Some Irish, unable or unwilling to pay rent, did become squatters in more remote areas. Avoiding authorities was most easily done in the remote interior. Some of the best farming nuclei were in the areas around Grand River, Dunk River, Tryon and Belfast. In 1833 there were a total of 388,000 acres of occupied farmland. Of this 95,000 acres were improved which represented 1/15 of the total area of the Island farmed by all Island farmers, not just the Irish.[359]

In general, A. H. Clark summarizes the situation on Prince Edward Island by suggesting that the English were settled on the most productive farmland and the best sites for shipbuilding and fishing. He groups them with some Lowland Scots as having the most capital and the greatest experience in agricultural skills.[360] The wealthier Anglo-Irish and Lowland Scots who had arrived before the Southeastern Irish and Highland Scots had bought or leased the best, most accessible agricultural land and formed part of the highest levels of society. For example, the English most of who arrived after 1815 were settled on the more productive agricultural land around Charlottetown to the north and north-west.[361] They farmed in a band from Suffolk (Lot 34), Union Road (Lot 33), Winsloe (Lots 24 and 32), to Wiltshire (Lots 23 and 31). (Refer to Appendix Figure 18). In contrast, Clark agrees with "the generally low rating of the Southern Irish immigrants of the time as farmers."[362] Of course time of arrival was not the only determinant for occupying good farmland. Financial resources were also significant. For example, Westcountrymen and East Anglians were arriving about the same time as the Southeastern Irish in the 1830s.[363] They had left England during difficult times for agriculture. The English may have been wealthier, had more capital than the Southeastern Irish and could more readily afford to buy or rent the

better land nearer to Charlottetown with better access to that market, one of the best harbours on the island, and an entrepot to the North Atlantic World. Thus this land was not available to the Irish at the higher cost and they bought or leased cheaper, less accessible land further in the interior, or they may have squatted. There was a "complex interplay of causes"[364] for the relationships between English and other ethnic groups including the Irish. Wealth may have been related to education and literacy. There had also been advances in England in scientific agriculture with breeding and improvement in breeds of livestock and crops. The less wealthy Highlanders and Southeastern Irish may have lacked the education and experience in these areas of modern scientific agriculture.

By the early 1850's the Irish formed a fifth[365] of the population and there was a scattering of semi-secluded, semi-Irish settlements across the colony.[366] (Refer to Appendix Figure 19). Similar communities were to be found clustered in the interior, along the county lines and in the relatively inaccessible Western Prince area. Their development is individualistic as is their history. However, there are common threads throughout these communities linking the experiences of these disparate Irish Island communities. One central theme is the land question, that is, the handicapping of island development by the tenant/absentee proprietors in the large scale leasehold system. Although poverty was not unique to the Irish, they were among the poorest tenants and squatters. Robertson estimates that before mid-century at least 60% to 70% of the occupiers of land on Prince Edward Island were tenants and squatters.[367] In the legislature speculation by George Coles repeatedly suggested that in 1841, perhaps 11.6% of the occupiers of land were squatters.[368] This situation was not likely to change because many proprietors would not sell clear titles to tenants at a price the tenants could afford.

Another characteristic of Island society was the sectarian discrimination towards Roman Catholics by the Protestants. This legal discrimination officially ended with the repeal of the Penal Laws in 1830 and resulted in Catholic Emancipation. In practice, it persisted well into the second half of the twentieth century in many societies, particularly in sections of the former British Empire scattered around the world. It was a result of centuries of religious and political wars in Europe. The hatred, violence and sectarianism on the part of the Protestants were reciprocated by the Roman Catholics. The Catholics, however, were at a disadvantage, being less powerful politically and socially, and generally poorer than the Protestants. By mid-century Catholicism on Prince Edward Island was strongly linked to Irish identity even though there were many Protestant Irish Islanders. No doubt many of the Irish had left Ireland as a result of landlordism and the sectarian violence that pervaded Irish society. For some, to arrive in Prince Edward Island and be faced with similar obstacles led to social tensions and conflict. Religious intolerance and sectarianism on the Island was reinforced by the Anglo-Irish elite being largely Protestant and in control of many aspects of society including the tenant/freehold system of land ownership. English and Lowland Scottish farmers were wealthier, could buy their land, were independent freeholders with the best farmland and they had the best access. Generally poorer Catholics – Southeastern Irish, Highland Scots, and Acadians – were tenants of proprietors. It was perhaps unlikely that they could become freeholders on the land they farmed.

Not all immigrants to Prince Edward Island wanted to farm. Westcountrymen in England and in Prince Edward Island established shipyards in the colony and set up timber, shipbuilding and shipping industries with markets in Britain. These enterprises provided them with more capital and their industries continued to grow and many of their employees

were Irish. Between 1,700 and 2,000 English from the Westcountry had immigrated to the Island before 1845. This was more than from any other region of England.[369] In 1848, the number of English-born in Prince Edward Island peaked at almost 3,000.[370] The Westcountrymen also sent shipwrights to the Island to support the shipbuilding, shipping and timber trades. The Irish were an integral part of these industries.[371] Westcountrymen and Irishmen established industries and a trickle of Irish emigrants from the main flow migrating to the Canadas went to Prince Edward Island well into the 1850s. English Islanders represented one fifth of the total population and in general they were in the upper levels of Prince Edward Island society. In contrast most of the Irish were in the lower levels of society.

There were censuses in 1848 and 1855 which recorded birth-place. In 1855 the total population was 71,000, of which 53,000 were born on Prince Edward Island. Scotland was the birth-place of 6,900, Ireland of 5,600, England of 2,700, other British colonies of 2,800 and 300 of non-British origins.[372] In the census of 1848, the distribution of English-born was greatest in the area around Malpeque Bay and to the north and west of Charlottetown. The Scottish-born were widely distributed in western and south-eastern areas of Queens County, Kings County and eastern Prince County. (Refer to Appendix Figure 20) The Scots made up almost half the total population. Those born in Ireland were thinly scattered, the most evenly distributed and with slightly higher concentrations in western Prince, along both county boundary lines[373] and the backwoods of south central Queens. In fact, the Irish were in the least accessible areas of Queens County when compared to the English. Again, this suggests that in these remote areas many Irish may have become squatters on proprietors' lands. Wherever the settlers settled their farms had a uniformity of survey, their

farms were usually 100 acres and lined up like sardines in a can along waterfronts or roads.

(Refer to Appendix Figure 21)

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V
"The Ireland of the New World"

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Clark has summarized, with biases directed at different ethnic groups, some of the

settlement and farming patterns of 1850:

In general those of ultimate English origin (and these included descendants of people from more than half the counties of England, Loyalists, New Englanders, and disbanded soldiers) were situated where agriculture was most intensive and productive or in the best locations for ship-building or fishing. On the average they had had more capital and more applicable agricultural skills. With the English should be grouped some, at least, of the Lowland Scots….. But the great majority of Highland Scots and Southern Irish had come as poverty-stricken immigrants and had advanced their circumstances very slowly over the years; they were yet in the 1850's (and many of them still in the eighties) as close to the level of a European peasant tenantry as one would likely be to find in the New World. Through the middle decades of the nineteenth century, where the land was poorer, rougher, swampier or less accessible, there Gaelic, the Acadian patois, or Distinctly Caledonian or Hibernian inflection of English was likely to be heard. [374]

Clark ties ethnic origin into quality of land and agricultural production. He has a

poor view of the Highland Scots and Southern Irish. Bumsted presents a very different

description of the Highland Scots when compared to Clark's assessment in the quote above.

He praises Lord Selkirk and the effect the Highlanders had on the society and economy of

Prince Edward Island.[375] They were unusual in that they came as a group with friends,

extended families and clans. Like the Irish leaving Ireland the Highland Scots were leaving

Scotland to avoid a depressed economy, increasing population and scarcity of farmland.

The Scots were conservative and determined to preserve their way of life in the New World.

Scotland was becoming modernized by the English with the building of factories, canals

and railways. The English had brought a great deal of economic and social dislocation to

Scotland, as they had to Irish agriculture and society in general. Boyde Beck suggests that what made Highland Scots unique is that they tended to come in extended family groups or even in entire communities.[376] However, many Highland Scots and most Lowland Scots emigrated individually or in nuclear families. In terms of emigration most Scots were similar to the Irish who also came as individuals or in small family groups. Beck also observes that the leap from traditional Highland agriculture to early Prince Edward Island farming methods was not that great.[377] Planting crops in the Highlands of Scotland was a challenge. The soil was often, thin, rocky, poor and arable land was divided into small scattered patches or "runs." Similarly on the Island potatoes were planted among the tree stumps which remained after clearing the forest. In both locations cattle, goats and sheep were pastured on relatively limited areas of pasture.

After the Napoleonic Wars the Southeastern Irish and Highlanders emigrated in greater numbers. Some similarities existed between the experience of the Southeastern Irish and the Highlanders in their homelands. Marjory Harper states that after the Napoleonic Wars there was a fundamental change in Scottish emigration from the Highlands.[378] The "clearances" had created large numbers of unwanted poor, destitute people, and governments, proprietors and emigrant societies assisted them to emigrate from Scotland. Government policy had changed and the proprietors were now pushing emigrants to leave. As in Ireland, the exodus from Scotland was a result of two social forces, first from above from the proprietors and second from below by the tenant farmers themselves. Probably many emigrants to Prince Edward Island, both the Scots and the Irish, had hoped to avoid landlordism in the future. Land in Prince Edward Island could be bought from some proprietors but others refused to sell.

The Scots, both Highlanders and Lowlanders, and the Irish are often seen as discrete cultural groups. However on Prince Edward Island the nature of the geography, the economy and the subsequent settlement pattern meant that they lived beside and among each other. This heterogeneous mixture of ethnic groups in Island communities inevitably shaped their cultural experiences. (Refer to Appendix Figure 22) An example of this was the Acadians and the Irish in West Prince. Fundamentally, most of the Highland Scots and most of the Southeastern Irish were poor farmers and in the future they would share common cause with the land question. They had an ongoing battle with absentee proprietors to own the land they farmed. Some Islanders referred to Prince Edward Island as "the Ireland of the New World"[379] They were saying this not in terms of a romanticized utopian "New Ireland in the Gulf of St Lawrence" sense but in a critical way describing an island with a society and economy with cycles of poverty, some sectarianism violence and oppression which were similar in many ways to the Ireland they had left behind. This was unlikely to change before the land question was resolved.[380] The Irish would be an integral part in the dismantling of the proprietor tenant land ownership system on Prince Edward Island. Robertson states that the Escheat movement to rid the Island of proprietors "was clearly a hybrid of the traditions of the two countries (Scotland and Ireland), amalgamating the intense loyalties of the Highlanders with the militancy and readiness to resort to force of the Irish."[381]

Edward MacDonald suggests three basic generalizations may be made about the Irish settlement in Prince Edward Island. Primarily, they were rural, whether farmers, (freehold, tenants, or squatters), artisans or labourers. (The Irish of Greater Charlottetown were the major urban exception to this.) Secondly, the Southeastern Irish as with other

immigrants went where land was available to them at a price they could afford. Some became squatters by choice or by necessity. Thirdly, as they became established, fellow Irish countrymen followed them.[382] On Prince Edward Island the Irish settlers became gradually more integrated into local rural and urban communities with other ethnic groups. (Refer to Appendix Figure 23) The majority lived lives similar to many of their neighbours and as the decades rolled by the settlement patterns of the Irish and other ethnic groups faded.[383] Some of the Irish remained farmers, the basic building blocks of the foundation of Island society. Some continued to be involved in the struggle to gain control of their Island from the proprietors and the British government.

In the future discussions with other Maritimers, colonialists from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island would continue to struggle and negotiate over Maritime Union and then subsequently again with the Canadians over the formation of the Dominion of Canada. This process is a quintessential example of a nissological, political struggle to maintain an island's distinctiveness and jurisdiction over itself, and maintain independence from continental countries. The history of Prince Edward Island in the nineteenth century and the role of Southeastern Irish in the evolution of society is an example of just such a struggle and the efforts to maintain an island's specialness.

By the time that the immigration period came to an end on Prince Edward Island in the 1850s, most of the colony's Southeastern Irish settlers had been present for at least a generation. They had spread out across the colony, and were mingled, with yet distinct from, other Irish settlers and other ethnic groups, such as the Highland Scots. Unlike the target study groups in the Avalon peninsula, it is difficult to isolate the experience of the Southeastern Irish on Prince Edward Island from other Irish Islanders, but this chapter has

argued that their degree of cultural transfer and retention was affected by several factors: the relatively gentle nature of the landscape, which allowed for agriculture in most areas and reduced the level of isolation among discrete settlement communities; the Island's small size and significant winter isolation, which no doubt sharpened a sense of boundedness; the cadastral grid of farm boundaries, which made it harder to transplant traditional landholding patterns; and the long-maintained leasehold land tenure system, an unwelcome echo of conditions back in Ireland. Landscape, climate, land tenure, geography: as in Newfoundland and the Miramichi, each determined the degree to which Southeastern Irish immigrants to Prince Edward Island could preserve and perpetuate their culture.

CHAPTER FIVE: MIRAMICHI OF MAINLAND NEW BRUNSWICK

I
Natural and Pre-British History

The final case study in this project deals with a mainland region rather than an island. Immigrants from Ireland played a significant role in the development of the Miramichi and New Brunswick as a whole. While the Avalon settlers existed within the paradigm of a dominant cod fishery and the Southeastern Irish on Prince Edward Island worked within an agriculture-based society, the colony of New Brunswick was known as the timber colony and the Miramichi was at the heart of it. (Refer to Appendix Figure 24) Once again the Southeastern Irish of this study were a tiny part of the flow of Irish and other British immigrants. They arrived as ballast on the timber ships from Britain and supplied a cheap labour force for the timber-centered economy. The men would find work on the dockyards or worked in the timber trade and earn enough to buy a farm. There was very little good farmland, however, and many moved on. In the Miramichi once again geography dictated the pattern of immigration and settlement pattern and modified and adapted the evolving Irish/New World culture. The combination of timber trade/farming speaks to the resourcefulness and adaptability of the settlers and their ability to survive. At the same time, the peculiar circumstances of the Miramichi allow us to trace their experience of transplanting their culture and customs to a new and unfamiliar environment. In a sense, the mainland and island experiences of the Irish were broadly similar. They encountered monopolistic economic structures (fishing merchant, landlord, timber baron); they grappled with three very distinctly different environments, each alien to their Irish experience; and they grappled with degrees and levels of isolation. However, the Miramichi was a unique

Catholic Southeast Irish community, and this chapter uses it as a mainland control for comparison with the island-based study areas in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island.

The Appalachian Mountains provided the sediments of the rock of the quartz-rich sandstones and shales of the Miramichi-Bras d'Or terrane. They were deposited on the passive continental shelf of the Atlantic Coast of the North America plate. Volcanism, continental drift and plate tectonics continued over hundreds of millions of years. Mud and sand was carried mainly by eroding rivers and deposited on the continental shelf and then turbidity currents carried these sediments off the continental shelf into the deep ocean. Movements of the Amazonian Miramichi-Bras d'Or Terrane to the north continued for tens of millions of years until the Carboniferous Period. Prince Edward Island and the Miramichi thus are formed of Carboniferous-Permian terrestrial sedimentary rocks.[384]

Glaciation over the Miramichi Highlands carried granite boulders, other rocks and till on to the late Carboniferous-Permian sandstones of central and eastern parts of New Brunswick and indicate a south and southeasterly movement of glaciers.[385] About 12,500 years ago islolated pockets of the Wisconsin glacier were still covering much of the Miramichi Highlands and Prince Edward Island.[386] The glaciers in New Brunswick left thin stony acidic soils in most areas that were highly podzolized in small pockets of alluvial deposits along the river banks in most areas.[387]

The climate of the Miramachi is humid and continental with a short summer.[388] It is strongly influenced by the continent and westerly winds that flow down from the interior. Colder air masses from the northern interior of North America dominate the climate in fall, winter and spring. The eastern estuary is moderated by easterly winds in the late summer from the warm Gulf of St. Lawrence. The colder waters of the Gulf also moderate the spring

and due to sea ice, springs are later. Correspondingly, during the fall warmer, Gulf waters extend later fall seasons.[389] The area receives an average rainfall of 1-1.1m. per year.[390]

The forest of the Miramichi Valley is mixed Acadian and contained some of the best stands of timber in New Brunswick. Some of the most important coniferous species of trees include white pine, red pine, balsam fir, hemlock, and cedar. Black spruce and white spruce are also common. Important deciduous species include yellow birch, white birch, red maple, sugar maple and red oak. Trees were the foundation of the economy of the Miramichi River Valley. Furthermore trees were the economic driver for the pattern of settlement. Land ownership reflects the pattern of human settlement in the valley. Most of the land was granted or bought from the Crown and the grant usually extended inland perpendicular to the river and its tributaries. Land remaining in the interior was Crown Land and the timber was also Crown property[391]

In 1914, early New Brunswick historian W. F. Ganong divided the history of the Miramichi into distinct periods of human settlement. The early history of the semi-nomadic M'kmaq people, who were hunter and gather societies, constitutes the prehistoric period of the Miramichi.[392] This early period extends back more than 10,000 years. The second historical period in the seventeenth century involved the abortive attempts of the Denys, more specifically Richard Denys de Fronsac, to establish a feudal colony at the "Great Forks of River"[393] (the confluence of the Northwest Miramichi and Southwest Miramichi Rivers). The third period involved temporary habitation by Acadian refugees fleeing Acadia after the fall of the fortress at Louisbourg, in 1758. British forces drove the Acadians out of Acadia including Ile-Saint-Jean, (Prince Edward Island) the Tantramar Marshes, and the Annapolis Valley into coastal areas of northeastern New Brunswick including Miramachi

Bay.[394] The Irish component in the region's history is described in the next section comprising the fourth British colonial period.

II
British Colonial Period

Ganong's fourth historical period of the modern settlement of the Miramichi begins with the establishment of the area as part of the British colony of Nova Scotia in 1756. In fact the business ventures of the Scot, William Davidson preceded this political jurisdiction designation. However, the British Crown had little interest in either the Miramichi or New Brunswick as a whole until after it was separated from the colony of Nova Scotia in 1784. The colonial administrators had created a major encumbrance to development before this separation. They had granted two Scots, the aforementioned William Davidson and John Cort, 100,000 acres centred on the forks of the Northwest and Southwest Miramichi Rivers in 1767. The granting of large tracts of land to a few individuals made it difficult for later colonial authorities to find land for new settlers. (Authorities in Prince Edward Island had similar problems with proprietors owning and controlling large sections of the colony. Escheat was rarely successful on the Island.) A process of escheat was eventually implemented by New Brunswick authorities against many of the largest land holdings which had too few settlers established.[395] Davidson and Cort's large land grant was broken up and reduced in size.

Highland Scots were the first permanent British settlers to arrive.[396] William Davidson brought settlers from his native Inverness Shire to establish an Atlantic salmon fishery on the lower reaches of the river in the seventeenth century.[397] Other Scots were

disbanded from military service after the American Revolution, while others came from Scotland itself, some fleeing the Highland Clearances. English settlers also arrived early, perhaps wanting to avoid the problems associated with the Industrial Revolution. The Scots and the English bought the best farm land along the river and the most eligible sites for towns. In the 1780s United Empire Loyalists arrived and established themselves mainly upriver in the middle reaches of the Miramichi for example, around the future site of Doaktown. They did not want to be controlled by Nova Scotians and they supported the partitioning of Nova Scotia to form a separate colony, New Brunswick, in 1784. They had proposed the name New Ireland but King George III took the Irish Parliament as a personal affront, second only to the American Revolution, and the name was dropped.[398] Acadians re-established themselves along the south shore of the bay as early as 1769.[399] In April 1785, Daniel Micheau did a survey of the lower parts of the Miramichi Bay and River where he found many settlers were Loyalists but many were "old settlers" from England and Scotland.[400] It was into these discrete patterns of ethnic settlements that the Irish arrived.

In 1786 when a general election was held, the Miramichi was part of Northumberland County, which had a population of 200-300 English-speaking fisherman and traders and 2,000-3,000 Acadians.[401] It was controlled commercially/economically by Halifax rather than by Fredericton, the capital, or Saint John, the economic entrepot. There were approximately 14,000 United Empire Loyalists occupying the St. John and St. Croix River valleys.[402] Halifax became the centre of military and naval armaments and commercial activity and enlarged its trade distribution with the Miramichi.[403] Meanwhile, most of the colony's tax revenues came from Saint John, which commercially controlled the Fundy coast. Saint John had little interest in developing the northern interior economy

including the Miramichi.[404] As far as coastal communities of New Brunswick were concerned the colonization of the colony was complete.[405] However, vast tracts of the interior remained empty.

The population in 1803 was only 25,000 and the colony had no control over immigration policies.[406] Yet, "for almost every community in New Brunswick the introduction of new people represented the only hope of survival."[407] Many could not get clear title to land for themselves or their children while the colonial government procrastinated and toyed with land grant policies for Crown lands and the collection of quitrents.[408]

During the Napoleonic Wars Napoleon blockaded continental ports to British shipping. In particular the Baltic ports were blockaded and Britian lost its strategic source of timber for ships of the Royal Navy and other uses. Britain now looked to British North America for its source of timber and gave British North American colonies preferential treatments. The lower St. John River valley had already been denuded of white pines for masts and the Navy Board now turned to the Miramichi. There were no controls or conservation over logging on Crown lands and private contractors were "contemptuous" of the King's Rights. MacNutt foretells that "the great days of the timber trade were still ahead but already it appeared that the government was powerless to prevent the looting and destruction of the forest."[409]

With the Napoleonic Wars came great prosperity, especially in commercial trade. New Brunswick had large stands of red and white pine, many navigable waters and was closer to Britain than the Canadas. However, while the timber trade flourished, farming suffered and many farms were abandoned.[410] In 1812, Gilmour, Rankin and Company was

established in Douglastown on the north bank of the Miramichi. They were among the first timber barons. The timber trade was financed on credit. In the fall timber men bought tools, provisions, rum and liquor. Then groups went into the woods in the winter cutting trees which they delivered to the merchants in the cities in the spring "frolic." Then it was back to the farm for planting[411]

After the Napoleonic Wars the poorer Irish immigrants began to arrive in the Miramichi in timber ships with cheap fares. They were human ballast for ships on their way out to North America to collect timber and transport it back to Britain. The ships docked in the Miramichi ports of Chatham and Newcastle, unloaded the passengers, and returned with timber for Britain. Thousands of the Irish worked on the wharves, in loading timber on to ships for the return trip. The timber trade provided a means of emigration and employment for the poor Irish. They worked on the wharves, in sawmills, and in the lumber camps in the winter they cut down timber. Many worked until they could buy a farm while others, perhaps 50%, moved on to the United States.

After 1820 the best frontage sites along the main river were already occupied by the English and Scots who had arrived first and had the capital to buy the best and larger amounts of land. Some farms had intervale or flood plains along the river's edge which were amongst the most productive sections of the farms. (Refer to Appendix Figure 25) Immigrants from southern Ireland also settled on the less desirable tributaries, including the tributaries Bay Du Vin, Bartibog, Bartholomew, Renous and Cains between 1815 and 1835.[412] St. Margarets and Sevogle Rivers also had a significant number of Irish settlers.[413] However the good farm land was rapidly settled and many Irish ultimately settled in towns and villages.

The first census of New Brunswick was in 1824 and the total population was 74,116 inhabitants. Large numbers of Scots and Irish were arriving on returning timber ships.[414] Most were arriving as individuals not in large groups or clans as in Nova Scotia or to a lesser degree, Prince Edward Island. Unnumbered Irish crossed the portages from the Miramichi and the St. John valleys. They followed the roads from Saint John and Fredericton to St. Andrew and then into the United States.[415] The Hibernian Society, established in 1824, decried the loss of Irish muscle and sinew because so many left as soon as they arrived.[416]

Of the 76 families in Mannion's Southeastern Irish Miramichi study area, 38 nuclear families settled on the tributary banks of the Barnaby, 18 families moved to nearby Semiwagan, and 20 families located in Nowlanville. (Refer to Appendix Figure 26 & 27). The earliest heads of two families arrived before 1815, 16 arrived in the next decade (with 14 families arriving in 1825), 40 families arrived between 1825 -1835 (with 20 families in 1830) and 17 families arrived afterward. The majority of these Miramichi Irish came from Cork and Tipperary with some from Offaly and Clare.[417] The discrete block pattern of settlement was dominant in the Miramichi. However, in their daily lives they had contact within a few miles with Highland and Lowland Scots, English Loyalists, pre-revolutionary New Englanders, Acadians and native Mk'maq.[418]

While Mannion concentrates on a few families in the Miramichi from the southeastern parts of Ireland, it is important to note they represent a very small fraction of the Irish coming to New Brunswick. Peter Toner has documented where the Irish came from that settled in New Brunswick as a whole. He found "diverse geographical origins in Ireland"[419] He critically observes that Mannion's study and Terence Punch's work on the Halifax Irish have reinforced the belief that the principal source of Irish throughout Atlantic

Canada were from the southeast of Ireland. (Refer to Appendix Figure 28) However, New Brunswick, by virtue of direct links with Ireland through the timber trade, had very significant numbers of emigrants from northern Ireland (Ulster). (Refer to Appendix Figure 29) There was actually a greater flow of immigrants from the nine counties of Ulster into New Brunswick than from the southeast of Ireland into Newfoundland and Halifax in the first half of the nineteenth century. In fact, over half the emigrants that came to New Brunswick came from the province of Ulster.[420] However County Cork had the highest single proportion of emigrants at 19.7%. Toner summarizes that the majority of New Brunswick Irish came from Cork and Derry.[421] This indicates clearly that Mannion's study area and the Southeastern immigrants were a small if unique part of the Irish flow into New Brunswick.

There was thus no uniformity in the Irish community in various parts of the province. However, the southeast of Ireland was the most significant as a source area in the North Shore of New Brunswick. (Refer to Appendix Figure 30) Toner does admit that Ulster was an unimportant source of North Shore/Miramichi Irish.[422] He recognizes that the North Shore of New Brunswick and Newfoundland (as well as Halifax) all had this similar pattern, but seems to admit it only grudgingly:

> New Brunswick, therefore, does not fit into the neat mould already established for the Irish of Newfoundland and Halifax. As tempting as the idea might be to associate the Irish of eastern Canada with the southeast of Ireland, the pattern cannot be confirmed. Even where there is some slight evidence of the pattern in the Miramichi, it is still somewhat different, in any case as it applies only to a small portion of the Irish in New Brunswick.[423]

Thus, the Miramichi is not reflective of the New Brunswick colony as a whole, but it

does provide a discrete pattern of settlement to compare with Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

III

Miramichi Study Areas Initial Pattern of Settlement

On the Barnaby River study sites boundaries were surveyed and drawn before the arrival of the Southeastern Irish immigrants.[424] There was an overlying cadastral land survey with each farm grant usually extending inland perpendicular to the river and its tributaries and later from roads. Land remaining in the interior was Crown Land and the timber was also Crown property.[425] Farm lots were long and narrow running back from the river or road. The farmsteads were built beside the rivers or near the roads**.** The Barnaby was a typical tributary of the Miramichi River. The river systems were the means of transportation for the interior of the colony. In many ways they overcame the insularity and isolation of the interior where the forest acted like an ocean of trees.

The standard size of a lot was 100 acres, thus farms were closer together than Avalon farms in Newfoundland but much bigger.[426] Initially a single family would settle on a lot, clear off five acres of trees and build a dwelling or homestead and then gain full title and ownership of the lot. Sometimes the homestead was built nearer the intervale soils but some lots had no such soil. Mannion feels that physical environment did not determine individual choice to live on individual lots. Thus, on the Barnaby a superimposed cadastral survey also shows an *einzelhof* pattern.[427] This pattern of isolated farmstads also held true on the non-riparian settlements at Semiwagan and Nowlanville. Homesteads were built at the extreme end of the lots near the road as development continued. The superimposition of

the cadastral survey influenced the dispersed pattern of settlement and the non-fragmented nature of the farms.

IV
Miramichi Study Areas Later Patterns of Settlement

The *einzelhof* pattern was maintained because the subdivision of lots was occurring longitudinally. It was rare for a lot to be split between more than two descendents or to be sold to outsiders. The longitudinal splits also maintained the cadastral survey. Inheriting sons gained equal access to the resources and characteristics of their father's farm including the river, intervale, cultivatable land (both sterile and good fertile soil), road and back woodlot. Lumbering continued to be a valuable activity as it reduced the demand on the soil for agricultural production. With farmsteads along river or road there was a line-village appearance strikingly similar to Irish street villages.[428] Local marriages made for strong kinship ties on the Miramichi. Sometimes an original settler would buy continuous lots for their sons. With time, as roads were built, access to the Barnaby River became less important but most of the cleared land was along the river.

There was a continued desire by the gregarious and social Irish to agglomerate or collect together, but to still have compact farms on the Miramichi.[429] In feudal periods some landlords in Ireland had created street line-village patterns to improve their holdings. They had regarded the Irish peasantry to be totally without social organization.[430] As settlement on the Miramichi evolved there was a multiplication of homesteads along the river and roads which accentuated the line-village of Ireland appearance. Settlements in the Miramichi study areas resembled the Irish line-villages in size, population and pattern of settlement. Of course, they were not genetically related to the homeland form[431]

V
Settlement in the Interior/Over the Nashwaak Portage

Along the coasts and in the lower parts of rivers larger ships were used for the transportation of goods and people. Many settlers thus had arrived in the lower sections of the Miramichi in the 1760s and gradually made their way upstream. In the New Brunswick interior portages between rivers were the major, (and often the only means) of transportation between the upper reaches of rivers. Such was the case of the Miramichi-Nashwaak-St. John River Valley system. In the upper reaches of the Southwest Miramichi from 1790 to 1851, there was an era of Loyalist settlement following the American Revolution. The Loyalists had been given free grants of land due to their service to the British Crown. After they arrived in the St. John River valley good land was allocated, but it was in limited amounts and many moved on. Ganong states that "the most important Loyalist readjustment settlements were in the valley of the Miramichi."[432] Some St. John River Loyalists left the crowded St. John River valley and crossed the Nashwaak River portage into the upper Southwest Miramichi where they established farms in 1810 called Newcastle.[433] However, the land was poor for farming and sustained the Loyalist community for less than three generations. Some Loyalist settlers stripped the land of the most valuable timber and sold their farms almost immediately. Other Loyalist families held on for one or two generations more but many of these farms were ultimately bought by the Irish. The soil was inferior for farming and high water levels often flooded the intervale every spring and fall. The future prospects for the Irish settlers were similar to the Loyalists farmers who abandoned the valley.

A few Scots also settled but by 1820s the Scottish immigration had ceased and the

Irish immigration had begun. There was also a shift in lumbering from the St. John River valley to the Miramichi River valley. Immigration of the Irish was increasing until the Great Forest Fire of 1825 which burned 6,000 square miles of forestland and settlement. Only eleven Irish families arrived in Ludlow Parish that year.[434] Many Loyalists sold their land to Irish immigrants and moved back to the St. John River valley and subsequently there was a mass migration to Maine. MacKinnon describes the fear of the Irish and social violence associated with mobs of recently arrived Irish who had burned houses and barns, defied the law and attacked peace officers. This caused some settlers to petition the Lieutenant Governor to send troops to maintain order. Local authorities could not control fisticuffs and rioting between the recently arrived Irish, sailors and woodsmen from Maine. Troops were stationed at Chatham and Newcastle from 1822-1830 "for the purpose of quelling the numerous Riots and disturbances that arise among the lower order of Irish Emigrants".[435]

New Brunswick historian W.S. MacNutt has also described some of the ethnic violence in the Miramichi in the 1820's. He states that the Miramichi society was voluble and explosive. Some Irish immigrants destroyed property and were just as big a nuisance in jail. Sailors from the timber ships rioted on Sunday afternoons often with American woodsmen who were added to the ethnic mix.[436] Poor soil, the forest fire and fear of the Irish may all have all contributed to the mass migration that moved on from the Miramichi.[437] However, MacNutt states that the thousands who went on to the United States from New Brunswick did so as a result of weaknesses in government immigration policy rather than a lack of good land.[438]

In the mid-1830s there was an economic boom as there was a demand for timber in Britain. Irish immigration increased again and there was a steady influx into the early 1840s.

The lumber industry was profitable but farming was not. The population was thus increasing but once again the number of farmers was not. There were new immigrants between 1820 and 1842 with the peak years 1820-1825. Many of the new Irish immigrants stayed permanently on their land, but they paid little attention to farming with markets being remote and the land unfit for plowing. Instead the key economic activity was working in the timber trade. There was little growth in agriculture through the 1840s however the timber trade provided a good alternative in some years.

VI
Timber Trade & Timber Barons

New Brunswick has been called *"a good poor man's country."* [439] MacNutt suggests settlers arriving with virtually nothing could work hard (often in the timber trade), clear land and take up farming. This was certainly the case for the Southeastern Irish and other early settlers of the Miramichi. However the timber trade was a boom and bust economy and as it developed a few individuals came to dominate it. Graeme Wynn emphasizes that the commercial exploitation of the forest in New Brunswick "impinged in so many ways on the life of most New Brunswickers that the early development of the province cannot be considered apart from the forest industries." [440]

As the timber industry grew the wealthy timber barons exerted a tighter and tighter grip on the society developing along the Miramichi River. Perhaps the rivalry between the large capitalistic enterprises of Rankin, Gilmour and Company of Douglastown on the north shore and those of Joseph Cunard in Chatham on the south shore best illustrates the domination of the timber barons. They vied for licenses for timber stands on Crown Land

for decades and also owned many sawmills, shipyards, booms and wharves. They also set prices and owned the stores that their employees were obligated to buy their provisions from.[441] The timber barons were as much merchant wholesalers as they were capitalist entrepreneurs. In contrast the Southeastern Irish were part of a growing proletariat whose yeomanly independence and opportunities were being restricted by this powerful entrepreneurial class.[442] Of course at the same time the timber barons organized and provided employment and another level of belonging and loyalty, not just a source of social conflict. This was all a part of the social and cultural landscape of the Miramichi. In some ways political conflict was the tip of the social and cultural iceberg.

Scott W. See has documented the "Fighting Elections of 1842-3" in Northumberland County. He observes that the Miramichi Valley was a turbulent hinterland in the early 1840s. Development of the county was segmented geographically along the river and its tributaries, and the rival entrepreneurs divided up the economic staple industry, timber. Geography, the economy, ethnic rivalry and competition thus spilled over into the political arena.[443] The timber barons controlled the voting in their areas where "time and again labourers and freeholders dutifully obeyed the local lumber barons, almost certainly because their livelihood depended upon it."[444] Electioneering was part of larger economic and social rivalries. Perception of religious and ethnic rivalry resulted in scattered references to Irish Catholic conflict with other residents during both elections.[445] People were from all ethnic and religious faiths and no single group can be held solely responsible for the collective violence. Nevertheless rioters from the Miramichi's ethnic collage of Irish, English, Scots and Loyalists did riot collectively. Men and women did not intend to kill one another over a particular candidate. Rather they rioted over a continuing saga of

interregional economic rivalry in the Miramichi. They chose violence to achieve their goals in the elections and for changes in the economy. The composition of the crowds paralleled that of the empires of the timber barons.[446]

See has also documented the history of other riots in New Brunswick in the 1840s. These riots help put into perspective the riots in the Miramichi, in the 1820s, which pale in comparison to the much more substantial riots in the St. John River Valley. These more significant riots arose between native Protestant Orangemen and Irish Catholic immigrants. In these instances the Protestant elite sought to protect their economic, political, social and cultural control of New Brunswick. Full fledged rioting occurred along the St. John River in the agrarian frontier community of Woodstock, the capital city of Fredericton, and the York Point community of the port city of Saint John.[447]

The Loyal Orange Order habitually marched on the July 12th anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne to defend itself and to loyally defend the British Crown and Protestant ascendancy. Irish Catholics also marched to secure a foothold in society in local economic, social and political structures. Both the "Orange" Protestants and the "Green" Catholics sought to express themselves by marching, vigilantism and social violence, with a prior intention to intimidate or harm others. The recently arrived Irish Catholics often found themselves stuck in the lower levels of society by these forces of nativism[448] and vigilantism. These tactics were used by the Loyal Orange Order to galvanize native-born and immigrant Protestants and to create links with municipal and provincial leaders, entrepreneurs and businessmen, social activists and others for a variety of reasons.[449]

Irish Catholics in the St. John River Valley used "their culture, religion, kinship networks and sometimes their Gaelic language to combat hostile ideologies and vigilante

forces."[450] The manifestations of structural social tensions in New Brunswick society thus included social violence. Economic factors were also at play because severe depressions were brought about by collapses in the staple timber economy. However some areas like the Miramichi witnessed no collective violence in the late 1840s on the scale seen in the St. John River Valley.[451] The Miramichi thus stands out in contrast to the ethnic violence that happened in other parts of the colony.

VII
The 1851 Census: Another 'New Ireland' on the Miramichi?[452]

The name New Ireland has been applied officially and unofficially to a variety of places including both Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. Samuel Holland drew a sketch map proposing a single province between New Hampshire and Nova Scotia called New Ireland.[453] P.M. Toner's analysis of the 1851 Census of New Brunswick assists in an understanding of the history of the Miramichi Irish in the context of Irish New Brunswick. Toner remarks that a phenomenon that was especially common in the Miramichi was the arrival of a father/husband up to eight years ahead of the rest of his family. He would labour in timber production with other labourers imported from Ireland and Scotland.[454] Toner states that nowhere in the colony were the Catholics greater in number among the Irish, nor earlier in arrival than in the Miramichi.[455] The Miramichi Catholics were coming from the southeast which was one of the most feudalized parts of Ireland. The timber barons and other residents of the Miramichi must have made them feel almost at home as it was as close to feudalism there as anywhere in New Brunswick.[456] A system of large landed estates prevailed in Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth century but reached its climax between 1750 and 1850.[457]

The 1851 census is important as it provides a valuable snapshot of the Irish in the New Brunswick, including the Irish community on the Miramichi. The census provides information about the end result of many decades of immigration. It outlines the colony as a whole where the Catholics were over half the total population. On the North Shore (including the Miramichi) 82.3% were Catholic. The median date of arrival of immigrants for Catholics was 1831, and for Protestants it was 1827. The Catholics were nearly the only Irish on the lower stretches of the main river with their "capital" situated in Chatham. The North Shore was the only region in the colony where the proportion of Catholic farmers was 55.2% of the Catholic population and Protestant farmers were nearly the same at 55.8% of the Protestant population. The earliest Irish immigrants were found in the interior and came from the areas of Ireland which were either Irish-speaking or on the English/Irish language frontier, including Waterford-Kilkenny-Queens-Tipperary and Cork. [458] Excluding Waterford, these counties were largely converted to English before the Famine.[459] In their origins the Irish of the Miramichi thus resembled the Irish of Halifax and Newfoundland more than any other area in New Brunswick. They tended to live in tight, more exclusive communities.

Toner presents a number of conclusions from the census. Most importantly was that the Irish were not a "Johnny-come-lately" ethnic group. Protestant Irish and a smaller number of Catholic Irish were amongst the earliest immigrants to New Brunswick. There was a recognizable community of Irish in the Miramichi before 1800. After Waterloo, immigration from both groups to the colony increased in almost equal proportion, from 1815 to 1824 and between 1825 and 1830 Catholic immigration actually outstripped that of the Protestants. The Irish community thus began to split and the rise of the Orange Order

was one result.[460]

Another significant conclusion is that the majority of the descendents of Irish immigrants were descendants of pre-Famine 1845 Irish. In demographic terms a few Famine Irish remained in Saint John but the vast majority of Famine Irish passed through the colony. Another conclusion is that descendents of the Irish immigrants were not so well off as their immigrant parents. As Toner remarks it is usually assumed that native- born descendents generally fare better than their immigrant parents. The Catholic Irish also remained more committed to finding a spouse within their own group, more than any other ethnic group. The proportion of nuclear families marked the Catholic Irish (86.1%) and Protestant Irish (84.2%) as being more similar to each other than to the Scots (77.5%) or English (80.1%).[461] However, the Catholic Irish were more "Irish" in every way, and they kept to themselves almost to the degree their immigrant parents had. Their persistence as a group would cause modification of the character of the society of New Brunswick[462]

Much of what can be gleaned from Toner's papers about the Census of 1851 supports Mannion's thesis about the uniqueness of the study area on the Miramichi mainland compared to the rest of New Brunswick. Toner portrays a unique Miramichi Irish Catholic community of people who clung to the identity and culture they had brought with them across the Atlantic Ocean. A large proportion of these were Southeastern Catholic families of farmers and agricultural artisans. As Toner puts it the Miramichi Irish were one of the "backbone" Irish communities of the population of New Brunswick.[463]

Of course, one must make a distinction between retaining a sense of identity and retaining cultural attributes and patterns. The two are related but not identical. Clearly, the Miramichi Irish retained a sense of their own distinctiveness, even though the nature of the

available land, the level and nature of relations with their neighbours, and the work patterns and power dynamics associated with the dominant timber economy all affected the degree to which the Southeastern Irish were able to transfer their culture to the New World. It could be argued that co-existing alongside different cultural groups and influences might actually heighten a community's tendency to retain distinctive cultural traits. But the long-term tendency is surely towards cultural assimilation in practical terms even if the sense of distinct identity remains strong. The evidence of this study would argue that isolation tends to cultural insulation and, for better or worse, prolongs the retention of distinctive cultural traits and practices. And that brings us back to the role that being an island might play in this process.

CHAPTER SIX: COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This concluding chapter examines the main themes of this thesis and includes a commentary on the settlement patterns on the study areas in Section I. The second section studies the history of social and ethnic relations on Ireland, Newfoundland. Prince Edward Island and the Miramachi. Section III examines elite domination and socio-economic control of primary resource economies. In the final section islandness, isolation, and island studies theory are discussed in terms of this case study and the hypothesis of the thesis.

I
Commentary on Settlement Patterns

As David Weale suggests from his reading of the "Journal and Diary of John MacEachern"

of Rice Point, Prince Edward Island (who emigrated from Scotland in 1830):

> For all those emigrants like John MacEachern who came to the New World as adults, the year of emigration was a dramatic watershed. Life was cleft into two parts. The break was as deep and as wide as the Atlantic itself, and thereafter every detail of their lives fell clearly into the period on one side or the other. It was like having two lives in one. There was the old world and the new; the old ways and the new; the old life and the new. The carryover was very great, but try as they might the emigrants could not successfully recreate what had been. The break remained.[464]

It is this "break" with the Old World patterns of living and the dispersed patterns of the New World settlement that lies at the heart of this examination. This chapter begins with a summary of Mannion's research and compares his study areas with Prince Edward Island. There is a section on social and ethnic relations in the study areas followed by a third section on elite control and socio-economic control of primary industries. The final section attempts to apply islandness to Mannion's overall approach and ends with a discussion of islands,

isolation and island studies theory.

Generally, Mannion argues that the migration across the Atlantic Ocean led to rapid loss of cultural traits but, the rate of attrition varied from one study area to another. In his penultimate paragraph he concludes:

> The rates of cultural transfer and survival varied not only between ethnic groups but amongst a single group and this variability was the product of many factors. In the case of a handful of Irish in this study, the differences are explained not by social and economic conditions of the migration since these did not vary greatly, but by contrasting conditions in the New World. Among these conditions the pattern of ethnic group settlement was more important than the physical environment but the differences in the rural economy between study areas were supreme in determining differences in the transfer and survival of homeland traits.[465]

Mannion found that the Cape Shore of Newfoundland had the greatest extent of cultural transfer, retention and durability of traits. At the Cape Shore, the Irish homeland traits and trait complexes were most readily introduced and least subject to change over time. This may have been because the Southeastern Irish replaced the French on the western shore of the Avalon Peninsula and were a relatively homogeneous group. Initially, they were also isolated from the English on the eastern English Shore and least subject to outside interference from government, churches, the military and other agencies. The Peterborough area was at the other extreme of the continuum where homeland traits were least frequently introduced, and if introduced were retained for the least period of time.[466] Next most culturally similar to the Cape Shore was the St. John's region of Newfoundland Island. Here there was an Irish presence and an English presence, which created a largely bi-ethnic society since there were very few other farmers belonging to other ethnic groups. The

Miramichi was in the intermediate middle ground between the St. John's and Peterborough areas.   Hence a continuum of Mannion's study areas is Cape Shore—St. John's—Miramichi—Peterborough in terms of settlement patterns.[467]

Where does Prince Edward Island fit into this continuum? Prince Edward Island with its settlement pattern is most like the Miramichi and it is inserted on the Cape Shore side of the continuum. Hence, the cultural adaptation and transfer continuum is Cape Shore—St. John's—Prince Edward Island—Miramichi—Peterborough when considering the settlement patterns of the study areas. Of all the study areas Prince Edward Island most closely resembled southeastern Ireland in terms of suitability for raising similar agricultural crops and livestock. The climate was more severe but agricultural products could be transported in the late spring, summer and early fall by water, and in winter, lighter loads could transported across ice.

Old World rural settlement patterns might therefore have been re-established on Prince Edward Island but this did not happen. One reason this did not occur may have been because the Southeastern Irish never settled on the island in homogeneous groups from a single county as did some of the Monaghan settlers and some early Scottish settlers to Prince Edward Island.[468] Another reason this did not happen was the Prince Edward Island Land Question. Ian Ross Robertson quotes historian J.M. Bumsted, who states that by the end of the eighteenth century, "the lines of conflict had been clearly drawn between Islanders and proprietors. Islanders were scoundrels, proprietors were parasites."[469] Robertson suggests that in Prince Edward Island, the settlers and the proprietors spent much of the nineteenth century wrestling with a land system that was unique to all of British North America, and that had been established in 1767.[470] Regardless of any lease many tenants

resented any rent primarily because they had paid for their own passage with no help from proprietors and secondly they had cleared their land, again with little help from their proprietor.[471] Many absentee proprietors failed to pay their quit rents, neglected to have land agents and did not collect rents for years. This began to change in the second quarter of the nineteenth century as the Southeastern Irish and other settlers began to arrive. Other grievances voiced in the 1830s and 1840s were that there were few written leases and verbal agreements held little protection for the tenant.

In general, Island farmers over several decades felt the Old World rules should not apply and in the 1830s the rejection of the leasehold tenure system resulted in the formation of the "escheat" movement.[472] Escheat was a term based on feudal inheritance in the Old World. If a landlord failed to meet his obligations or perform certain duties his land could be escheated and returned to the Crown. The Escheat party which arose in the 1830s in Prince Edward Island argued that the grantees of 1767 and many subsequent proprietors had failed to meet their obligations. The Escheat party culturally transferred and modified the concept of escheat from the Old World to Prince Edward Island. For example, many proprietors had failed to bring sufficient emigrants to settle and many had failed to pay their quitrents. The Escheat party was adamant that the proprietors' land should be escheated to the Crown and then re-granted to the actual occupiers, unlike in feudal Britain where the escheated land was rarely granted to the tenants. Instead, it was usually granted by the Crown to other landed gentry. In the 1838 general election for the Prince Edward Island's house of assembly the Escheat party won an eighteen to six victory. However the British government would not consent to dispossess the proprietors of their land and the Escheat movement faded in influence and popularity.[473]

Returning to Mannion, he states that there were variations *within* study areas both in rates of transfer of individual traits and the durability of transferred traits. However, for some traits and trait complexes the patterns of adoption and discard were in all study areas remarkably similar. Mannion suggests for example, that individual farm outbuildings and the general lay-out of the farmstead were the least transferred traits of all the traits in all of his study areas. This may have also been true of Prince Edward Island. Farmstead is defined as "a farm and its building regarded as a unit."[474] Farm buildings in the New World were usually made of wood whereas in Ireland stone, mud, wattle and thatch were common materials. Furthermore, the traditional Irish settlement patterns and associated open fields were only slightly more transferable than the individual farm outbuildings and general layout of the farmstead. In terms of significance to this current study of Prince Edward Island, perhaps the transferability of traditional Irish settlement patterns and associated open fields was also only slightly more transferable than the outbuildings and farmstead layout patterns. In Ireland the leasehold system was the norm but it post-dated settlement. In Prince Edward Island most proprietors had surveyors lay out farm boundaries before they leased them out and thus most farms were discrete 100 acre farms. For example, Lot 22 was known for Irish farmers and they were thoroughly mixed into the same general pattern of farm delineation by survey. An examination of cadastral maps such as *Meacham's Atlas* indicates no difference between farm layouts and boundaries comparing Irish and non-Irish farms.[475] Mannion concluded that the traditional Irish settlement pattern was not readily transferred to the New World,[476] and this author suggests this was probably true of Prince Edward Island as well.[477]

The Southeastern Irish were scattered across the island because they arrived a little

later than the early English and the first wave of Scots who had settled on the most easily accessible, better land in the period prior to the 1820s. The Southeastern Irish often had to settle for less desirable land. They were often marginalized physically, socially and economically along with the Acadians, the small African-American community and the indigenous Mi'kmaq. The fact that the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq had been previous occupiers of Prince Edward Island had never been considered significant by the British authorities. Marginalization did have an impact on Irish settlement. An example of this marginalization was the Catholic Church, which tended to keep the Irish Catholics and Acadian Catholics communities separated socially. For example, there were no intermarriages recorded at the time of the 1841 census in Lot 22.[478] As rural communities grew the Catholic Church began to fear consanguinity and inbreeding within the two ethnic groups and encouraged intermarriage in areas like Lot 22, Tignish, and the northwest end of the island.[479] The isolation of the Southeastern Irish was thus relative. In general, as the trees were cleared, as farms increased in number and farmed acreage increased, farming families became close neighbours and nativism decreased.

Another Mannion conclusion was that "the overriding factor in the demise or survival of homeland traditions in the New World was the structure of the economy in the area settled."[480] The hinterlands of all the study areas - the seas of the Avalon, the streams and rivers of the Miramichi, and the seas, soil and rivers of Prince Edward Island - provided resources (fish, seals, timber, agricultural crops)[481] and a means of transporting these resources to markets. Waterways dictated the location, influenced the pattern of settlement and often determined the occupation of the settlers.[482] Examples include farmers on the Avalon who were also forced to become fishers and sealers. On the Miramichi, summertime

farmers became foresters in the winter. In Prince Edward Island farmers cleared land for farming and found employment to supplement their farm income in the lumber, timber and ship building industries, until nearly all the trees were completely cleared. The agriculture on the Avalon was subsistence with a measure of commercial agriculture associated with St. John's. In both the Miramichi and Prince Edward Island the main form of agriculture was the mixed family farm. The best land on the Miramichi was a narrow band along the river intervale (but not all farms had this). The good farmland in Prince Edward Island was in abundance throughout the island. Prince Edward Island thus had the best agricultural resources, the Miramichi had a distant, second best farmland, and the Avalon had the poorest subsistence agriculture. Given the farm background of the Southeastern Irish settlers the ability to farm was a relevant factor in cultural transfer. On the other hand the forest resources of the Miramichi were superior in quality and were far more extensive than either the forests of Prince Edward Island or the Avalon. The fishery was obviously the most significant primary economic resource of the Avalon peninsula. Seals were important, and the trees were a valuable resource of wood as local building construction material and as fuel for heating and cooking. As neighbours came closer this spurred a growing sense of community and identification with their area. People settled, as elsewhere, where they could tap into the economic resources of the area. The nature of the economic activity, inevitably different from the homeland, inevitably affected customs and physical culture.

The nature of the economy was significantly different in the New World as was the structure of the family. The family was changed markedly after the transatlantic voyage. Crossing the Atlantic implied a certain abandonment of traditional ways of the old extended family structure. Few of the communal ties that pervaded traditional Irish rural society and

settlement patterns crossed the Atlantic Ocean. Instead, new ones had to be formed in the New World. The social dominant in the voluntary stream of immigrants from Ireland (and Europe in general) was the isolated individual or nuclear family.[483] This created the dispersed settlement patterns on the frontiers of the New World,[484] (including Prince Edward Island.) This in turn affected the rate of cultural transfer and persistence.

II
Social and Ethnic Relations

The societies that developed in the study areas were usually a mixture of ethnic groups. This section discusses some of the social milieus of the study areas and the interaction of the various ethnic groups. Each of the study areas was unique in its pattern of ethnic groups. The Avalon was primarily bi-ethnic with English and Irish settlers. The Cape Shore was the simplest with two English communities near Placentia and the rest of the communities were Southeastern Irish. The other Avalon study area, St. John's, was primarily English but some communities were entirely Irish. In this sense the sources of settlers of the Avalon Peninsula were also fairly straightforward in that they came primarily from a few relatively small areas of England and Ireland. There was a parallel migration to Newfoundland from Southeastern Ireland as described by John Mannion, and a similar migration from the Southwestern England as outlined by Gordon Handcock.[485] In Handcock's study three quarters of all English emigrants came from the southern counties of Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Hampshire. These areas were associated with late seventeenth century mercantilist trade between Southwestern England, Southeastern Ireland and Newfoundland.[486] There were scattered Irish settlements in most regions of Newfoundland that were otherwise dominated by the English.[487] Handcock suggests that the net English

migration, mainly from southwest England, was very similar in number to that of the Irish. Furthermore, the growing influx of southern Irish in the nineteenth century into St. John's and into nearby harbours of the Avalon greatly alarmed the English officials. English migrants settled into the permanent population less obtrusively in the Avalon and other parts of Newfoundland. British colonial authorities were far less concerned with English immigrants than with the Irish immigrants because they did not trust the loyalty of the Irish.[488]

As stated before, Mannion had found that roughly ninety percent of Newfoundland Irish immigrants came from particular parts of contributing counties. The southwestern corner of Wexford, south Kilkenny, southeastern Tipperary and southeastern Cork were the closest areas to County Waterford, with Waterford being the major embarkation port for the Newfoundland Irish.[489]

Handcock suggests that the distance from the port played a significant role in selecting the port of embarkation and this also varied with the size of inland settlements.[490] In southeastern Ireland larger inland centres sent more emigrants to Waterford whereas smaller inland centres sent fewer.[491] Handcock found a similar pattern of relationships in the amount of emigration from southwest and southern England. Certain parts of counties such as south Devon, north Dorset, south Somerset, and southwest Wiltshire contributed the greatest numbers of emigrants. As in southeastern Ireland the principle of distance from port and the size of the place of origin often determined the choice of embarkation in southern England. In many parts of Newfoundland, other than the Avalon Peninsula, Dorset, Devon, Somerset and Wiltshire, were the major source counties of embarkation.[492] The southern English emigrants helped shape both the social geography of the Avalon and

"the human geography of Newfoundland outside the Avalon Peninsula."[493]

O'Grady paints a similar pattern to Mannion and Handcock in his description of Prince Edward Island settlers who came from the Southeastern parts of Ireland to the Island. However, there was a more complex milieu in the ethnic groups found on Prince Edward Island than on the Avalon. On Prince Edward Island the majority of settlers came from many parts of Great Britain (England,[494] Scotland, both Highlanders and Lowlanders, Ireland, and Wales), some were Acadians, and there were also a few micro-ethnic groups, for example, Afro-Americans and the first nations of Mi'kmaq. All these groups were also found in the Miramichi where there were also large numbers of Americans. There were many American whites, some Afro-Americans, who were still slaves, others were free and a few first nations Maliseet. (Many but not all the Americans were Loyalists.)

Another reason for placing the Miramichi and Prince Edward Island beside each other on Mannion's cultural continuum is because they were more cosmopolitan in their ethnic makeup than on the Avalon Peninsula. This diversity made organizing political organizations such as the Escheat party on Prince Edward Island more difficult.

In New Brunswick in general there were a growing number of Americans who were logging and settling in areas which were in dispute. The Americans considered some parts of New Brunswick to be part of the United States. The border of United States and British North America was in dispute between New Brunswick, Canada East and Maine until 1842.[495] Significant numbers of Americans continued to live in New Brunswick after the treaty was signed. In that same year economic conditions were so bad that attempts to discourage Irish emigrants were made and they were partly successful.[496]

Another threat from the United States was the Fenian Brotherhood, whose members

were primarily Irish-Americans. They were intent on seizing part of British North America and holding it hostage to help liberate Ireland from British Rule. In New Brunswick, pro-Confederates of British North America used the twin spectres of fifth-column Fenian sympathizers within the colony and the threat of invasion from the south by thousands of battle-hardened Irish American veterans of the American Civil War to gain support for their cause. The pro-Confederates mobilized anti-Irish and anti-Roman Catholic sentiment during the crucial pre-Confederation election in New Brunswick of 1866.[497] Southeastern Irish and other Irish emigrants bore the brunt of this nativist behaviour. Although it is difficult, it seems reasonable to assume that general interaction with these other ethnic groups and the pressure of ethnic tensions would have some bearing on retention or abandonment of cultural traits. Social tensions between different ethnic and cultural groups were common characteristics of European history and society. This was transferred across the Atlantic Ocean by some members of many ethnic groups. However most Southeastern Irish wanted to leave these animosities behind and start a new life in the New World.

III
Elite Domination and Socio-economic Control

Another pressure bearing on cultural retention was the socio-economic situation within the emigrant communities. As stated earlier, Mannion argues that it was the difference in the rural economies and the economic drivers that led to many of the differences in the settlement patterns in the Avalon, Miramichi and Peterborough study areas.[498] This idea is reinforced in Prince Edward Island by the work of O'Grady, MacDonald and Clark. But the economic drivers were compounded by factors such as the Protestant Ascendancy, the Penal

Laws, and social injustice. The Southeastern Irish farmers and agricultural artisans were not part of the elites in Great Britain or in the New World study areas. The elites had political and economic power over the economies of the Avalon, Prince Edward Island and the Miramichi. Initially, these economies were relatively simple, based primarily on one or two resources.

Grant McCall states that this reliance is typical of islands where the resources of the sea around the island are usually very important.[499] Newfoundland is a quintessential example of an island relying on cod fish (and to a much lesser extent on seals) for its economic foundation. The Westcountrymen in England and the St. John's merchants controlled the economy of the Avalon by establishing the truck system. Southeastern Irish fishers in the outports would sell their fish in the fall to St. John's merchants or their agents and buy their supplies and provisions on credit for the next year from the same merchants. This created a vertical economic relationship that was usually a breakeven result for the fishers, and the merchants secured the greater share of the profits. This vertical economic structure was found in all the study areas. In Newfoundland it was termed the truck trade system between fishers, and the fishing merchants. The Miramichi Irish had a similar relationship with the timber barons and on Prince Edward Island tenant farmers and squatters were dominated by large scale proprietors. In each case, primary producers worked for home consumption and exported the surplus for extra income.

On Prince Edward Island the resident proprietors, absentee landlords and their agents were the elite in control of nearly every facet of island economic and political life. They owned the land and maintained control of the tenants' lives through a credit system. Many of the proprietors remained in Britain, some of whom were oppressive and unethical

in the way they treated their tenants in Prince Edward Island.[500]

Matthew G. Hatvany has reassessed two hundred years of Prince Edward Island history and historiography. He suggests that the proprietary burden of leases and rents placed on the tenant families varied markedly depending on the background of the family, where they lived, how long they had occupied the farm and the general economic climate of the times.[501] According to the census of 1841 more than 75 % of all the tenants had "leases in perpetuity" of 999 years or more in duration. (Only about 17 % had leases of duration 100 years or less.) The majority of tenants paid a rent of 5 pounds per annum for a hundred acre farm which equaled the value of one steer or milk cow. An Irish observer said this rate was "a rent inconceivably small" compared to Ireland where some rates for rent were even one hundred times greater.[502] On many estates the leases were graduated being low or nothing in the early years and gradually increasing to the full amount in three to seven years.[503] At the time of the 1841 census, small freeholders as a group formed one third of the occupiers of the land.[504] These factors illustrate a fundamental difference from the Ireland economy where labour was cheap and land was expensive. In contrast, in the British North America labour was expensive but land was cheap. This may also help explain the lack of retention of Irish culture in the New World.

Despite the low rent and long leases, as Rusty Bittermann explains, another major problem with this lease hold tenant system was the threat of eviction. This was true not only on Prince Edward Island but also in other jurisdictions, including Ireland. After missing a few weeks rent a farmer could be evicted by the landlord. Eviction could also occur at the end of short to mid-term leases where in spite of 10 or 20 years of improvements by the tenant farmer he would lose his productive farm to the proprietor. Eviction became more

common as immigration increased after the Napoleonic Wars.[505]

In the late 1820s and 1830s there were numerous economic crises and crop failures on Prince Edward Island, precipitating a dramatic increase in the rental arrears of many tenant farmers. At the same time many impoverished immigrants from the Highlands of Scotland and southern Ireland, without significant capital, arrived in Prince Edward Island to establish farms. This was also the period that saw the rise of the Escheat movement and Hatvany states that there was a general unwillingness to pay rent on the part of those who felt that a general escheat was imminent.[506] Some proprietors' land had been escheated in 1818 by Lieutenant-Governor Smith and this of course raised expectations for a general escheat.[507] Tenants hoped the government would redistribute escheated land to them as freehold. Hatvany concludes the real burden of the proprietary system was not the rent and lease aspects but "more likely, it was the concept of paying rent in a continent where freehold tenure was perceived as the norm that was odious to tenants at that time – and to historians ever since!"[508]

Rusty Bittermann has studied agrarian protest, cultural transfer and the Irish and Highland immigrants' Escheat movement on Prince Edward Island.[509] The major problem he suggests is the "Land Question" whereby in the late 1830s land was still highly concentrated in the hands of a few proprietors.[510] He contrasts the largely non-violent colonial reform and the Escheat movement to the violence of Whiteboyism and assassination in Ireland.[511] He does connect the two. Bittermann's argument is that well before the Escheat movement, socio-political conditions on the Island had shaped the expression of agrarian reform:

agrarian traditions from Southeastern Ireland, a region with a

> long-standing history of virulent peasant unrest, were most
> likely to have shaped the ideas concerning rural protest that
> were brought to the colony by the Irish immigrants resident in
> the countryside at the time of the Escheat movement.[512]

The ethnic diversity of the Island settlers made it difficult to organize the Escheat movement. However the challenges of doing this resulted in Island-made traditions and Island-born precedents. Local history and community action could be cohesive whereas the Old World traditions were divisive.[513] Irish and Highland tenants in the 1830s came up with modern new innovative solutions of organization and resistance to the existing proprietary system.[514] Robertson argues that it was a hybrid of the intense loyalties of the Scottish Highlanders and the militancy readiness to resort to force by the Irish."[515] This is a clear example of cultural transfer from Ireland and Scotland. Yet the process of forming the Escheat movement helped erode other cultural practices brought over with the Irish. It is also significant in that it united many Islanders into a common cause: the process of solving the Land Question.

Historian Arthur Lower quotes John McGregor, that many young men would leave Prince Edward Island and travel to the Miramichi…"for the express purpose of making money, had joined the lumbering parties for two or three years; and, after saving their earnings, returned (to Prince Edward Island) and purchased land."[516] As with the fishing industry in Newfoundland, elite Westcountrymen played a leading role. They established timber, lumber and shipbuilding industries in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick including the Miramichi. Southeastern Irish and other Irish came in large numbers to the Miramichi for work. The timber barons and others from Britain also established a credit system with the lumbermen. In the spring, the lumbermen would deliver the wood they had

cut in the winter, and buy from these same timber barons' stores their yearly provisions. Employees of the timber barons were also expected to buy their provisions from the company store. It is noteworthy that all of the study areas had economies largely based on a credit system and primary resources. This applied not only to the two islands but also to the mainland. For example from 1815 to 1846 Great Britain gave the highest timber preferences to British North America. Monopoly and speculation were the dominant features of the ups and downs in the timber trade. If the economy of Great Britain was good the timber trade in British North America thrived. Disturbances in the home market resulted in problems in the colonies. The timber, lumber and shipbuilding industries in British North America thus had many booms followed by collapses into depressions.[517] (Refer Appendix Figure31)

All the economies of the study areas were thus dependent upon, and greatly affected by political trends, circumstances and events outside their control and influence. The vertical nature of these primary economies made adaptation and resilience key factors in the evolution of the societies that depended on these economies. This changed both the context for their day-to-day lives and encouraged new relationships and strategies within the communities of the study areas. The economies of Western Europe and the study areas were caught up in a worldwide transition from mercantilism to capitalism. Imperialism and colonialism were spreading across the globe at the same time. All this contributed to the further erosion of cultural traits and patterns that had crossed the Atlantic with the Southeastern Irish.

IV
Islandness, Isolation and Island Studies Theory

So far the discussion of differences and similarities between the study areas has not involved islandness. As stated, the hypothesis is that for the Southeastern Irish migrants, the immigration experience, settlement patterns, social and ethnic relations, and the elite controlled economies of single primary industries on the islands, differed from that of their compatriots on the mainland precisely because they settled on islands with characteristics of islandness. Many of the characteristics of islands and islanders are based on their insularity and isolation. Of course it should be conceded that mainlands may have similar metaphorical patterns or characteristics of islandness where insularity and isolation can be found. For example, isolation may result from mountain ranges, major rivers, deserts, forests, great distances or manmade borders and boundaries. In the case of the Miramichi River Valley the dense forest caused islolation. However with time the trees were cut down, land was cleared and isolation decreased. Besides the Miramichi River itself always provided an means of travel.

Islands sometimes benefit from insularity but, as Stephen Royle states, it is usually a handicap. Continental islands like Newfoundland, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island were at the periphery and were/are removed from the dynamism of the heartland.[518] If they are small, either absolutely and/or relatively, there are also the handicaps of competitiveness and the reduced economies of scale. The stretch of water around the island essentially defines this "tyranny of insularity" because with the crossing there are accompanied penalizing features of time, cost and inconvenience. Royle suggests, this "makes island life and the operation of an island economy more expensive and difficult than on the

mainland."[519]

Royle does acknowledge that Prince Edward Island's insularity benefited it politically, socially and economically compared to similarly-sized Cape Breton Island, which lost its separate administration and was annexed to Nova Scotia in 1820. Cape Breton had been unable to cope with the flood of Scottish immigrants. However, Prince Edward Island still suffered from insularity, peripherality, isolation, lack of resources, and small economies of scale and remained one of the poorest parts of British North America and later Canada.[520]

Another feature of islandness is boundedness. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island had definite limits to their territory. The physical features and landforms of Newfoundland also created an additional layer of insularity which isolated settlements from each other to a much greater degree than the Prince Edward Island landscape. The islands were surrounded by water and/or ice that defined their boundaries. The Miramichi and Nashwack river valleys had portages and these portages broke down the Miramichi's boundedness along the tributary rivers that flowed through it. The trees and the forests possibly also created a sense of boundedness but again the rivers themselves broke down some of this boundedness of the mainland study area. Mannion describes the development along the Miramichi as "segmented." The isolation of the outport fishers of Newfoundland was probably more pronounced than the isolation of the farmer on Prince Edward Island or the isolation of homesteader on the tributaries of the Miramichi River. Over time as the trees were cut down and the forest cleared, roads were built and isolation was reduced in all the study areas. This may well help dictate the ease of cultural transfer and retention.

Also on islands there is with that sense of boundedness and the sense of limits is a

sense of limitations on the resources that are available on an island. There is a finite quantity of resources available on an island. Resourcefulness and enterprise is needed to survive on these limited resources. Newfoundlanders left the island shores and took to the seas to gain the fish, seal and whale oil, and other commodities to sell for their livelihood.

The term "roots and routes" encapsulates another theme of island studies.[521] A person or a people may develop deep roots in a geographical area or a strong sense of place. Geography does matter and the Southeastern Irish certainly had a strong sense of place with respect to Ireland as well as a strong sense of community, and no doubt leaving was traumatic. However, Mannion suggests nothing experienced on the European side of the Atlantic Ocean, or the migration across, approached the disruption of the experience on the North American side. Most immigrants were by themselves or in a nuclear family and in many cases they wanted to establish farms. It would take many years before they developed a strong sense of community. In part this was because the wilderness had to be conquered first. As stated, farming was a limited option in the Avalon, Prince Edward Island was relatively small, and the fertile intervale along the Miramichi River and its tributaries were also limited. Gradually, painfully, the new emigrants did put down roots in their new homes and farms, although many moved on instead. For example, the sea provided an "escape" route for the Newfoundlanders known as "two boaters."[522] In other words, those who settled on the Avalon, sojourned, and then left the island. However, so many stayed on the island that Newfoundland has been called Ireland's fifth province.[523] The Gulf of St Lawrence and Northumberland Strait both provided Prince Edward Islanders with escape routes and this also applied to the people of the Miramichi[524] even as the water allowed them access routes to the shores of islands and mainlands. Many Southeastern Irish came to Prince Edward

Island across Northumberland Strait from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In contrast to the Miramichi Irish, however, the Northumberland Strait defined the boundary of Prince Edward Island and this was part of the imaginative power of being an island. As MacDonald writes:

> Nowhere but on an island is there a more elemental sense of boundaries, of "here" and "there," of "us" and "them." Despite the narrowness of the Northumberland Strait, the boundaries were very real, especially in the ice-packed heart of winter. Being an "islander" was the single greatest factor in being an "Islander."[525]

What are the implications for cultural transfer and assimilation? The descendents of the Southeastern Irish of the Miramichi had a strong sense of place but the lack of boundedness and colonial/provincial jurisdiction probably eroded more quickly their sense of independence and Irishness within New Brunswick and Canada when compared to the islands of Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. Why does isolation slow the loss of cultural identity. Toner claims the Catholics in New Brunswick retained their Irishness to a greater degree than the Irish Protestants. The Catholic Irish were the most ethnocentric group in New Brunswick based on how they selected their spouse. Certainly, the Irish Catholics picked their spouses within their own ethno-religious group more than any other group.[526] The Protestant Irish more readily intermarried with the Scots and English with a resulting dilution of cultural isolation. However, Stewart Donovan highlights Toner's recent research, which finds the Irish language being spoken by more Irish Protestants, than the Irish Catholics, well into the twentieth century.[527] So the question of cultural isolation according to religious faith, with its implications for cultural persistence as a consequence is still not clear. Language in itself can act to isolate a community and its culture. We only

have to look as far away as Cape Breton to see an island where isolation helped preserve the Gaelic language and culture well into the twentieth century. Why was the pace of change from Gaelic to English slowed by the isolation of being on an island?

Land held strong symbolic meaning to the Irish farmers. One hundred years after settlement, writes Toner:

> In 1941, the Irish farmers of New Brunswick, compared with the English and Scots in all three Maritime Provinces, had the largest, least valuable, least profitable, most populous and most independent farms of all. The Irish love of the soil was as enduring as their numerical strength was fleeting. [528]

Resilience and resourcefulness are characteristics often given to describe islanders. However, this was also true of the people of the Miramichi who suffered a devastating forest fire in 1825. The Great Miramichi Fire burned over 6,000 square miles of excellent pine forest with much loss of life. [529] This is relevant because it demonstrates isolated non-islanders can also be resilient in the face of disaster. There is no reason to think, then, that islandness made a difference in this particular attribute and was not so much a factor involving the Southeastern Irish in the study areas.

As Grant McCall notes, islands universally deal with migration and thus migration is also associated with islandness. [530] Migration is a feature of the history of every island. Margaret Doyle has briefly documented the economic struggle, the desire to avoid being second class citizens and the resulting outmigration shared by both Ireland and Prince Edward Island. [531] She further notes that they also share "a common heritage of ethnicity, culture and to a certain extent religion. Both islands also share a history of British colonialism and as a result also share a number of significant and political

characteristics."[532] The same might be said of the Irish in the Miramichi and Newfoundland. Each of these areas was selected by definition for its history of migration, so as such, this is not really a definition of an "island factor."

However migration within and between study areas was also characteristic of the islands and the mainland. Thousands of permanent settlers came directly from southern Ireland to Halifax, Pictou, Saint John, Miramichi and Charlottetown, particularly between 1810 and 1835. In addition there was internal migration within British North America. There were also thousands of transients who came directly from southern Ireland who passed through the Maritimes region[533] and migrated onwards to the Canadas or the United States. Statistics were kept of immigrants arriving by ship but none were kept as the immigrants crossed the border into Maine or Canada East. After 1845 very few new immigrants including those from Southeastern Ireland settled in the subject areas. In rural Newfoundland all the good outport harbours were occupied and in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, all the good farmland was occupied. Natural population increase out-stripped the local economy's ability to support a rising population, outmigration became a common feature of these rural economies on both islands and the mainland.

Mannion did not consider islandness in his research but this thesis has attempted to synthesize information to do this and, in the process, include Prince Edward Island in the discussion initiated by Mannion. To use the Miramichi as a "control" to perform a nissological experiment with the hypothesis has been a fruitful exercise. Most of the evidence presented in this thesis indicates that islands are special places with unique characteristics of islandness. Certainly, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island shared many characteristics as described by numerous authors. There were two relevant levels of

isolation operating here, isolation from the mainland and the isolation of one community from the next. But the degree to which "islandness" affected cultural transfer and retention is uncertain. These islands also shared many characteristics with the Miramichi River valley mainland in the time period considered here. Other characteristics do not seem to have affected cultural retention, but the case can be constructed for "boundedness" and "isolation and insularity." While isolation and insularity were prominent characteristics of all three study areas including the Miramichi (especially early in its settlement history when the virgin forest was nearly untouched), it might be argued that the boundedness of islands and the degree of their isolation, hence insularity, was different. There were many unique aspects of islands in the North Atlantic Ocean. Islands created isolation and a sense of islandness. Indeed Newfoundland's and Prince Edward Island's islandness may have played into their resistance to Confederation in the 1860s. Initially, the Islanders strongly resisted confederation with Canada. Prince Edward Island joined in 1873 mainly for financial reasons, while Newfoundland decisively resisted union in 1869.

One of the stipulations the Prince Edward Islanders had written into the terms of Confederation was that there would be a continuous mail service/communication/transportation link between the Prince Edward Island and the mainland. This was a direct reflection of the Island's sense of isolation, especially in the winter when the link to the mainland translated into crossing between Cape Traverse, Prince Edward Island and Cape Tormentine, New Brunswick was by iceboat. Even so the isolation of the Island was nearly complete in the winter months.

One might argue, then, that a combination of islandness and historical circumstances gave both islanders of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland the "gift of jurisdiction."[534]

They were both colonies and then provinces and their distinctiveness was thereby enhanced. By contrast, the Miramichi, while still retaining some distinctiveness, was a small part of New Brunswick, which had became a province of the Dominion of Canada in 1867. This jurisdictional power which the Southeastern Irish shared with other islanders, was partly a function of isolation, and it was this degree of isolation, one of the characteristics of islandness, that might be seen as a contributing factor in the degree of cultural retention in the subject areas. It justifies Prince Edward Island's position on Mannion's modified continuum of cultural transfer and retention: Cape Shore – St. John's – Prince Edward Island – Miramichi – Peterborough. Newfoundland's double isolation - of the island from other places, and of communities within the rugged island - was almost an "order of magnitude" greater in degree of isolation than Prince Edward Island or the Miramachi. Yet Prince Edward Island's communities of Southeastern Irish, isolated from the mainland but not from their neighbours within the island, still featured a level of insularity that distinguished them from their New Brunswick neighbours. If only in terms of degree, then, islandness evidently does matter when it comes to cultural transfer and retention. It is a conclusion that most islanders would probably welcome.

NOTES

[1] Ian Ross Robertson, "Highlanders, Irishmen and the Land Question in Nineteenth-century Prince Edward Island." in *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History 1600-1900,* eds. L.M. Cullen and T.C. Smout (Edinburgh:

John Donald Publishers, 1977), 236.

[2] John J. Mannion, *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 13.

[3] Patrick Nunn, Professor of Oceanic Geoscience, Department of Geography from the University of the South Pacific. He was a visiting professor in 2006 at the University of Prince Edward Island. (See Patrick Nunn. "Environmental Catastrophe in Pacific Islands around A.D. 1300, "*Geoarchaeology: An International Journal,*15, no.7, (2002), 715-740; and Nunn's "Nature-society interactions in the Pacific Islands," *Geografiska Annaler*, 85B, no.4, (2003) 219-229,. See also, "Through a mist on the ocean: human understanding of island environments," *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie: Journal of Economic and Social Geography, TESG,* Vol. 95, No.3, 2004, 311-325.

[4] Grant A. Curtis, "The effects of climate change on the long distance voyaging of the Norse in the North Atlantic Ocean and the Polynesians in the South Pacific Ocean." (Unpublished essay, University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, 2006).

[5] Mannion, *Irish*, 13.

[6] Farley Mowat *The New-Founde-Land.* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1989), 1.

[7] Edward MacDonald has suggested about this sense of boundedness that "there was, in fact, an imaginative power in being an island. Nowhere but on an island is there a more elemental sense on boundaries, of 'here' and 'there' of 'us' and 'them.'" taken from G. Edward MacDonald, *If You're Stronghearted: Prince Edward Island in the Twentieth Century* (Charlottetown: Prince Edward Island Museum and Heritage Foundation, 2000), 31. Godfrey Baldachino has indicated that the word insularity tends to have a negative connotation, bringing with it associations with isolation, separation and backwardness. Godfrey Baldacchino, "The Coming of Age of Island Studies," *TESG,* 95, no.3, (2004): 272. This is unfortunate as it takes away from the precise and accurate use of the word insularity as used, for example, in one significant island studies text by Stephen Royle, *A Geography of Islands: Small Island Insularity.* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 1.

[8] Baldacchino, "The Coming," 272.

[9] David Weale, "Islandness," *The Island Journal* 8 (1991): 81.

[10] Verner Smitheram, David Milne and Satadal Dasgupta, Introduction, *The Garden Transformed: Prince Edward Island, 1945-1980.* (Charlottetown: Ragweed Press, 1982), 7.

[11] Graeme Wynn, *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 1.

[12] Mannion, *Irish,*13.

[13] Mannion, *Irish*, 13.

[14] Mannion, *Irish*, 13.

[15] Mannion, *Irish*, 14.

[16] Brendan O'Grady, *Exiles and Islanders: The Irish Settlers of Prince Edward Island.* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 4. O'Grady does not include the southern County Cork in his source area of southeastern emigrants.

[17] Donald Harmon Akenson*, The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Toronto: P.D. Meany Publishers, The Institute of Island Studies. The Queen's University of Belfast, 1993), 39

[18] Andrew Hill Clark, *Three Centuries and the Island: A Historical Geography of Settlement and Agriculture in Prince Edward Island, Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), 83. and Gerald Handrahan, "Irish Settlements in Tignish and Vicinity," *The Abegweit Review: New Ireland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence-Third Volume* 6, no.1 (Spring, 1988): 109. For example, they migrated into the area west of Rustico and also into the Tignish area.

[19] Akensen, *Primer*, 35.
[20] Philip A Buckner and John G. Reid, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press and Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994). Margaret R. Conrad and James K. Hillier, *Atlantic Canada: A Region in the Making. {The Illustrated History of Canada}.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001). E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press and Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1993).These three sources provide information on all three study areas.

[21] John J. Mannion's provides essential comparative information about Newfoundland and the Miramichi, and the research model used in the current case study is in his book *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974). Similarly O'Grady's book on the Irish in Prince Edward Island entitled *Exiles and Islanders: The Irish Settlers of Prince Edward Island* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004*)* provides detailed, significant information. Andrew Clark's *Three Centuries and the Island: A Historical Geography of Settlement and Agriculture in Prince Edward Island, Canada.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959) indicates the importance of agriculture on the island and the pattern of settlement of different ethnic groups.

[22] Graeme Wynn, *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). This reference provided valuable background material. A classic text about New Brunswick by W.S. MacNutt *New Brunswick, A History: 1784-1867* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963) was also a

valuable source.

[23] Willis David Hamilton, *Old North Esk Revised.* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: The Micmac-Maliseet Institute, University of New Brunswick, 1988), 24. Perhaps the best and most recently published material on a small parish in the Miramichi is that written by Willis David Hamilton, *Old North Esk on the Miramichi, Northumberland County, New Brunswick, Canada* (Saint John, New Brunswick: Miramichi Books, 2004).

[24] William M. Baker, " 'God's Unfortunate People': Historiography of Irish Catholics in Nineteenth- Century Canada." and Seamus P. Metress and William M. Baker, "A Bibliography of the History of the Irish in Canada" in *The Untold Story*, O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds. (Historiography vol. 1, 59 and Bibliography vol. 2, 977).

[25] Baker, "God's" *The Untold Story*, 60. The only pre-1970 book that was comprehensive was Nicholas Flood Davin's *The Irishman in Canada* which was published in 1877. There were a number of other references about the Irish in Canada, lesser numbers about the Catholic Irish experience but there was still a significant body of literature.

[26] Baker, "God's", *The Untold Story.* 61. "1. Were Irish Catholics in Canada poor, unskilled, wage workers in urban centres? 2. Were Irish Catholics a peculiarly violent and troublesome group which created great discord in Canadian society? 3. Were Irish Catholics absorbed into the mainstream of Canadian life thereby ceasing to form a distinct ethno-religious group, and if so, when and how did this occur?" Baker suggests the pre-1970 literature would answer in the affirmative all these questions.

[27] Baker, "God's" in *The Untold Story*, 62.

[28] Baker, "God's" in *The Untold Story*, 63.

[29] Baker, "God's" in *The Untold Story,* 63.

[30] Angus A. .MacKenzie, *The Irish in Cape Breton.* (Wreck Cove, Cape Breton Island: Breton Books, 1999*).*

[31] Peter Edward Pope, "Comparisons: Atlantic Canada," in *A Companion to Colonial America,*(Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003), 489.

[32] Peter Pope, "Comparisons," 489.

[33] Peter Pope, *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press), preface vii. The English Shore is described as the eastern coast of Newfoundland from Trepassey in the south to Bonavista in the north, 440. [(Refer to Appendix Figure 2). Pope, *Fish*, Map 5, 49]. Over the centuries the Irish were concentrated in St Mary's Bay, Placentia Bay and St

John's. [(Refer to Appendix Figure 3). Mannion, *Irish.* Figure 1] [(Refer to Appendix Figure 4) Mannion, *Irish*, The Cape Shore 1836, 22], and [(Refer to Appendix Figure 5) Mannion, *Irish*, Figure 2, St. John's 1836, 23.]

[34] Pope, *Fish,* preface vii.

[35] Sean T. Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

[36]David Dawes, *Riots and Religion in Newfoundland; The Clash Between Protestants and Catholics in the early settlement of Newfoundland.* (St. John's: Flanker Press, 2011).

[37] Scott W. See, *Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 10.

[38] Brendan O'Grady, *Exiles,* 230. O'Grady agrees with MacDonald that: "The central issue was a passionate one, the Land Question." 221. He further supports Robertson view that the events should not be seen as a conflict based on nationality or religion, 218.

[39] John J. Mannion, "Introduction," in *The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography*, edited by Mannion (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 6.

[40] Gordon Handcock, "English Migration to Newfoundland" in *Peopling*, Mannion, ed., 26.

[41] Thomas P. Power, ed., *The Irish in Atlantic Canada 1780-1900* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: New Ireland Press, 1991).

[42] John J. Mannion, "Old World Antecedents, New World Adaptations: Inistioge (Co. Kilkenny) Immigrants in Newfoundland," 30-95, In *The Irish in Atlantic Canada 1790-1900* ed. Thomas P, Power ed. (Fredericton, New Brunswick: New Ireland Press, 1991).

[43] Cyril J. Byrne and Margaret Harry, *Talamh An Eisc: Canadian and Irish Essays.*
[44] George Casey, "Irish Culture in Newfoundland" in *Talamh*, Cyril and Harry, eds., 206.

[45] Robertson, "Highlanders, Irishmen," 236.

[46] J. M. Bumsted, "'The Only Island There Is': The Writing of Prince Edward Island History," in *The Garden Transformed: Prince Edward Island 1945-1980,* .Verner Smitheram, David Milne and Satadal Dasgupta eds. (Charlottetown: Ragweed Press, 1982): 11. As with Pope's list of intersecting contexts in Atlantic Canada history in Atlantic Canada history only three of Bumsted's list will be considered by excluding consideration

of the novel by Lucy Maud Montgomery.

[47] Bumsted, *The Garden*, 11. Bumsted goes on to suggest and criticize the writing of Island history which has been "desperately insular" due to the Island's "smallness and isolation." Island historiography has lacked making comparisons with other islands including Newfoundland. He feels the time being written about and described is as critical as the time of writing. Bumsted might be seen as reflecting a tradition studied in nissology which associates islands in terms using negative derogatory terms such as "small," "insular," and "isolated." He further notes the work in the 1950's of Andrew Hill Clark's who used Prince Edward Island as an isolated agricultural laboratory as a means to cut off external influences. Other scientists continue to use islands as science labs, for example, the study of invasive species. A recent example quotes Dr. Pedro Quion a biologist at the University of Prince Edward Island who studies invasive green crabs on Prince Edward Island. "The entire Island is our lab" he stated in January of 2011. "PEI is the ideal location to study the spread of invasive species like green crabs." he told the Office of Research Development at UPEI. accessed 26/01/2011, <http://research.upei.ca/blogs/2011/01/24/entire-island-our-lab>.

[48] J.M. Bumsted, *A History of the Canadian People* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003), xiv. He explains that "Many groups are commonly left outside such a master narrative: workers, racial and cultural minorities, women, inhabitants of alienated regions (e.g., Quebec for much of the twentieth century). Over the past thirty years, Canadian historians have concentrated on recovering the voices of these groups. But if those voices were all we heard, telling their own stories in their own tongues, the resulting cacophony would be unintelligible; and to establish chronology and meaningful periodization, we need a common reference points. Hence a master narrative of some kind is essential."

[49] Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds, eds., *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada. Volume I and II.* (Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988).

[50] Brendan O'Grady, "A 'New Ireland' Lost: The Irish Presence in Prince Edward Island." in *The Untold Story*, O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., 203. P.M. Toner, "Another 'New Ireland' Lost: The Irish of New Brunswick," in *The Untold Story,* O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., 231.

[51] P.M. Toner, *New Ireland Remembered: Historical Essays on the Irish in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: New Ireland Press, 1989). G. Edward MacDonald, *New Ireland: The Irish on Prince Edward Island* (Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island: Prince Edward Island Museum & Heritage Foundation, 1990).

[52] Wendell MacIntyre, ed. and Brendan O'Grady guest ed., *The Abegweit Review: New Ireland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.* First Volume 4 (Spring 1983); Second Volume 5 (Winter 1985); Third Volume 6 (Spring 1988).

[53] Brendan O'Grady "Beginnings" in *The Abegweit Review*.(Spring 1983): 8.

O'Grady quotes Bolger as making a key observation "…the Whole Island was disposed of on this fateful July day [1767] and handed over to political favourites of the Crown, most of whom remained absent from the Island and made of it a second Ireland." This quote suggests that the proprietors and the leasehold land system recreated on Prince Edward Island much of the oppression, sectarianism and poverty of Ireland.

[54]William A. Spray, "Reception of the Irish in New Brunswick," 10, and "The Irish in the Miramichi." 56 .in P.M. Toner, ed., *New Ireland Remembered.* In these essays there are references to Southeastern Irish from Cork. Toner in this book also has two essays including an "Introduction," 1 and "The Irish of New Brunswick at Mid- Century: The 1851 Census," 106. This essay summarizes statistical information about the Irish experience in the first half of the nineteenth century in New Brunswick.

[55]P.M. Toner, "Another 'New Ireland' Lost: The Irish in New Brunswick" in *The Untold Story,* O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., 232. The city of Saint John had the highest concentration of Irish Catholics.

[56] Peter McGuigan, *The Irish (Peoples of the Maritimes),* (Halifax: Nimbus , 1997).

[57] Terence M. Punch, " 'Gentle as the Snow on a Rooftop':The Irish in Nova Scotia to 1830" in *The Untold Story,* O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., 215.

[58] Toner, "The 1851 Census",128.

[59] Buckner, *The Atlantic Region to Confederation,* x.

[60] Martin W Sandler, *Atlantic Ocean: The Illustrated History Of The Ocean That Changed The World,* (New York: Sterling Publishing, 2008) viii.

[61] Francis W. P. Bolger, ed., *Canada's Smallest Province: A History of Prince Edward Island*, (Charlottetown: The Prince Edward Island 1973 Centennial Commission, 1973).Articles by J.H. Maloney, Nicolas de Jong, Douglas B. Boylan and Bolger himself chronicle the early European settlement years before 1842. Some of Bolger's work has been updated by Jack Bumsted. de Jong's research on the Acadian deportations has been updated by Earle Lockerby.

[62] MacNutt, *New Brunswick,* 75.

[63] Basil Greenhill and Ann Giffard, *Westcountrymen in Prince Edward's Isle* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 2003): 3. Marven Moore states in the forward that this book "remains one of the most significant books in the historiography of Prince Edward Island and of Atlantic Canada generally." However, for the most part it follows the work and business successes of a few wealthy powerful men. The first edition of this book was written in 1967 and its pre-1970s themes are reinforced in the third edition of 2003.

[64] Marven Moore, "Forward," in Greenhill, *Westcountrymen* , 4.

[65] John J. Mannion, ed., *Peopling*. This book has articles describing the spread of settlement across the Avalon Peninsula and other sections of Newfoundland. Handcock, "English Migration" in *Peopling,* ed. Mannion, 15-45. This essay contains information allowing comparisons between the Irish and the English the two primary ethnic groups on Newfoundland. C. Grant Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland: A Geographer's Perspective* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 82-99. This book sets the stage for the great influx of Irish and English migrants in the nineteenth century. John Davenport Rogers, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies vol.5, Part4, Newfoundland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931): 137. This book contains the famous quote that the British had considered Newfoundland as nothing but "a   great English ship moored near the banks during the fishing–season for the convenience of the English fisherman." This suggests the British "hands off" approach to the governance of Newfoundland. They did not want to do anything that would harm the financial success of the fishery. Newfoundland has been described as England's oldest colony but it did not become an official colony until 1824.

[66] Clark, *Three Centuries*. One reason this book was groundbreaking was that it looked at Prince Edward Island as a "laboratory" upon which experiments in agriculture and other human activities could be examined. In nissology this perception of islands as laboratories was made famous by Charles Darwin and the evolution of the avifauna (birdlife) of the Galapagos Islands. In terms of the Irish in Prince Edward Island Clark's book examines the changes in social patterns, ethnic makeup, farming techniques and other agriculture aspects over a three century period.

[67] Harry Baglole has edited a book on how to study the historiography and history in Prince Edward Island called *Exploring Island History: A Guide to the Historical Resources Of Prince Edward Island*, (Belfast, Prince Edward Island: Ragweed Press, 1977): 1. *The Island Magazine* (Charlottetown: Prince Edward Island Museum Heritage Foundation) and also *The Abegwiet Review* which is published twice a year by the University Of Prince Edward Island are well written popular sources for researching and documenting historical information about Prince Edward Island. The peer-reviewed journal *Acadiensis* provides scholarly papers for information not only about Prince Edward Island but also for the whole of Atlantic Canada. Also in the Robertson Library, at the University of Prince Edward is an on-line repository of information called *IslandArchives.ca*

[68] Wynn, *Timber Colony*. 1.

[69] Baldacchino, "The Coming of Age." *TESG,* 273.

[70] David Weale suggests that by looking at minorities and comparing and contrasting them with larger ethnic groups a better understanding of the immigration experience can be made. Two examples of books about "micro" minorities include, David Weale, *A Stream Out of Lebanon: An Introduction to the Coming of Syrian/Lebanese Emigrants to Prince*

Edward Island (Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 1988). Jim Hornby*, Black Islanders: Prince Edward Island's Historical Black Community* (Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 1991).

[71] Margaret Mary Ness Doyle, "An Island Solution to an Island Problem?: A Study of Women's Rights on Prince Edward Ireland 1841-1988." Master of Arts Thesis (Island Studies), University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, 2010, 155.

[72] Doyle, "An Island Solution," 28.

[73] Akenson, *Primer*, 35.

[74] John Feehan, "The Heritage of the Rocks," in *Nature in Ireland,* ed. John Wilson Foster (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1997), 18.

[75] Feehan, "The Heritage," 3.

[76] Robert Fensome and Graham L. Williams, editors, Atlantic Geoscience Society. *The Last Billion Years: A Geological History of the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax: Nimbus, 2001), 125.

[77] Robert L. Heller et. al., *Earth Science: Challenges to Science* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), 229.

[78] Feehan, "The Heritage," 6.

[79] Feehan, "The Heritage," 10.

[80] Feehan, "The Heritage," 14-15.On the harsh frozen tundra lived bear, hyena, wild cat, Arctic fox, mammoth, reindeer and lemmings. As the warmer weather returned cold –tolerant trees such as willows, birch and juniper were replaced by plant species less tolerant of cold including oak, elm and ash. These covered the lowlands with its undulating moraines, eskers and other rocky debris deposited by the retreating glaciers. The ecology of the forest varied with the soil topography, physiography and climate. Rich post-glacial grasslands had giant deer, reindeer, elk, bears, wolves, lemmings, foxes and hares.
[81] Feehan, "The Heritage," 4.

[82] Feehan, "The Heritage," 18.

[83] Feehan, "The Heritage," 17.

[84] Maire and Conor Cruise O'Brien , *Ireland: A Concise History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 7.

[84] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 7.

[86] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 8.

[87] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 15.

[88] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 11.

[89] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 15.

[90] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 15-16. For example their gods moved with them and settled where they did. They can be identified by location, tribe and name in Irish and Welsh literature and corresponding gods are found in other European tribal traditions. Other examples include going naked into battle, sacrificing and divining, their liking for allusive and hyperbolic speech and their fondness for the triad are all described in classical text. Each of these characteristics can be found paralleled in Irish texts.

[91] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 17.

[92] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 17.

[93] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 17.

[94] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 18.

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[95] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 18.

[96] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 23.

[97] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 19.

[98] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 19.

[99] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 33

[100] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 22.

[101] Desmond McGuire, *History of Ireland* (London: Bison Books 1987), 28.

[102] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 47.

[103] O'Brien, and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 47.

[104] Smith, *"Late Medieval,"* 548. Smith states "The prestige and economic leadership of Bristol in this Irish Sea world was demonstrated by the deliberate imitation of its privileges by Irish towns throughout the Middle Ages."

[105] Smith, "Late Medieval," 549.

[106] Smith, "Late Medieval," 552.

[107] Smith, "Late Medieval," 554. quote from James Lydon. "The City of Waterford in the Later Middle Ages," in *Decies*, no. 12 (1979): 5-15 quote at 13.

[108] Smith, "Late Medieval," 562.

[109] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 50.

[110] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History,* 56. Her generals fought four wars in Ireland, that last two against additional continental forces of enemies of England. Amongst the English forces was Sir Walter Raleigh who planned the first of England's colonies in mainland North America.

[111] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 61.

[112] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 63.

[113] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 66.

[114] O'Brien and O'Brien, *Concise History*, 68. To simplify a complex settlement those who could prove they were not rebels were given poor and rocky land expropriated from rebels west of the Shannon River. Rebels lost their land outright. Protestant settlers were given the good land east of the Shannon.
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[115] O'Brien and O'Brien*, Concise History*, 69.

[116] T. Jones Hughes, "Society and Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Ireland." *Irish Geography*, 5 (1965): 86.

[117] O'Brien and O'Brien*, Concise History*, 69.

[118] O'Brien and O'Brien*, Concise History*, 73.

[119] O'Brien and O'Brien*, Concise History*, 76.

[120] O'Brien and O'Brien*, Concise History*, 77.

[121] O'Brien and O'Brien*, Concise History*, 81.

[122] Patrick Fitzgerald and Brian Lambkin. *Migration in Irish History, 1607-2007.* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).129.

[123] Fitzgerald, *1607-2007,* 134.

[124] Hughes, "Society," 76.

[125] Hughes, "Society," 79-80. Geographers and ethnographers find it difficult to study patterns of primitive joint-farms based on kin, and material culture prior to the nineteenth century even on farms of old-established tillage areas. This was because the landlord system was so pervasive across most of Ireland. The exception was the farmhouse because landlords built dwelling houses rarely before the Famine.

[126] Hughes, "Society," 80.

[127] Hughes, "Society," 81.

[128] Hughes, "Society," 82.

[129] Hughes, "Society," 83.

[130] Hughes, "Society," 85.

[131] Hughes, "Society," 85.

[132] Hughes, "Society," 87.

[133] Hughes, "Society," 88.

[134] Hughes, "Society," 89. In the barony of Kells in Kilkenny and the south-east of Wexford the proportion was 40%. Some of these areas had a very long tradition of intensive tillage. Some of this was related to the durable influence of the Anglo-Norman colonization. Also arterial canals and road transport established in the eighteenth century provided access to river and coastal ports and foreign markets.

[135] Hughes, "Society," 90.

[136] Hughes, "Society," 92.

[137] McGuire, *History of Ireland,* 70. The story of eighteenth century Ireland is the history of the Penal Laws which were instituted to deny Catholic and native Irish many rights including the right to participate in Irish politics. They could not vote or sit in Parliaments at Westminster or in the British Empire including Prince Edward Island until 1829 and 1830 respectively.

[138] Hughes, "Society," 92.

[139] Hughes, "Society," 93.

[140] Hughes, "Society," 93. Mid-Cork, Tipperary and Waterford were also areas of

Irish speaking traditions.

[141] Hughes, "Society," 93.

[142] Hughes, "Society," 94.

[143] Hughes, "Society," 95.

[144] Hughes, "Society," 96.

[145] Kerby A. Miller, Bruce Boling, David N. Doyle. "Emigrants and Exiles: Irish Cultures and Irish Emigration to North America, 1790-1922." In *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 22, no.86, (September 1980): 107-108.

[146] Fitzgerald, *1607-2007*, 147.

[147] Fitzgerald, *1607-2007,* 148.

[148] Fitzgerald, *1607-2007*, 149.

[149] Fitzgerald, *1607-2007*, 159.

[150] Fitzgerald, *1607-2007*, 160.

[151] Fitzgerald, *1607-2007,* 163.

[152] Mannion, *Eastern*, 179.

[153] Mannion*, Eastern,* 16.

[154] Mannion, *Eastern*, 16.

[155] Mannion, *Eastern*, 16.

[156] Mannion, *Eastern*, 17.

[157] John Mannion. "Irish Migration and Settlement in Newfoundland: The Formative Phase 1697-1732." in *Newfoundland Studies* 17, 2 , (2001): 261.

[158] Mannion, "The Formative Phase", 261.

[159] Farley Mowat, *The New-Founde-Land,* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1989), 1.

[160] Sandy Shepherd ed., *Illustrated Guide to Ireland,* (London: Readers Digest, 1992), 180.

[161] O'Grady, *Exiles,* 50.

[162] Cyril Byrne, "The Waterford Colony in Newfoundland 1700-1850." In William Nolan and Thomas P. Power, eds. *Waterford History & Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County.* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1992. 351.

[163] Byrne, "Waterford," 351.

[164] Byrne, "Waterford," 351.

[165] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 257.

[166] Fitzgerald and Lambkin, *1607-2007,* 138.

[167] Byrne, "Waterford," 352.

[168] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 261.

[169] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 261.

[170] Byrne, "Waterford," 356.

[171] Jerry Bannister, *The Rule of the Admirals: Law Custom and Naval Government in Newfoundland, 1699-1832* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 215.

[172] Byrne, "Waterford," 356.

[173] Byrne, "Waterford," 363.

[174] Byrne, "Waterford," 369. Bonnycastle considered "the verdue of the earth, the absence of refutes, the salubrity of the air, and the peculiar adaptation of the soil to the growth of potato."

[175] Byrne, "Waterford," 369. "Winton commented on the "Friars from Waterford hold the Irish Bishopric of St.John's as a baronial fief intail…All the leaders of parliament are Waterfordians, and all the place holders."

[176] George S. Tomkins, Theo L. Hills and Thomas R. Weir. *Canada: A Regional Geography* (Toronto: Gage Educational, 1970), 45.

[177] Tomkins, *Canada*, 45.

[178] St.John's Harbour itself is fjord-like inlet from the sea with a narrow gap between cliffs leading into a large bay or harbour. Katherine Barber ed. *Concise Canadian Oxford Dictionary.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2005), 499.

[179] Tomkins, *Canada*, 44

[180] Tomkins, *Canada*, 15. Refer to Map 2-5 Physiographic divisions of North America, Map 2-6a July Sea-level temperatures, Map2-6b January Sea-level temperatures, Map 2-6c Air masses affecting North America and typical storm paths, Map 2-6d Distribution of annual precipitation., Map 2-6e ClimateRegions.p13-15.

[181] Mannion, *Eastern*, 32.

[182] Tomkins, *Canada*, 46 The Avalon uplands are of very ancient rocks are at lower elevations of 500-1000 feet compared to other subregions.

[183] Mannion, *Eastern*, 30

[184] Mannion, *Eastern*, 31.

[185] Mannion, *Eastern*, 31.In the Avalon the Irish were confronted by stunted stands of coniferous trees including spruce, larch and fir. Poor soils and a unfavourable climate plus centuries of harvesting trees for the fishery before the settlers came had created a sparse forest.

[186] Tomkins. *Canada,* Map 2-7 Soil types, Map 2-8 Pleistocene glaciation, Map 2-9 original vegetation types, Map 2-10 Land cover p16-19.

[187] Tomkins, *Canada*, 46.

[188] Sean T.Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 14.

[189] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 19.

[190] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 21.

[191] James A.Tuck, "Beothuk" in The Encyclopedia Canadiana. Ed. James H. Marsh, 2nd edition, Vol.I, A-Edu,(Edmonton: Hurtig, 1988), 205. Cadigan suggests an upper limit of 1,600. Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 22.

[192] Tuck, "Beothuk." 205.

[193] Howard A. Bridgman, "Could Climatic Change Have Had An Influence On The Polynesian Migrations?" in *Paleogeography, Paleoclimatology, Paleoecology.* 41,193. Bridgman proposed what he called the Little Climatic Optimum (LCO) was a period of optimal climate for long distance voyaging for both the Polynesians in the South Pacific Ocean and the Norse in the North Atlantic Ocean.

[194] William Fitzhugh, "Puffins, Ringed Pins and Runestones: The Viking Passage to America." William Fitzhugh and Elisabeth Ward, eds. *Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga.*

(Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000). Map 13.

[195] Fitzhugh, "Puffins," 20.

[196] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 27.

[197] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 28.

[198] Bridgman, *Climate*, 193. Most of Bridgman's article is focused on the Polynesians in the South Pacific Ocean. The parallels to the Norse are not central to his argument.

[199] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 29.

[200] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 29.

[201] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 39.

[202] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 31.

[203] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 33.

[204] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 37.

[205] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 45

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[206] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 40.

[207] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 40.

[208] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 41.

[209] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 47.

[210] Pope, *Fish*, 47.

[211] Pope, *Fish*, 126.

[212] Pope, *Fish*, 54.

[213] Pope, *Fish,* 6.

[214] Pope, *Fish*, 6.

[215] Pope, *Fish*, 55.

[216] Pope, *Fish*, 78.

[217] Pope, *Fish*, 440.

[218] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 48.

[219] Pope, *Fish*, 439.

[220] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 48

[221] Pope *Fish*, 52. As early as 1678, West Countrymen had strongly argued that settlers could protect the property of the migratory fisherman over the winter.

[222] Pope, *Fish*, 64.

[223]Pope, *Fish*, 440. The English Shore after 1565 was used by West Country migratory fishing crews and after 1610 was settled by planters and their servants from the West Country.

[224] Pope, *Fish*, 442.

[225] Pope, *Fish*, 217.

[226] Pope, *Fish*, 64.

[227] Pope, *Fish*, 67.

[228] Pope, *Fish*, 68.

[229] Pope, *Fish*, 67.

[230] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 54.

[231] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 55.

[232] Pope, *Fish*, 236.

[233] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 55.

[234] Cadigan, *Newfoundland,* Map 6, xiv.

[235] Pope, *Fish*, 318.

[236]Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 56. Some Mi'kmaq who were allied to the French migrated from Cape Breton to St. Pierre, the Bay D'Espoir area of the south shore of Newfoundland and also the St. Georges Bay on the west coast of Newfoundland.

[237] Pope, *Fish*, 318.

[238] Mannion, "The Formative Phase,"257.

[239] Pope, *Fish*, 234.

[240] Gerald S. Graham, "Fisheries and Sea Power" in *Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces,* ed. G.A. Rawlyk.. (Toronto: McCelland and Stewart, 1971), 10.

[241] Pope, *Fish*, 236.

[242] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 262.

[243] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 263.

[244] .Graham, "Power," 11.

[245] Cadigan, *Newfoundland*, 57. Jean Bermony was called L' Irlandais and was one of the first Irish planters recorded in Newfoundland. "Mannion, "Formative Phase," 264.

[246] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 270.

[247] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 272.

[248] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 264.

[249] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 267. South Munster's leading ports were Cork, Waterford, Youghal and Kinsale

[250] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 272.

[251] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 278.

[252] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 280. "There is no mention of ethnicity, religion or language in the Placentia memorials, the later somewhat (is) somewhat surprising considering that almost certainly some of these Irish servants had little or no English in 1730." Mannion, "Formative Phase," 285.

[253] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 283.

[254] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 283. Power was by far the most prominent surname in County Waterford. Some migrants were kin but many were so recently arrived that no time had been taken for a second generation of adults to occur.

[255] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 284.

[256] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 286.

[257] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 286.

[258] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 287.

[259] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 288.

[260] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 289.

[261] Mannion, "Formative Phase," 257.

[262] Graham, "Power," 11.

[263] C. Grant Head, *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland: A Geographer's Perspective.* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 145.

[264] Head, *Geographer's*, 146.

[265] Head, *Geographer's*, 146.

[266] Head, *Geographer's*, 230.

[267] Head, *Geographer's*, 231.

[268] Head, *Geographer's*, 232.

[269] Head, *Geographer's*, 231.

[270] Head, *Geographer's*, 233

[271] Head, *Geographer's*, 233.

[272] Head, *Geographer's*, 234.

[273] Head, *Geographer's*, 234.

[274] Head, *Geographer's*, 234.

[275] Head, *Geographer's*, 236.

[276] Head, *Geographer's*, 231.

[277] Head, *Geographer's*, 231.

[278] Head, *Geographer's*, 231.

[279] Head, *Geographer's*, 237.

[280] Head, *Geographer's*, 239.

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[281] Mannion, *Eastern*, 22.

[282] Mannion, *Eastern*, 23.

[283] Mannion, *Eastern*, 22.

[284] Mannion, *Eastern*, 24.

[285] Mannion, *Eastern*, 24. The Peterborough-Irish cleared on average a little less than two acres a year. This was twice as much as the Miramichi-Irish and three times the rate of the Avalon-Irish.

[286] Mannion, *Eastern*, 27.

[287] Mannion, *Eastern*, 27.

[288] Mannion, *Eastern*, 27.

[289] Mannion, *Eastern*, 28. In 1837, roads were improved north to Logy Bay, Outer and Middle Bay so that farmers could bring their products to St. John's. Two decades later 4,000 lbs of butter, 1,140 lbs of fresh salmon and 1,200 pound sterling worth of cod liver oil were sold by Irish settlers from the study area north of St. John's. Similarly a road west to St. Brides on the Cape Shore was opened in 1844 and extended to Branch in St. Mary's Bay in 1850. This allowed a greater number of cattle to be more easily driven to market in St. John's.

[290] Mannion, *Eastern*, 28.

[291] Mannion, *Eastern*, 36.

[292] Mannion, *Eastern*, 39.

[293] Mannion, *Eastern*, 39.

[294] Mannion, *Eastern*, 39.

[295] Mannion, *Eastern*, 41.

[296] Mannion, *Eastern*, 41.

[297] Mannion, *Eastern*, 42.

[298] Einzelhof means "isolated farm" dictionary.reverso.net/german-english/Einzelhof accessed July 29, 2013. Refers to isolated farms in Bavaria Germany located at North 49 degrees 32' 08'' and East 11 degrees 40' 56''

accessed July 29, 2013 www.geonames.org/2931640/einzelhof.html. Einzelhof is a German term for an isolated farmstead. Mannion's Glossary in *Irish,*179.

[299] Mannion, *Eastern*, 42.

[300] Mannion, *Eastern*, 42.

[301] Mannion, *Eastern*, 43.

[302] Mannion, *Eastern*, 43.

[303] Mannion, *Eastern*, 43.

[304] Mannion, *Eastern*, 44.

[305] Mannion, *Eastern*, 46.

[306] Fensome, *The Last,* 79.

[307] Fensome, *The Last,* 103.

[308] Fensome, *The Last,* 178.

[309] <http://islands.unep.ch/ITA.htm#206> accessed 28/08/2010 Prince Edward Island's latitude is 46.40 degrees North, longitude is 63.25 degrees West, total area 5783.2 square kilometers, with a shoreline of 1313.1 kilometers and is 15 kilometers from the North America continent.

[310] Tomkins, *Canada,* 15.

[311] Tomkins, *Canada*, 45 and Cadigan, *Newfoundland,* Map1.

[312] Prince Edward Island, Department of Agriculture and Forestry, "*2013 Agriculture at a Glance*." 13AG06-37527. revised April 2013. The Island has a total area of 1. 4 million acres of which there is approximately 594, 000 acres cleared for agricultural use.

[313] Maloney, "And," 1.

[314] Nicolas de Jong, "The French Regime 1534-1758" in *Canada's Smallest,* ed. Bolger, 13.

[315] de Jong, "French," 11.

[316] de Jong, "French," 13.

[317] Stuart R.J. Sutherland "Treaty of Utrecht" in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* ed. James H. Marsh, 2nd edition, IV, Sta-Z, 2237. (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1988).

[318] de Jong, "French," 17.

[319] de Jong, "French," 23.

[320] de Jong, "French," 28.

[321] Earle Lockerby, "Deportation of the Acadians from Ile St.-Jean 1758." *The Island Magazine* 46 (Fall/Winter 1999): 20.

[322] Lockerby, "Deportation," 22.

[323] These Acadians persisted and ultimately thrived on Prince Edward Island forming a fourth ethnic group but one that was not rooted in Great Britain as were the Scots, English and Irish. The Acadians migrated internally on the island to the west and with some Irish formed communities. Both groups wanted to avoid the areas that were being settled by the Scots and English. Their isolation helped their Acadian culture to survive. Most of the Mi'kmaq settled in the west on Lennox Island, a small isolated island off the northwest shore of Malpeque Bay.

[324] Boylan, "Rule," 35.

[325] Boylan, "Rule," 36.

[326] Francis W. P. Bolger, "The Beginnings of Independence 1767-1787" in *Canada's Smallest,* ed. Bolger, 37.

[327] Bolger, "Beginnings," 44.

[328] Robertson, "Highlanders," 227.

[329] Robertson, "Highlanders," 227.

[330] W. F. Ganong The Foundations of the Modern Settlement of the Miramichi in *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society* 9, 1914, 309.

[331] Robertson, "Highlanders," 227.

[332] J.M. Bumsted, *Land, Settlement and Politics on Eighteenth-Century Prince Edward Island.* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1987), 197.

[333] Bumsted, *Land*, 198.

[334] Clark, *Three Centuries*, 237.

[335] Clark, *Three Centuries*, 237.

[336] Brendan O'Grady, "The Heritage of New Ireland," *The Abegweit Review: New Irelandin the Gulf of St. Lawrence -Second Volume,* 4 (Winter1985):100. This breakdown of Irish settlement patterns is based on the work of Brendan O'Grady the leading historian of the Irish immigration experience of colonial Prince Edward Island.

[337] Walter Patterson was Irish and the first Governor of the colony. He convinced the colonial assembly to change the name of the island to New Ireland. The British government considered the suggestion impertinent and in 1799 the island's name became Prince Edward Island.

[338] G. Edward MacDonald, *New Ireland: The Irish on Prince Edward Island* (Charlottetown: Prince Edward Island Museum and Heritage Foundation, 1990), 10.

[339] MacDonald, *New Ireland*, 10.

[340] O'Grady, *Exiles*, 142.

[341] O'Grady, *Exiles*, 142.

[342] Robertson, "Highlanders," 232.

[343] MacDonald, *New Ireland*, 2.

[344] MacDonald, *New Ireland*, 2.

[345] O'Grady, *Exiles*, 11.

[346] MacDonald, *New Ireland,* 2.

[347] O'Grady, *Exiles*, 20.

[348] Mac Donald, *New Ireland,* 7.

[349] O'Grady, *Exiles*, 142.

[350] O'Grady, *Exiles,* 5.

[351] Matthew G. Hatvany, "The Origins of the Acadian *Aboiteau*: An Environmental Geography of the Northeast." *Historical Geography,* 30 (2002): 131.

[352] Rosemary Curley "The Essential Salt Marsh"

http://vre.upei,ca/islandarchives.ca/fedora/repository/vre:islemag-batch2-546/OBJ/07The essential salt marsh p20-28 pdf accessed June 27/2011.

[353] O'Grady, "Where," 157.

[354] O'Grady, "Where were the Irish in 1864?" In *The Abegweit Review: New Ireland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence - Third Volume.* 6, No.1 (Spring, 1988): 157.

[355] Clark, *Three Centuries*, 70.

[356] O'Grady, "Where," 157. Donald Akenson has argued against the myth that the Irish immigrants were a "city people." He underscores that the majority of the Irish arriving in British North America, in general wanted to farm. Donald Akenson, "What is Known about the Irish in North America." in *The Untold Story,* O'Driscoll and Reynolds, eds., 215.

[357] Clark, *Three Centuries*, 87.

[358] Arsenaualt, Georges. The Acadians of/The Acadiens of Summerside. (Tracadie-Sheila New Brunswick: La Grande Maree, 2013) 13.

[359] Clark, *Three Centuries*, 74.

[360] Clark*, Three Centuries*, 91.

[361] Bruce Elliott, "English Immigration to Prince Edward Island Part 2," *The Island Magazine,* 41 (Spring/ Summer 1997): 6.

[362] Clark, *Three Centuries*, 81-82. Clark is agreeing with two writer/commentators, John McGregor, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America* (London,1828), which was later incorporated with minor changes into *British America*. (Edinburgh and London, 1833) and Walter Johnstone, *A Series of Letters...*(Edinburgh, 1822) and *Travels in Prince Edward Island...*(Edinburgh, 1823). Clark does not quote these writers directly concerning the Southern Irish low rating as farmers. Refer to endnotes, 239.

[363] Elliott*, Magazine,* Part 2, 7.

[364] Elliott, *Magazine*, Part 2, 7.

[365] Clark, *Three*, 91.

[366] O'Grady, *Exiles*, 27-48; John Cousins. "The Irish of Lot 7," in *The Abegweit Review: New Ireland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.* 4 (Spring 1983): 35-40; Kevin Farmer, "Making Community in Kinkora," in *The Abegweit,* 5 (Winter, 1985): 50-58; Peter T. McGuigan, "From Wexford and Monaghan: The Lot 22 Irish," in *The Abegweit*. 5, (Winter,

1985):61-85; Reginald Porter, "The First Irish of Tignish,"in *The Abegweit.* 4, (Spring 1983): 27-33. These articles and others from three special issues give the reader a flavour of the culture of the semi-Irish settlements in Prince County. Similar settlements were found in eastern Queens and Kings Counties. Each community was unique and had its own history and development.

[367] Robertson, "Highlanders," 228.

[368] Robertson's entry in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume X 1871 - 1880* for "George Coles," 183.

[369] Elliott, *Magazine*, Part 2, 4.

[370] Elliott, *Magazine,* Part 2, 9.

[371] There was a similar developing timber industry established in the Miramichi River valley of New Brunswick. The Miramichi was a short distance west across Northumberland Strait from the North Cape of Prince Edward Island and was a major population centre of Southeastern Irish.

[372] Clark, *Three Centuries*, 88.

[373] Clark, *Three Centuries,* 91.

[374] Clark, *Three Centuries,* 91.

[375] Bumsted, "Lord," 6.

[376] Boyde Beck, *The Isle of Contentment: The Scots On Prince Edward Island.* (Charlottetown: Prince Edward Island Museum & Heritage Foundation, 1991), 6. To summarise, these Scottish groups included the early Scottish Catholic group of 220 settled by Captain John MacDonald, Laird of Glenaladale in 1772 in the Scotchfort/Tracadie area, (Bumsted, "Settlement," 184). The 800 Highland Scots of the Hebrides Islands, 500 of which were settled by Thomas Douglas, Lord Selkirk in 1803 on his land in the Belfast area, The other 300 Highlanders were from Uist but they did not settle on Selkirk land. (Bumsted, "Lord Selkirk," 5). Finally, the Glasgow Irish group of 206, were assisted by the third son of Captain John MacDonald, Father John MacDonald in 1830 around the Fort Augustus area (O'Grady, *Exiles*, 142).

[377] Beck, *The Isle*, 13.

[378] Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland: Volume One, Willing Exiles,* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 7.

[379] Robertson, "Highlanders," 228.

[380] Robertson, "Highlanders," 228.

[381] Robertson, "Highlanders," 236.

[382] MacDonald, *New Ireland*, 13.

[383] MacDonald, *New Ireland*, 13.

[384] Fensome, *The Last*, 212.

[385] Fensome, *The Last*, 186.

[386] Fensome, *The Last*, 190.

[387] Mannion, *Irish,* 31.

[388] Tomkins, Canada, 15.

[389] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Miramichi_Valley 9/9/2008, 1.

[390] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Miramichi_Valley 9/9/2008, 1.

[391]http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Miramichi_Valley 9/9/2008, 2.

[392] W. F. Ganong The Foundations of the Modern Settlement of the Miramichi in *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society* 9, 1914, 308.

[393] Ganong, *Collections*, 308.

[394]http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miramichi_Valley 9/9/2008, 3.

[395] Ganong, *Collections*, 309.

[396] Davidson, *Collections*, 310-313. Davidson established a salmon fishery. He was the first to export from America to the Mediterranean in a ship built in New Brunswick of 300 tons. Davidson established a timber trade with the Royal Navy for masts yards and bowsprits. He also established shipbuilding and double saw mills industries. These businesses employed many settlers from England and Scotland with all this economic activity. The Nova Scotia government had granted land to business men to establish businesses and attract settlers. Davidson appeared to do this but the New Brunswick authorities were not satisfied and escheated his large land grant.

[397] Ganong, *Collections*, 339.

[398] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 43.

[399] Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miramichi_Valley 9/9/2008, 3.

[400] Ganong, *Collections*. 340.

[401] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 62.

[402] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 63. Gail G. Campbell "New Brunswick" in. Gerald Hallowell ed. *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2004), 436-437. Campbell summarizes the Loyalists demands for "land, place and privilege."

[403] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 95.

[404] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 95.

[405] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 99.

[406] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 118.

[407] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 120.

[408] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 122.

[409] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 143.

[410] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 163. Lord Selkirk rejected New Brunswick because of the scarcity of good agricultural land.

[411] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 152.

[412] Mannion, *Irish*, 20.

[413] Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miramichi_Valley 9/9/2008, 3.

[414] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 179. The Miramichi valley had the highest reputation for white pine. In 1818 1,520 British ships were involved with the North American timber trade. Of these 297 were loaded in the Miramichi. In 1824, the Miramichi surpassed Saint John as an exporter of timber. Alexander Rankin controlled the timber trade on the northern bank.

[415] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 163.

[416] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 180.

[417] Mannion, *Irish*, 21.

[418] Mannion, *Irish*, 24.

[419] Peter Toner, The Origins of the New Brunswick Irish, 1851. *Journal of Canadian Studies* Vol. 23, Nos.1&2 1988, 104.

[420] Toner, *Origins*, 108.

[421] Toner*, Origins*, 111.

[422] Toner, *Origins*, 111.

[423] Toner *, Origins*, 117.

[424] Joseph Hunter completed the survey of the Barnaby in 1830 and Semiwagan in 1833. Mannion, *Irish*, 39.

[425] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Miramichi_Valley 9/9/2008, 2.

[426] Mannion*, Irish*, 40.

[427] Einzelhof is a German term for an isolated farmstead. Mannion's Glossary in *Irish,*179.

[428] Mannion, *Irish*, 49.

[429] Mannion, *Irish,* 53

[430] Mannion, *Irish*, 53 *The landlords regarded the Irish peasantry as being utterly without organization.* "If Irish settlement is to be largely promoted in Canada, the land as well as the Church, the Clergyman, Drainage and Roads, the Mill, the Store, the Blacksmith's shop, the School, must be furnished by some Providence, some Organization, some Exertions; not those of the Bulk of the Settlers." (Great Britain*, Committee on Colonization from Ireland,* Appendix 25 , p. 212)

[431] Mannion, *Irish*, 54.

[432] William R. MacKinnon*. Over the Portage: Early History of the Upper Miramichi*. (Fredericton, New Brunswick: New Ireland Press) 2000, 2.

[433] MacKinnon*, Over*, 6.

[434] MacKinnon, *Over*, 21.

[435] Spray, "The Irish in Miramichi," 57.

[436] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 180.

[437] MacKinnon, *Over*, 56.

[438] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 163.

[439] MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, 281.

[440] Wynn, *Timber*, 34..

[441] Wynn, *Timber*, 134.

[442] Wynn, *Timber*, 137.

[443] Scott W. See, "Polling Crowds and Patronage: New Brunswick's 'Fighting Elections' of 1842-3. *Canadian Historical Review*, 72, 1991.

[444] See, *Fighting*, 153.

[445] See, *Fighting*, 155. One candidate, John Hea made an (in)famous speech in Gaelic to indicate his ethnic identity with crowds in the Chatham. Another candidate John A. Street had a reputation as being anti-Catholic. Although he denied it, he probably lost votes among the extensive Irish vote on the southern bank's including perhaps Mannion's study area. The congregations of Roman Catholics and Episcopalians showed some religious antagonism at the St Andrew's riot.

[446] See, *Fighting*, 156.

[447] Scott W. See, *Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 4.

[448] See, Riots, 11. Nativism is the response of an established group of ethnicity, religion or political ideology towards other groups, often recent immigrants whose race, religion or culture are markedly different. Racist ideas, nationalism, negative rhetoric and violence can be used by the dominant group to subjugate the other.

[449] See, *Riots*, 8.

[450] See, *Riots*, 9.

[451] See, *Riots*, 10.

[452] O'Grady "A 'New Ireland' Lost; the Presence in Prince Edward Island," in O'Driscoll and Reynolds eds., *Untold,* 203. Toner, "Another 'New Ireland' Lost: The Irish of New Brunswick," in O'Driscoll and Reynolds eds., *Untold,* 231

[453] Stephen J. Hornsby, *Surveyors of Empire: Samuel Holland, J.W.F. Des Barres and the making of The Atlantic Neptune.* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2011), 76-77.

[454] Toner, "Census" in Toner, ed., *Remembered*, 126.

[455] Toner, "Census," 127.

[456] Toner, "Origins", 104. Catholics came from Counties Tipperary, Leix, Kilkenny and Waterford.

[457] Frederick H. A. Allen, "Rural and Urban Settlements," in *Encyclopedia of Ireland,* (Dublin: Allen Figgus, 1968), 150.

[458] Toner, "Census," 126.

[459] Toner, "Census," 127.

[460] Toner, "Census," 128.

[461] Toner, "Census," 130.

[462] Toner, "Census," 132.

[463] Toner, "Census," 126.

[464] David Weale, "The Emigrant: Beginnings in Scotland," *The Island Magazine*, no.16 (Fall/Winter 1984):15.

[465] Mannion, *Irish*, 173. Important factors include the local community, physical environment (which is largely a nissological examination) and the rural economy.

[466] Mannion, *Irish*, 165.

[467] Mannion, *Irish*, 165.

[468] Irish from the County Monaghan in the north of Ireland did settle in the Kinkora area. This farmland in the interior was excellent farmland. Also the Glasgow Irish who also originated in the north of Ireland settled in the Fort Augustus area. Lord Selkirk's settlers from Scotland also settled as a group in the Belfast area.

[469] Bumsted, Land, 195.

[470] Ian Ross Robertson, "Introduction," *The Prince Edward Island Land Commission of 1860*, (Saint John: Acadiensis Press 1986), *x-xxx*.

[471] Robertson, *Commission,* xii.

[472] Robertson, *Commission*, xiv.

[473] Robertson, *Commission*, xv.

[474] *Concise Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2005), s.v."farmstead.".

[475] *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Province of Prince Edward Island.* re-printed ed. (Belleville Ontario: Mika Publishing Company, 1977) 59-60.

[476] Mannion, *Irish*, 165.

[477] Also the land was heavily forested and took years to clear and this would have affected settlement patterns.
[478] Peter McGuigan, "From Wexford and Monaghan: The Lot 22 Irish.," *The Abegweit Review: New Ireland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence - Second Volume* 5, no.1 (Winter,1985): 69.

[479] Handrahan, Gerald. "Irish Settlements in Tignish and Vicinity," *The Abegweit Review: New Ireland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence - Third Volume* 6, no.1 (Spring,1988): 111.

[480] Mannion, *Irish*, 169.

[481] Soil types, topography and climate were also key factors in determining location of farms.

[482] Mannion, *Irish*, 173.

[483] There were a few exceptions, refer to endnote 461.

[484] Mannion, *Irish*, 172. Mannion states this was true for all the voluntary streams of European immigrants not just the Irish.

[485] W. Gordon Handcock. "English Migration to Newfoundland" in *The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 26.

[486] Handcock, "English Migration." 29. In 1720 Commodore Perry reported to the British Council of Trade and Plantations that every year ships from Bristol, Bideford and Barnstaple carried large numbers of Irish Roman Catholic servants to St. John's and the southern Avalon Peninsula. Thus it was largely the English who transported Southeastern Irish as well as the English to Newfoundland.. The parallel streams of migrants were connected by this migration across to the New World

[487] Handcock, "English Migration." 30.

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[488] Handcock, "English Migration." 44. Emigration records of marriage frequencies indicate that the main period of emigration from the British Isles as a whole to Newfoundland spanned 1795-1845 and the peak influxes in 1820 and 1830s.

[489] Handcock, "English Migration." 44.

[490] Handcock, "English Migration." 39

[491] Handcock, "English Migration." 39. O'Grady also describes a similar situation for Prince Edward Island settlers coming from the hinterland of Waterford.

[492] Handcock, "English Migration." 39.

[493] Handcock, "English Migration." 44

[494] Bruce Elliott, "English Immigration to Prince Edward Island," Part One, *The Island Magazine* no. 40 (Fall/Winter 1996): 3-11; and Part Two, The Island Magazine, no. 41 (Spring/Summer 1997): 3-9.

[495] Margaret R Conrad and James K. Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A Region in the Making,* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001), 110. The Aroostook-Madawaska area of the Upper St. John River was divided by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Large numbers of Americans continued to be involved in New Brunswick issues.

[496] Spray, William A. "Reception of the Irish in New Brunswick" in, *Historical Essays on the Irish in New Brunswick: New Ireland Remembered.* (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1988) 22.

[497] Edward Macdonald, "Who's Afraid of the Fenians? The Fenian Scare on Prince Edward Island 1865-1867." *Acadiensis* 38, no.1 (Winter/Spring), 2009. accessed 21 March 2014, <http://journals.hil.unb.ca/index.php/Acadiensis/rt/printerFriendly/124..>

[498] Mannion, *Irish*, 173.

[499] Grant McCall, *Nissology A Debate and Discourse from Below*, p 4. accessed 21 October 2013. <http://southpacific.arts.unsw.au/resources/resource_nissology.htm>.

[500] There was a parallel situation in Ireland, that is, there were many landlords and their agents were quite oppressive in the way they treated their tenants. This was why many farmers wanted to leave Southeastern Ireland in the first place.

[501] Mark Hatvany, "The Proprietary Burden?" In *Island Magazine,* no. 44

(Fall/Winter 1998): 3-7 accessed 21 March 2014,
<http://vre2.upei.ca/islandmagazine/fedora/repository/vre%3Aislemag-batch2-580/OBJ.>

[502] Hatvany, "Burden." 4.

[503] Hatvany, "Burden." 4-5. Some contemporary commentators thought the graduated system on Prince Edward Island was superior to the down payment and mortgage system that existed in most of North America. Poorer Island farmers without capital were better able to settle a farm without immediately incurring the debt of down payment or mortgage payments while at the same time trying to clear the land and improve it. Hatvany feels these are important considerations and he notes that there were numerous cases of capital-poor settlers in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia who lost their farms when they could not make the mortgage payments.

[504] Clark, *Three Centuries,* 95. In 1841 out of a total number of occupiers of 6,340, freeholders numbered 2030.

[505] Rusty Bittermann, *Rural Protest On Prince Edward Island: From British Colonialization to the Escheat Movement.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 55

[506] Hatvany, "Burden." 7.

[507] Hatvany, "Burden." 7.

[508] Hatvany, "Burden." 7.

[509] Bittermann, Rusty. "Agrarian Protest and Cultural Transfer: Irish Immigrants and the Escheat Movement on Prince Edward Island." In *The Irish in Atlantic Canada 1780-1900.* ed Thomas P Power (Fredericton: New Ireland Press, 1991). 96.

[510] Bittermann, *Rural Protest*, 49-50. In the late1820s eighteen great proprietors each held lots of 20,000 acres or more. The top 6 of these great proprietors collectively owned one third to one half of the entire island. Slightly more than half the eighty proprietors possessing more than 500 acres were Island residents. Roughly one-third of the rural population were freeholders controlled collectively 19% of the Island

[511] Bittermann, "Escheat" 99. Violence in Southeastern Ireland included Whiteboyism in reaction to increased rents and taxes, clearances, changes in land use and evictions. This resulted in Whiteboys organizing the removal of fences or livestock, ploughing up pasture, assassination, arson, threatening letters and   nocturnal visits to intimidate by armed gangs in Whiteboy garb. They sought to preserve the traditional status quo of landlordism whereas the Southeastern Irish and the Highlanders sought to abolish landlordism on Prince Edward Island.

[512] Bittermann, "Escheat," 98.

[513] Bittermann, "Escheat," 106.

[514] Bittermann, "Escheat," 106.

[515] Bittermann, "Escheat," 98.

[516] Arthur R. M. Lower, *Great Britain's Woodyard: British America and the Timber Trade 1763-1867.* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queens University Press, 1973, 191. He is citing John McGregor, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies* (London: Longman Rees, Rees, Orme. Brown & Green, 1828), 168.

[517] Lower, *Woodyard*, 67.

[518] Stephen A Royle, "Bridging the Gap: Prince Edward Island and the Confederation Bridge," in *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 14, no 2 (1999) 242.

[519] Royle, "Bridging," 242.

[520] Royle, "Bridging," 244.

[521] E. M. DeLoughrey, *Roots and Routes: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures.* (Honolulu HI.: University of Hawaii Press, 2007).

[522] O'Grady, *Exiles*. 55.

[523] O'Grady, *Exiles*. 55.

[524] There was near total isolation in the winter but during ice-free seasons the isolation was more limited and could be interrupted.

[525] MacDonald, *Stronghearted,* 31

[526]Toner, "Census," 131.

[527] Stewart Donovan, *In the Wake of Dark Passage*,The New Brunswick Irish Portal May 17, 2010 (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, accessed 5/31/2010 2010. <http://archives.gnb.ca/Irish/IWDP/en Default.aspx>.
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[528] Toner, "Another 'New Ireland' Lost." 235.

[529] Lower, *Woodyard*, 52.

[530] Grant McCall. "Nissology: A Debate and Discourse From Below" http://web.archive.org/web/20090304222921/HTTP;//southpacific.arts.unsw.edu.au/resources/resource nissology.htm (accessed 11/21/2013).

[531] Margaret Doyle, "An Island Solution to an Island Problem? A Study of Women's Rights on Prince Edward Island & Ireland: 1841-1988." (M.A. Thesis, University of Prince Edward Island, Charlottetown, 2010), 113.

[532] Doyle, "Island Solution," 155.

[533] O'Grady, *Exiles*, .

[534] Horace B. Carver, (Commissioner), *The Gift of Jurisdiction: Our Island Province*. *Report of the Commission on the Lands Protection Act, June 30, 2013.* (Charlottetown: Communications PEI, 2013), 2. Carver states that "we Islanders are in a unique situation – we've inherited the gift of jurisdiction as an island province. It is a valuable gift, one not to be underestimated or overlooked, but rather to be cherished as the special gift that it is."

Appendix of Illustrations

Figure 1. Map, Map of Ireland. Source. O'Driscoll, Robert and Lorna Reynolds. "Introduction" In *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, ed. O'Driscoll &Reynolds vol.1.,

Toronto: Celtic Arts of Canada, 1988 inside cover.

Figure 2. Map, Permanently Inhabited English Fishing Harbours in Newfoundland, 1675-1684. Source. Pope, Peter E. *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century.* Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Map 5, 49.
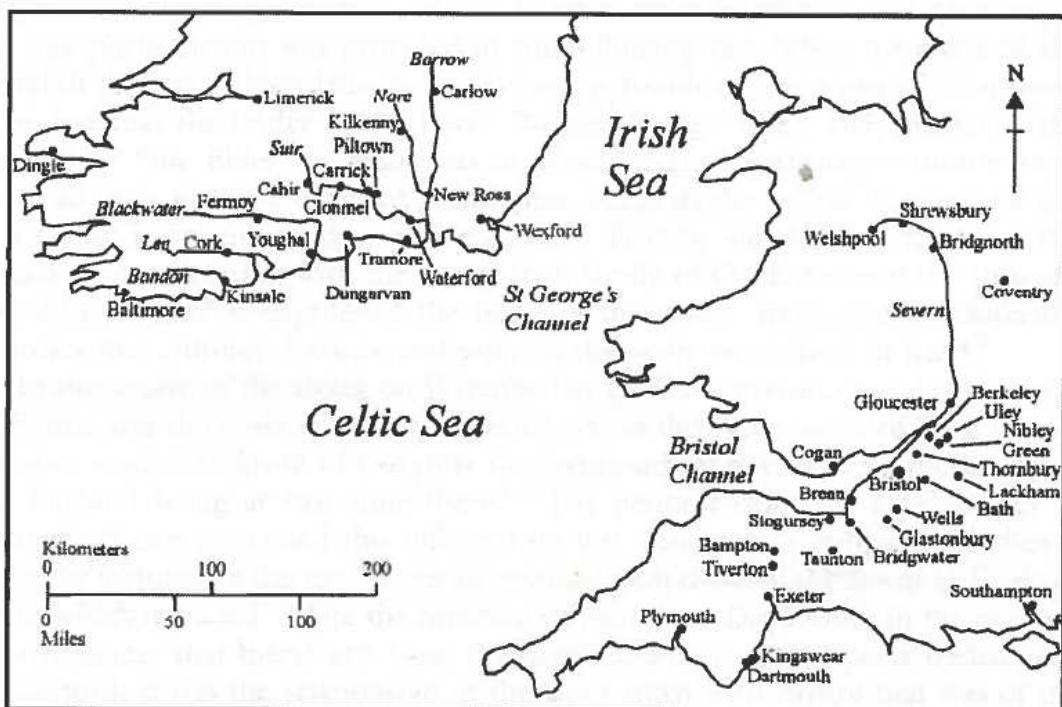
Figure 3 Map, The Celtic Sea region in the Late Middle Ages. Source. Smith, Brendan.
"Late Medieval Ireland and the English Connection: Waterford and Bristol ca. 1360-1460."
Journal of British Studies 50, July (2011): Figure 1. 547.
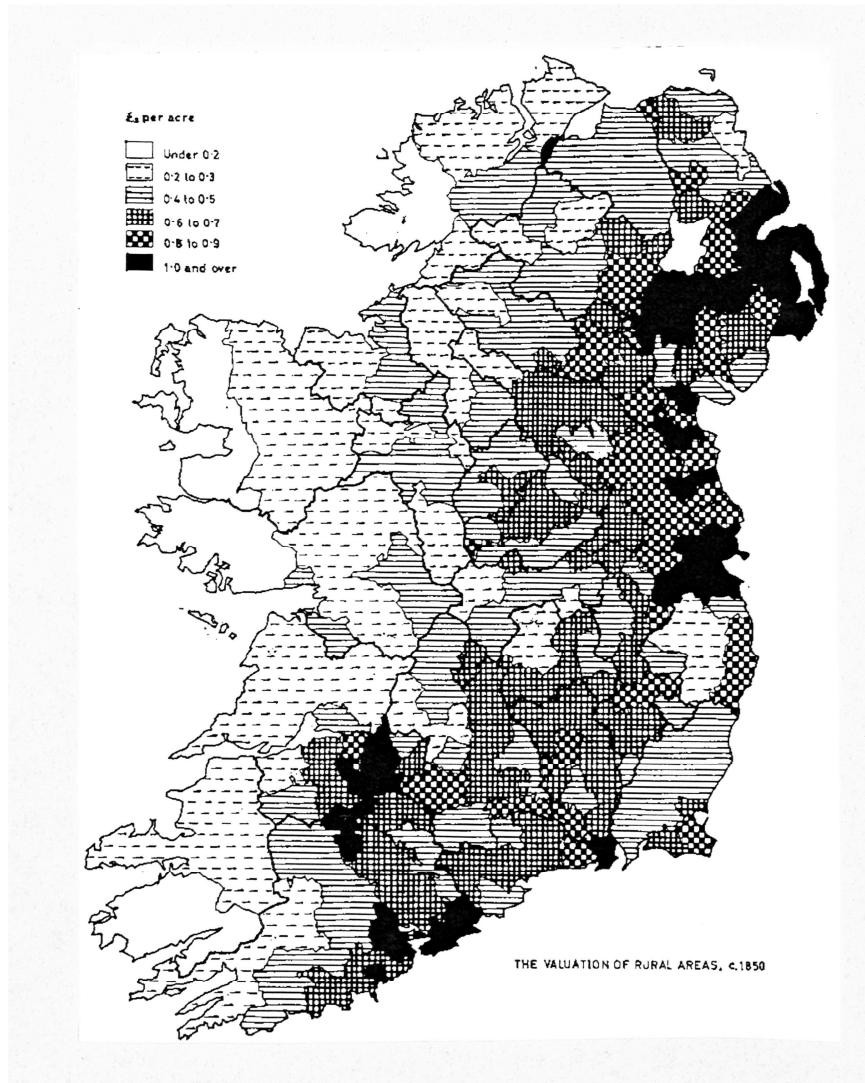
Figure 4. Map, The Valuation of Rural Areas, c. 1850. Source. Hughes, T. Jones. "Society and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ireland." *Irish Geography* 5, (1965): Fig.1. 82.
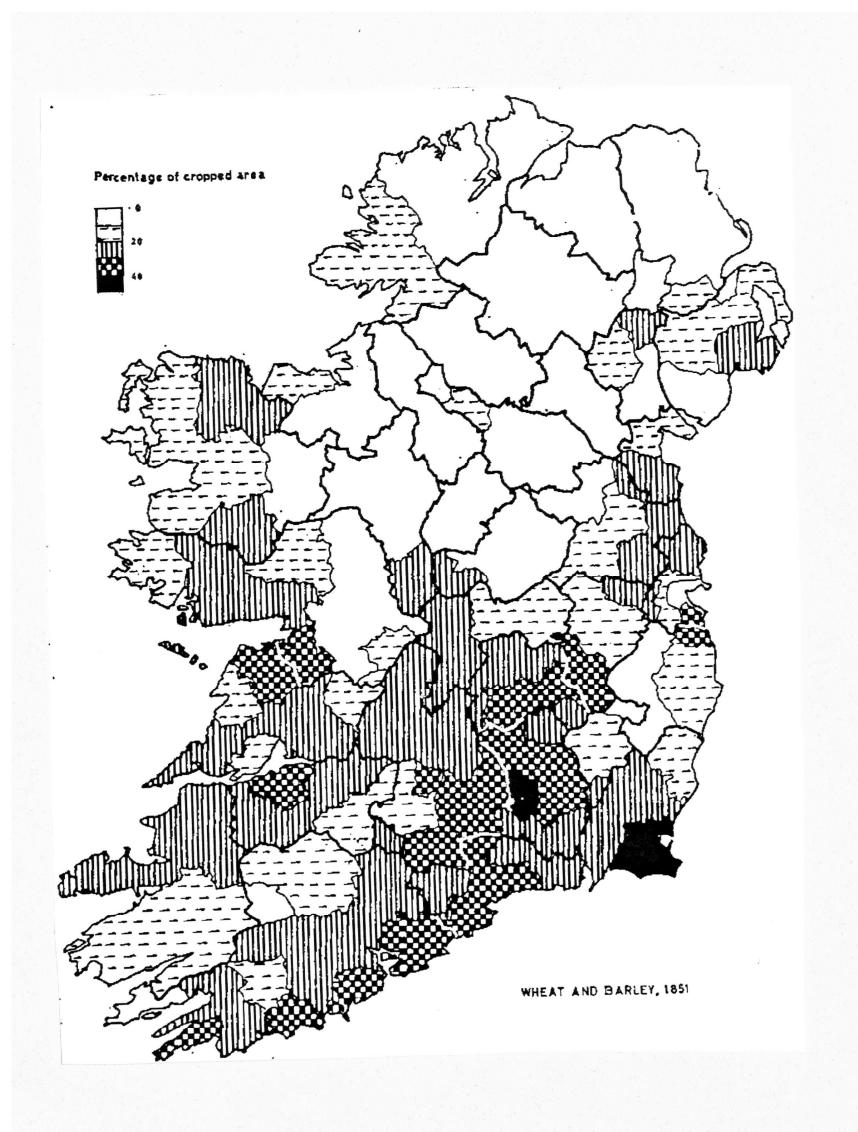
Figure 5. Map, Wheat and Barley, 1851, Source. Hughes, T. Jones. "Society and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ireland." *Irish Geography* 5, (1965): Fig 2. 88.
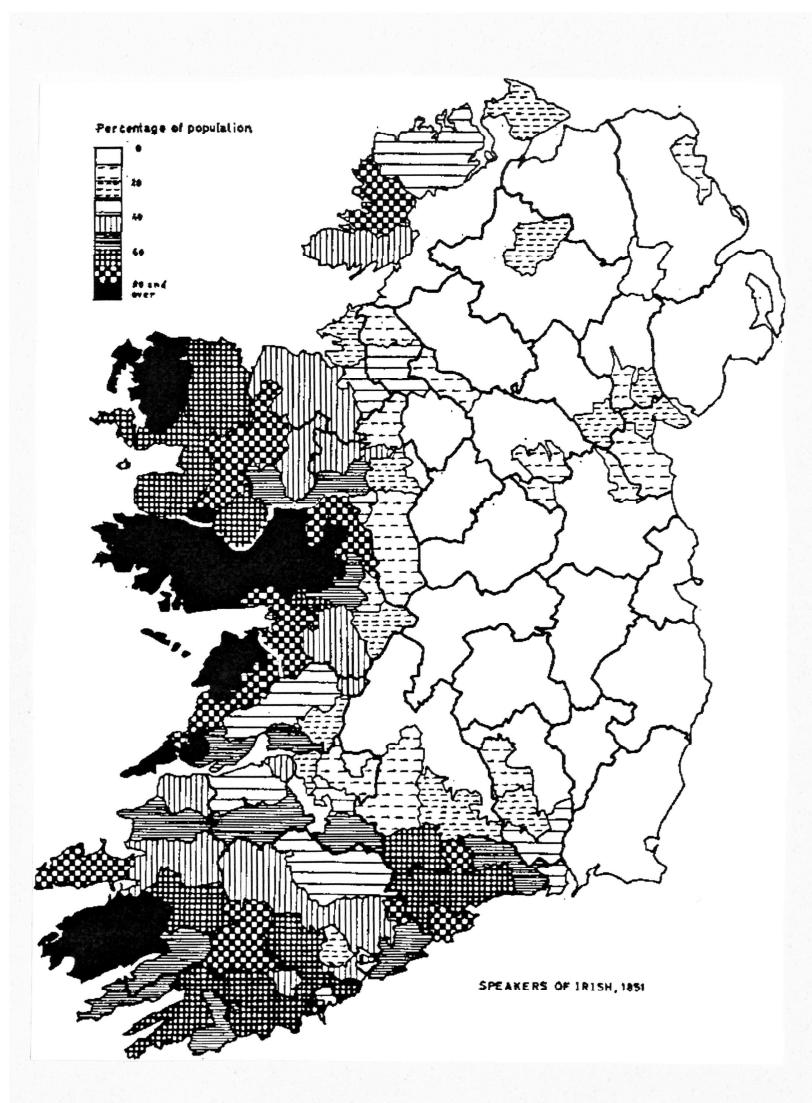
Figure 6. Map, Speakers of Irish, 1851, Source. Hughes, T. Jones. "Society and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ireland." *Irish Geography* 5, (1965):Fig. 4. 94.
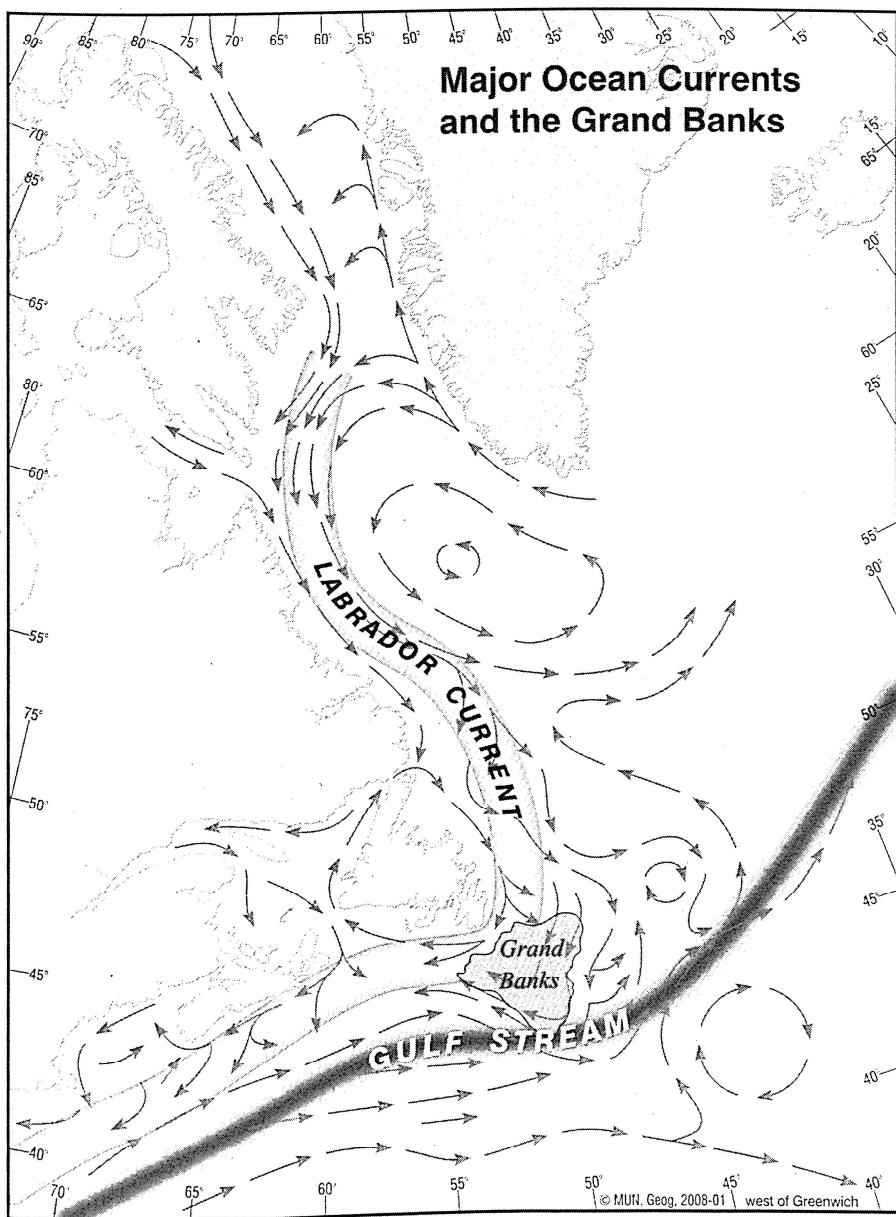
Figure 7. Map, Major Ocean Currents and the Grand Banks. Source. Cadigan, Sean T. *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. Map 1.vix.
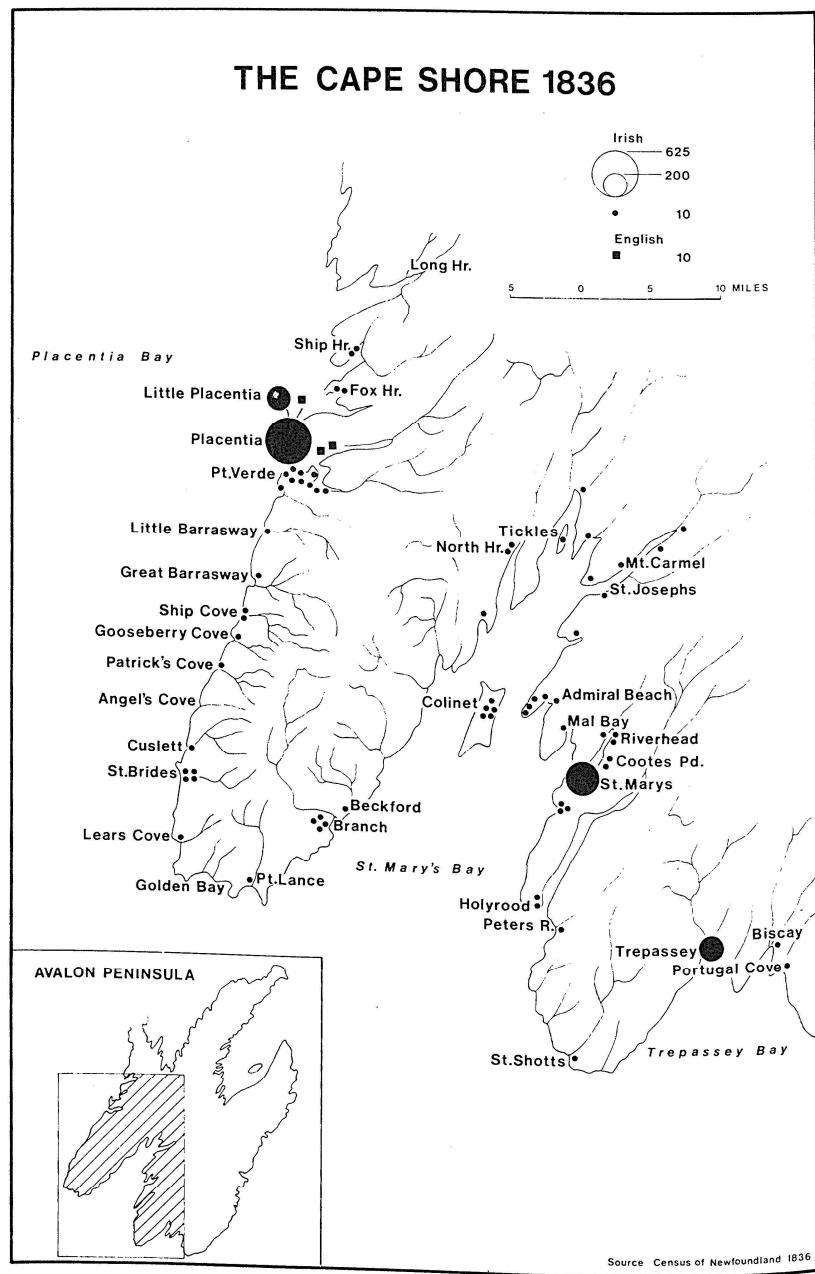
THE CAPE SHORE 1836

Figure 8. Map,The Cape Shore 1836. Source. Mannion, John J. *Irish Settlement in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Figure 1, 22.
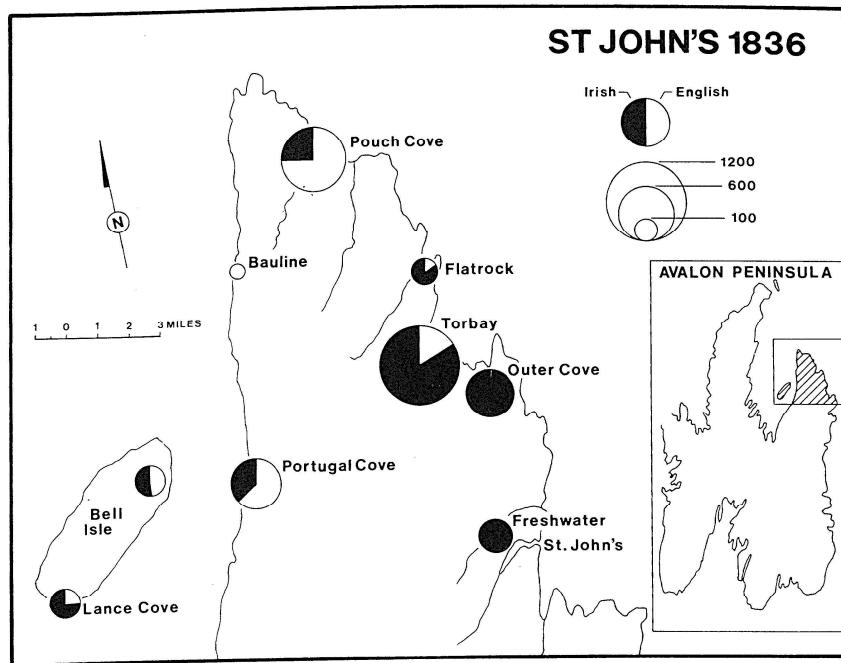
Figure 9. Map, St John's 1836. Source. Mannion, John J. *Irish Settlement in Eastern Canada::A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Figure 2, 23.
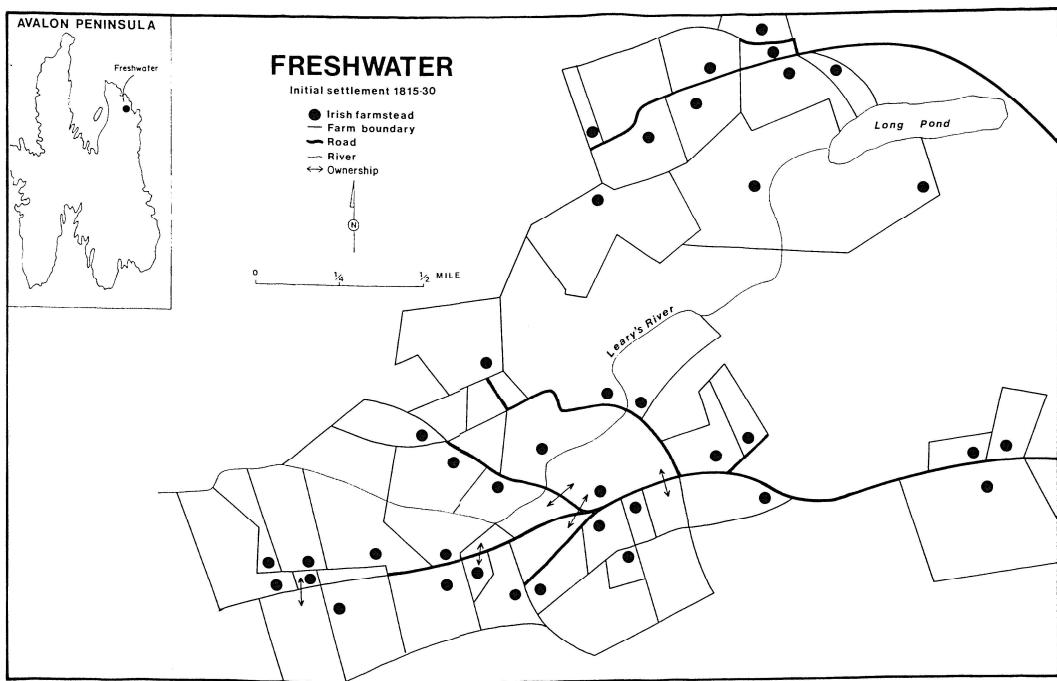
Figure 10. Map, Freshwater: Initial settlement 1815-30. Source. Mannion, John J. *Irish Settlement in Eastern Canada::A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Figure 5, 37.
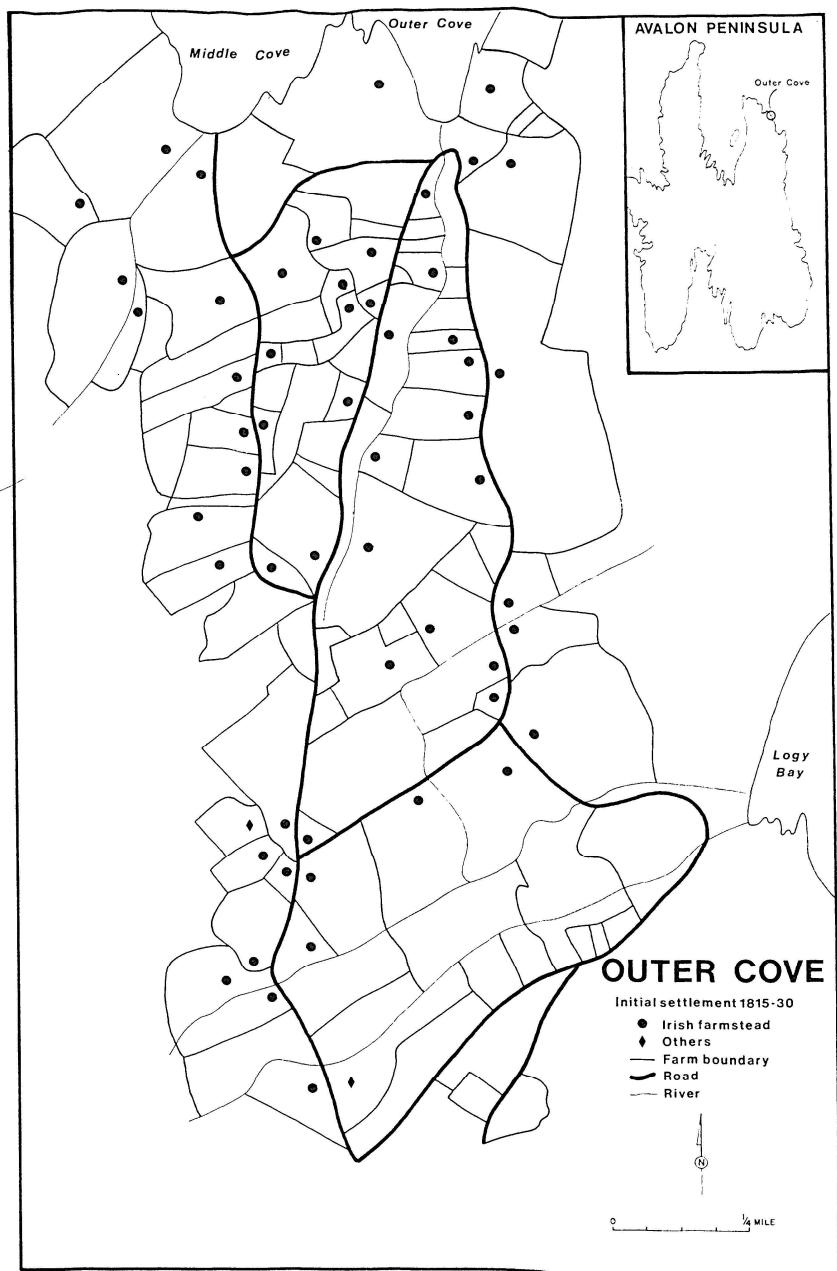
Figure 11. Map, Outer Cove: Initial settlement 1815-30. Source. Mannion, John J. *Irish Settlement in Eastern Canada::A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Figure 6, 38.
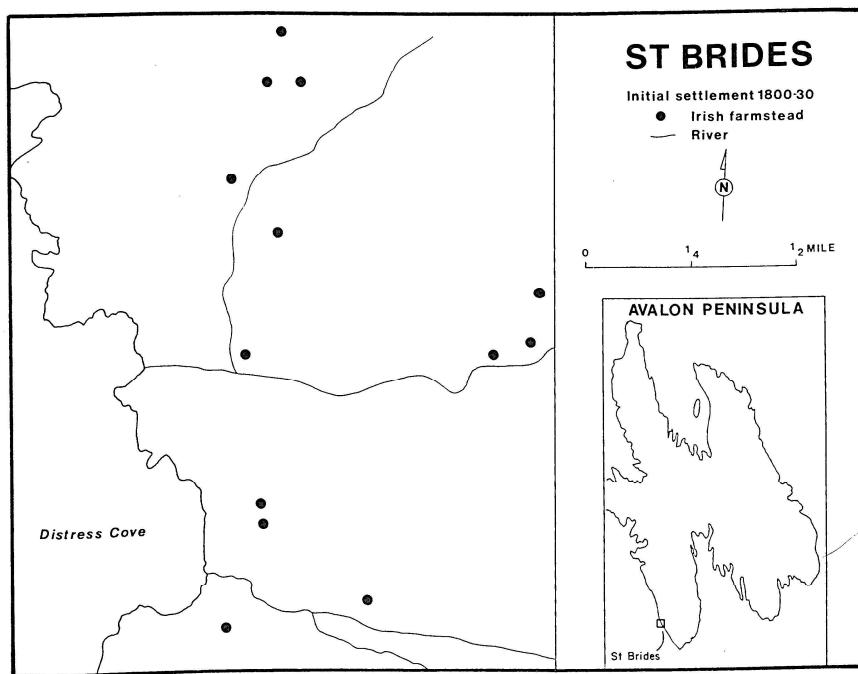
Figure 12. Map, St Brides: Initial settlement 1800-30. Source. Mannion, John J. *Irish Settlement in Eastern Canada::A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Figure 7, 39.
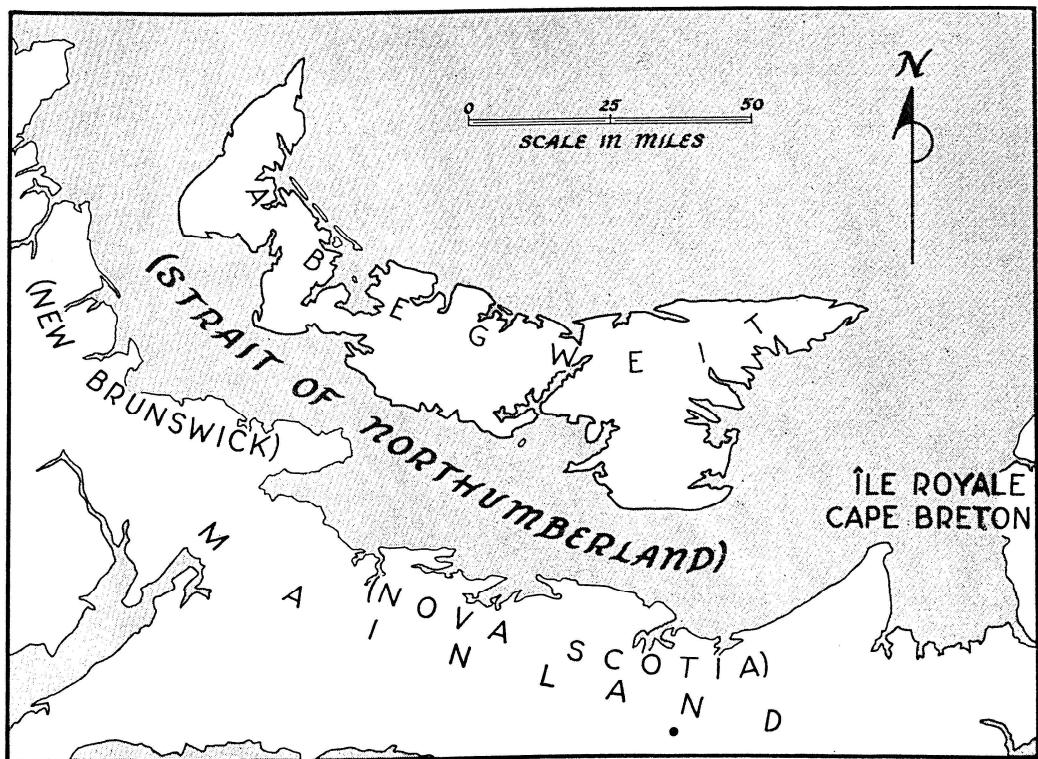
Figure 13. Map, Abegweit Source. Clark, Andrew Hill. *Three Centuries and the Island.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. Fig. 7, 17.
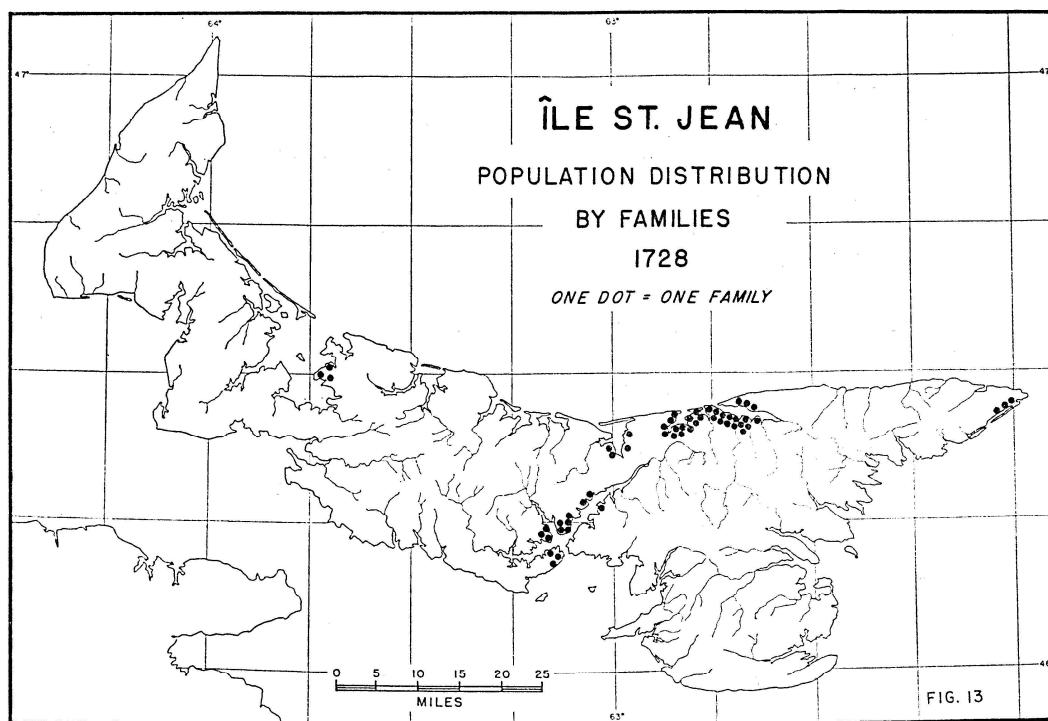
Figure 14. Map, Ile St. Jean 1728. Source, Clark Andrew Hill. *Three Centuries and the Island.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. Fig. 2, 6-7.
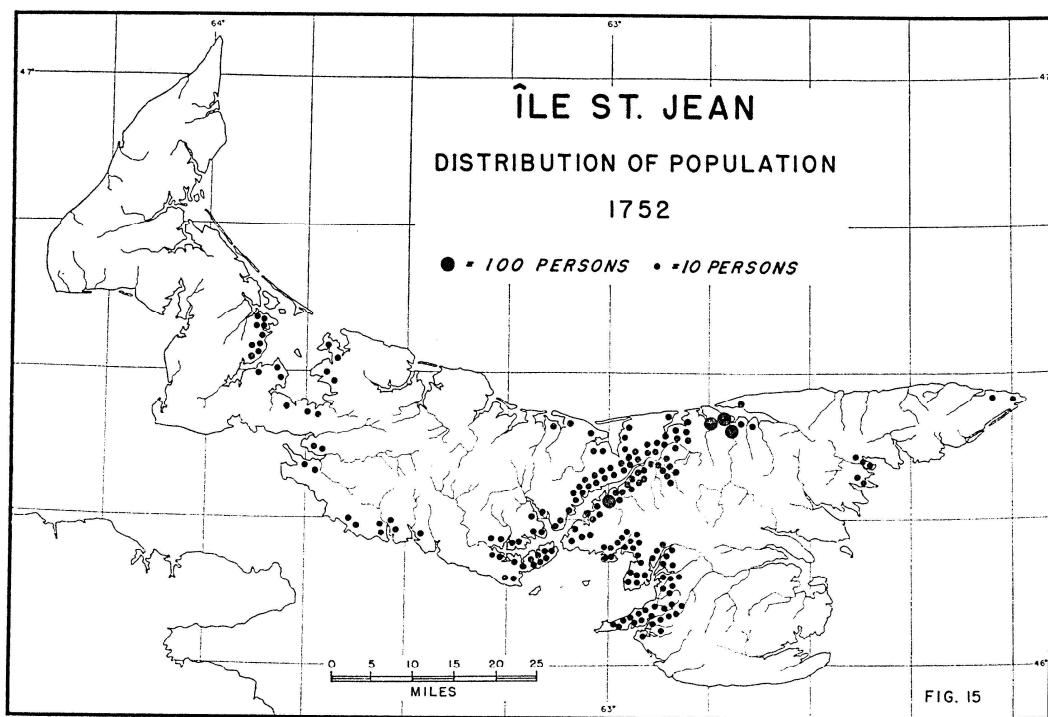
Figure 15. Map, Ile St. Jean 1752. Source, Clark Andrew Hill. *Three Centuries and the Island.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. Fig.15, 34.
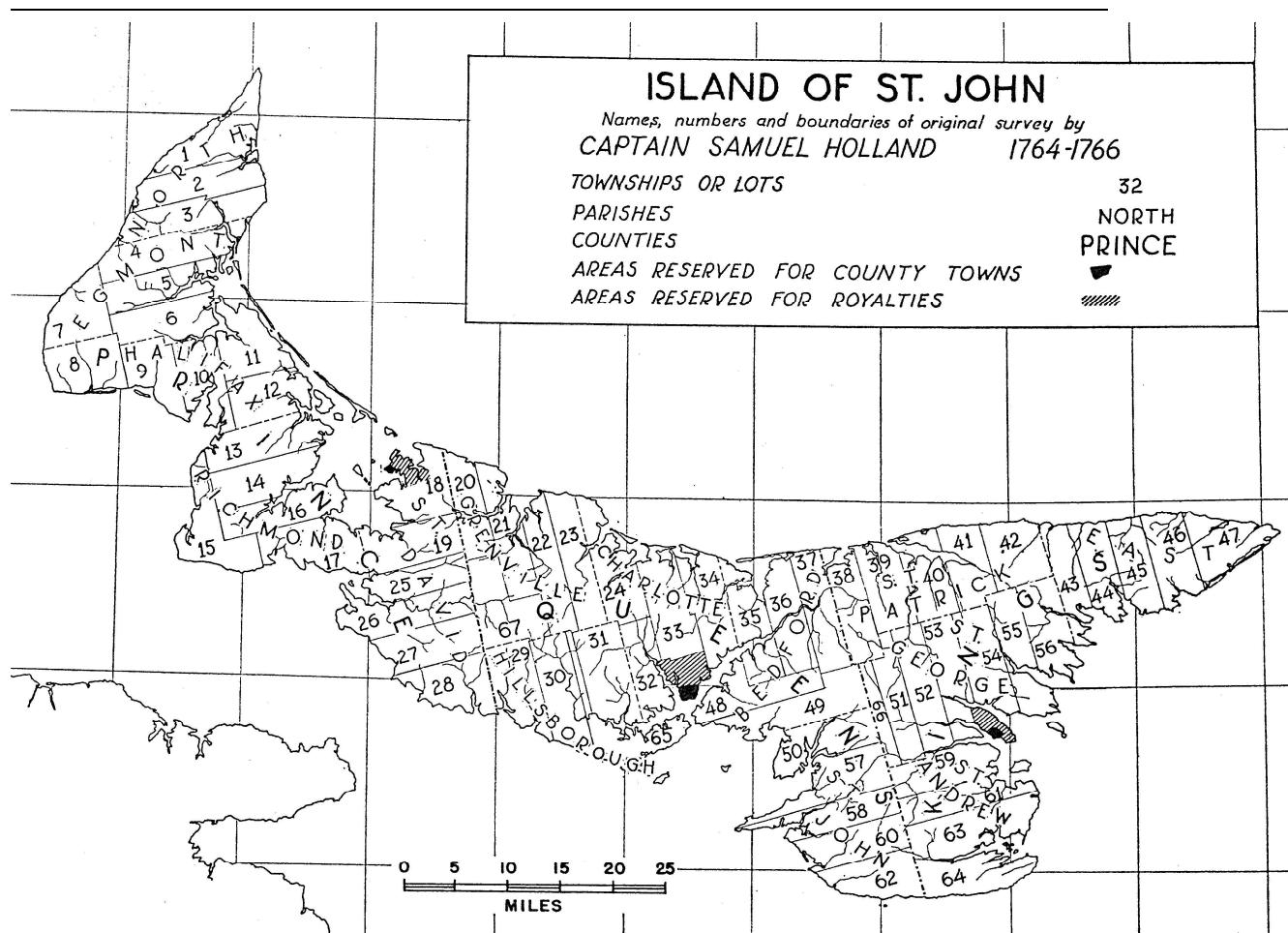
Figure 16. Map, Island of St John: Names, numbers and boundaries of original survey by Captain Samuel Holland 1764 -1766. Source, Clark, Andrew Hill. *Three Centuries and the Island*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. Fig. 18, 44.
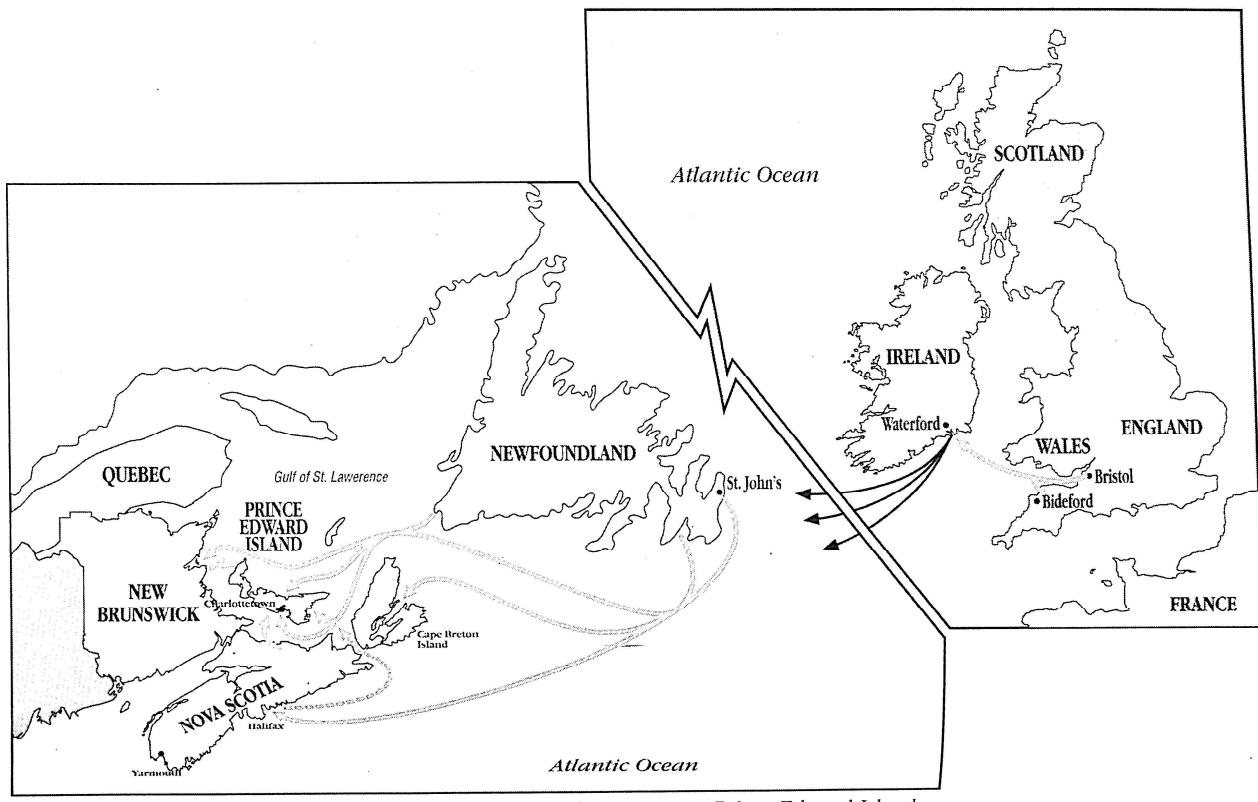
Map 4. From southern Ireland, immigrants followed several sea routes to Prince Edward Island.

Figure 17. Map, "From southern Ireland, immigrants followed several sea routes to Prince Edward Island." O'Grady, Brendan. *Exiles and Islanders: The Irish Settlers of Prince Edward Island.* Montreal and Kingston Mc-Gill-Queens University Press 2004, Map 4. 52.
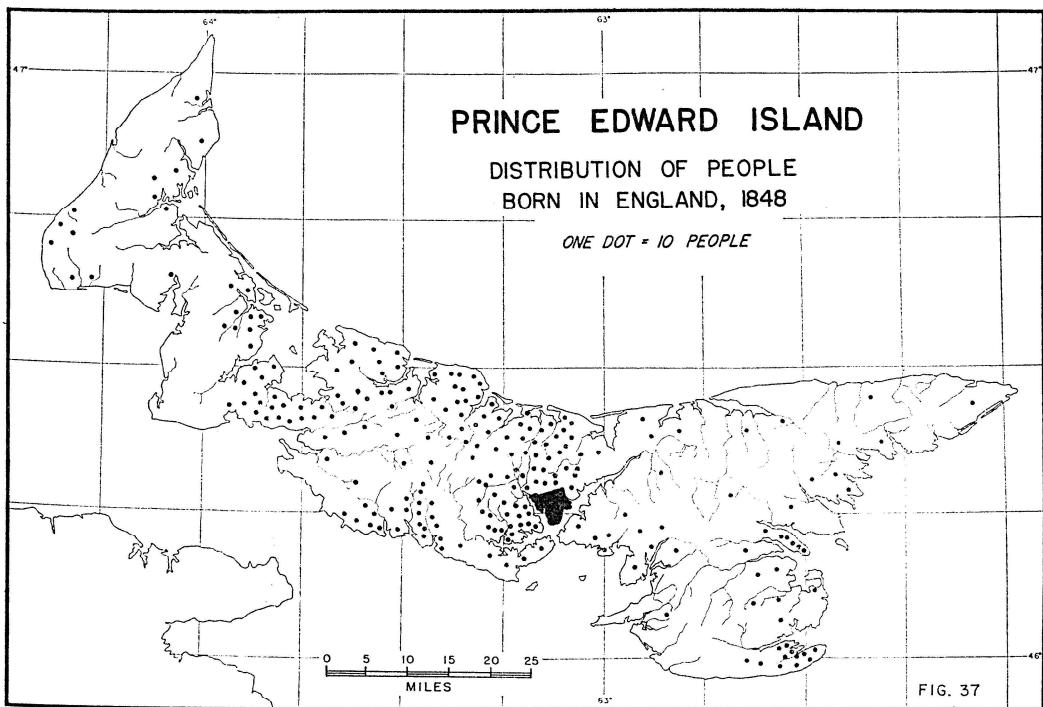
Figure 18. Map, Prince Edward Island: Distribution of People Born in England, 1848. Source, Clark, Andrew Hill . *Three Centuries and the Island*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. Fig. 37, 85.
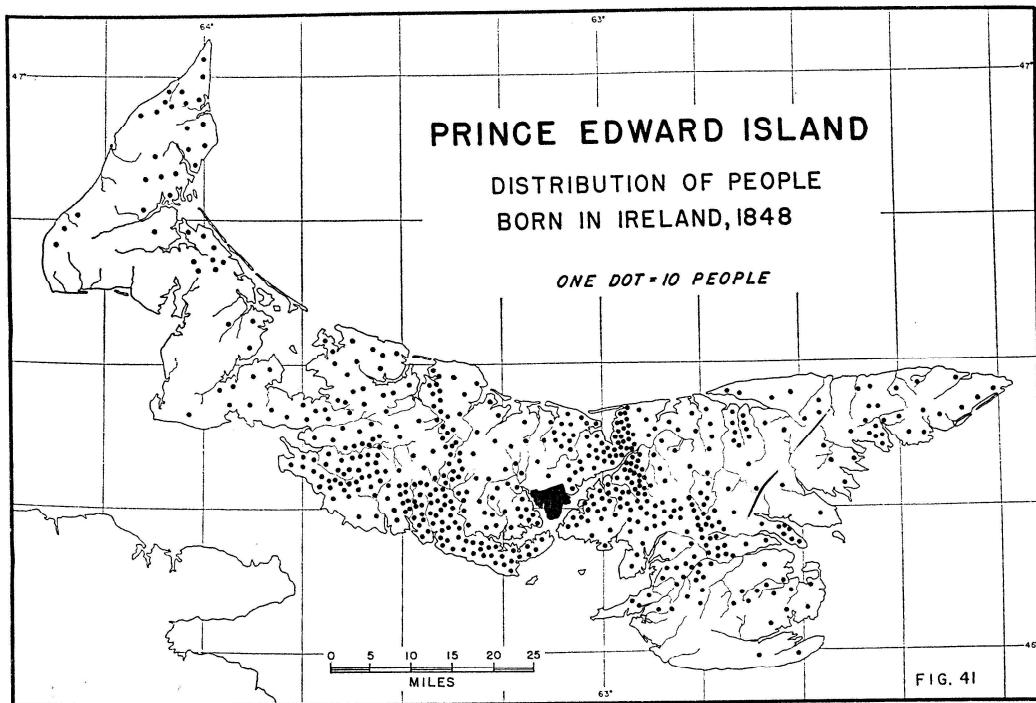
Figure 19. Map, Prince Edward Island: Distribution of People Born in Ireland, 1848. Source, Clark,Andrew Hill . *Three Centuries and the Island*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. Fig. 41, 89.
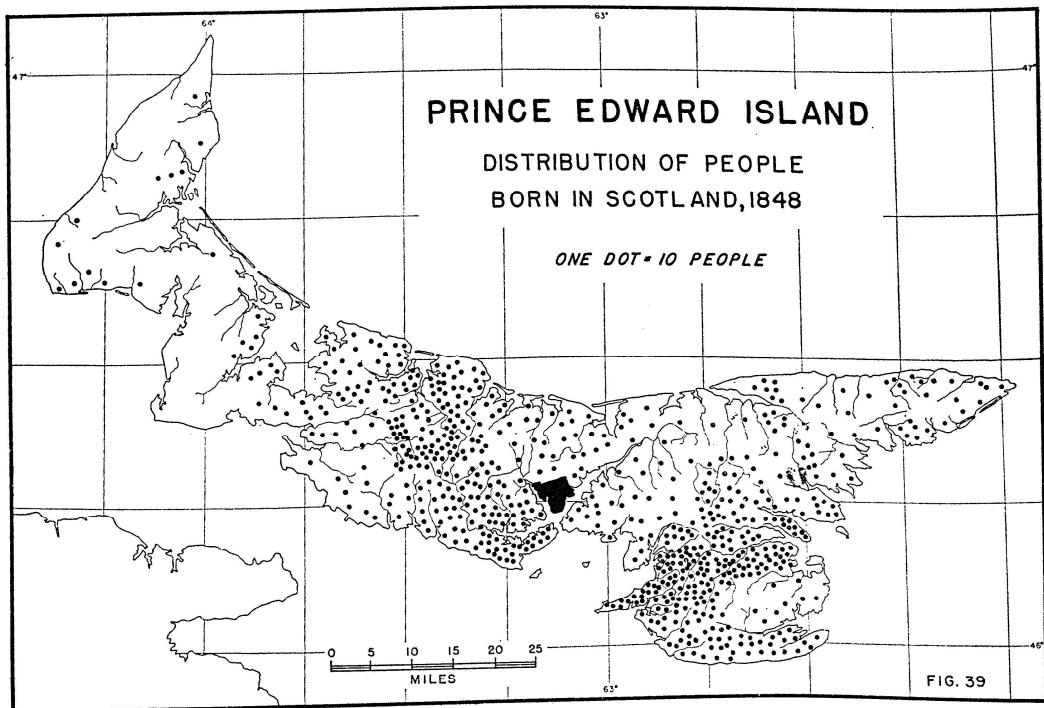
Figure 20. Map, Prince Edward Island: Distribution of People Born in Scotland, 1848. Source, Clark, Andrew Hill . *Three Centuries and the Island.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. Fig. 39, 86.

Figure 21. Plan of Lots 22 & 23 Queens Co. PEI. Allen C. R., J.H. Meacham Company.
Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Province of Prince Edward Island 1880
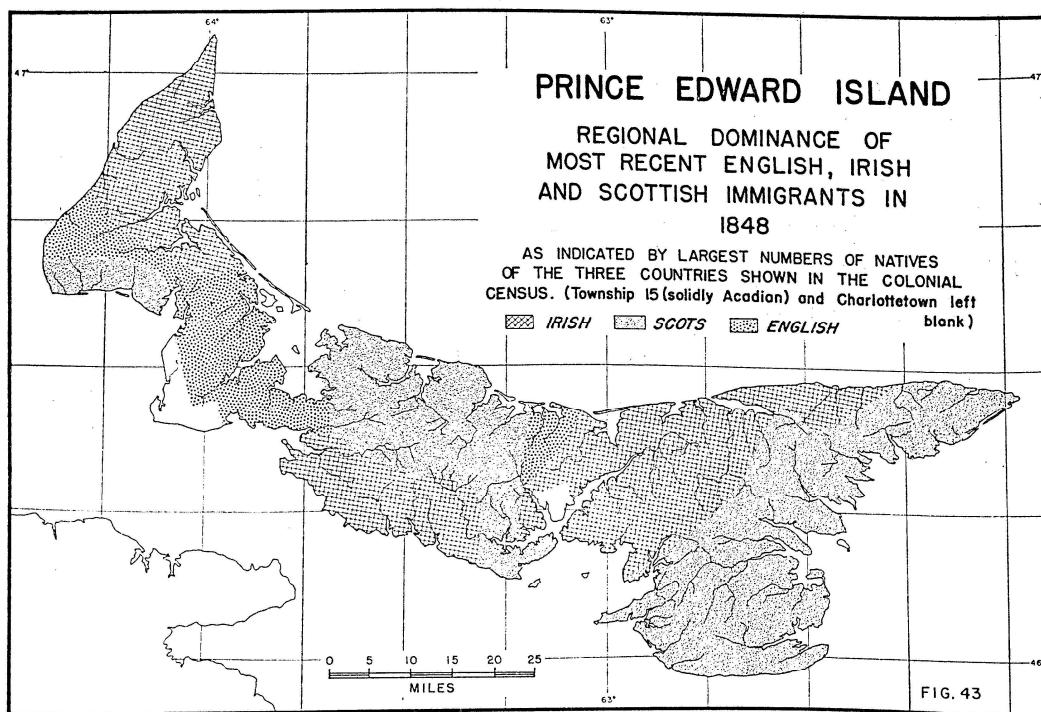
Figure 22. Map, Prince Edward Island: Regional Dominance of Most Recent English, Irish and Scottish Immigrants in 1848. Source, Clark, Andrew Hill. *Three Centuries and the Island*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. Fig. 43, 90.
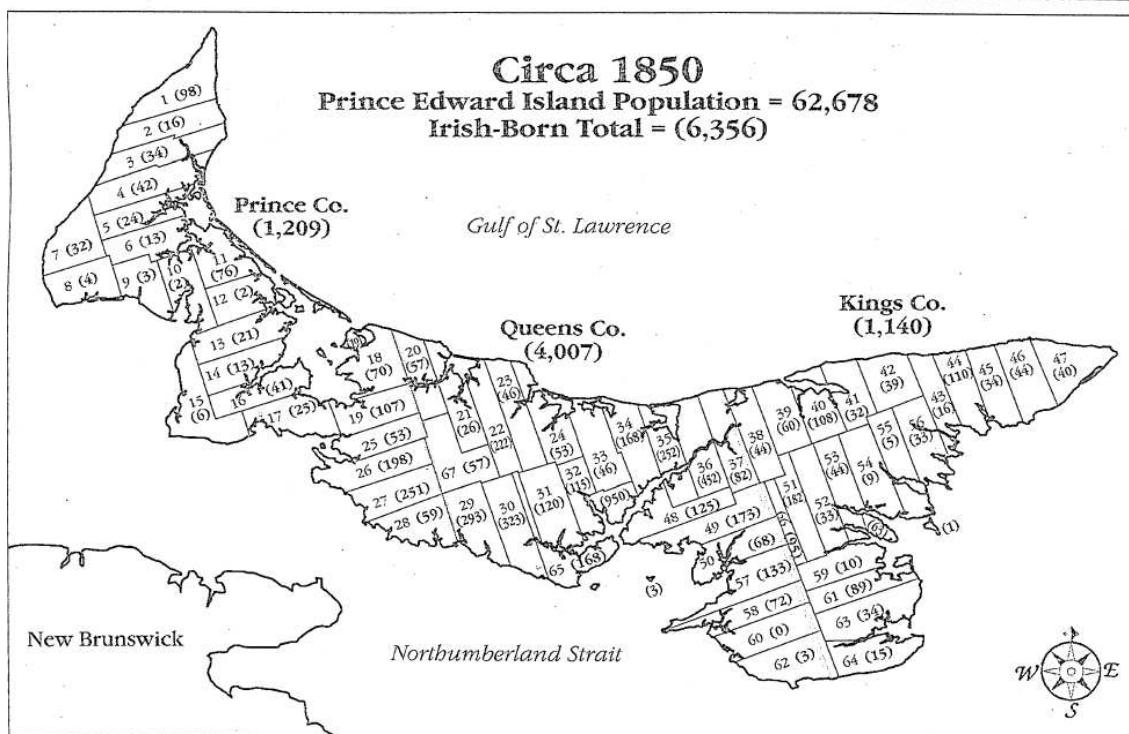
Figure 23. Map, "By the mid-nineteenth century, Irish families had settled in virtually every township on the Island." Source. O'Grady, Brendan. *Exiles and Islanders: The Irish Settlers of Prince Edward Island.* Montreal and Kingston Mc-Gill-Queens University Press 2004, Map 4. 52.
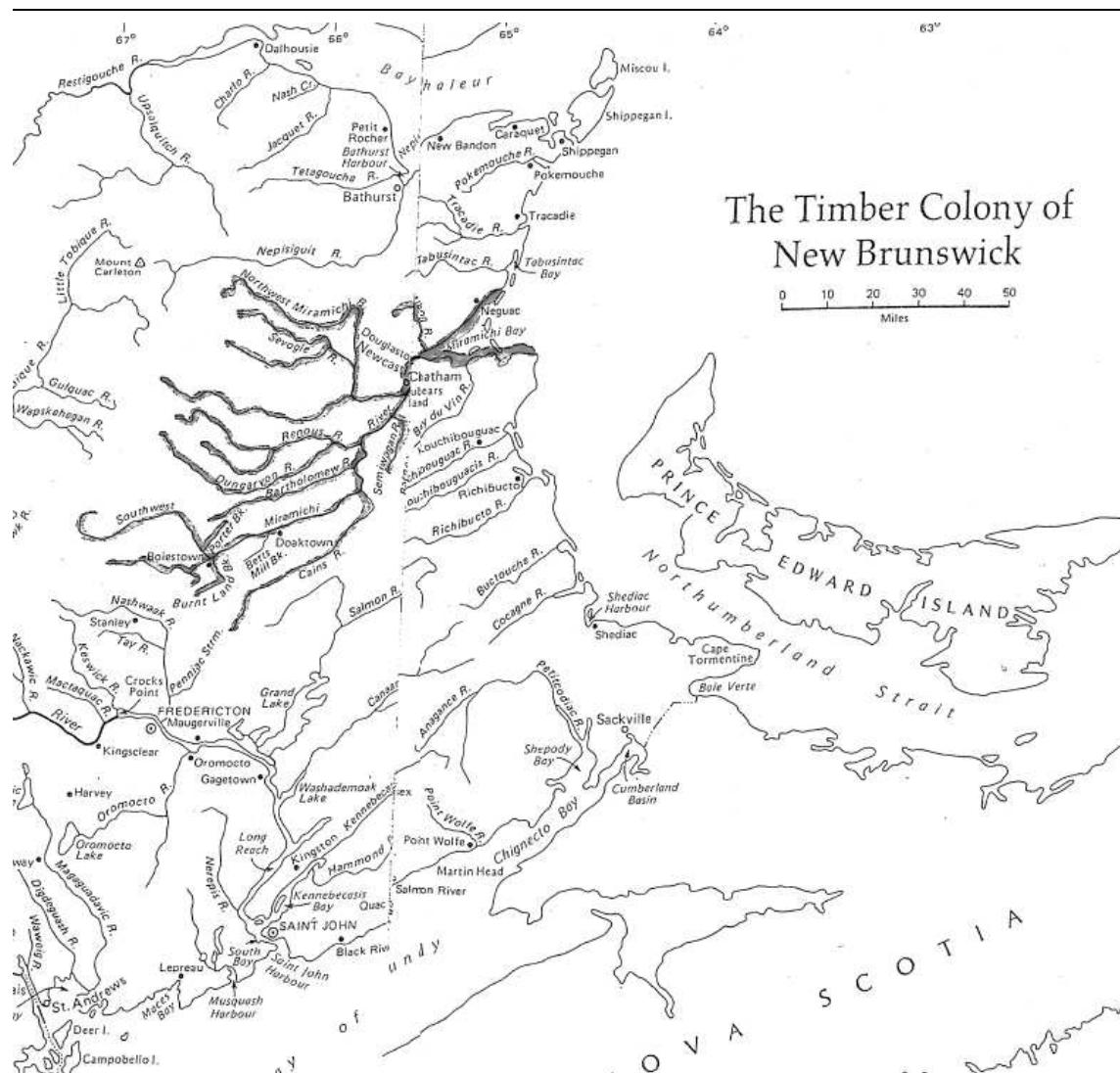
Figure 24 Map. " The Timber Colony of New Brunswick" Source. Wynn, Graeme .*Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick.* 1981, xvi-xvii.
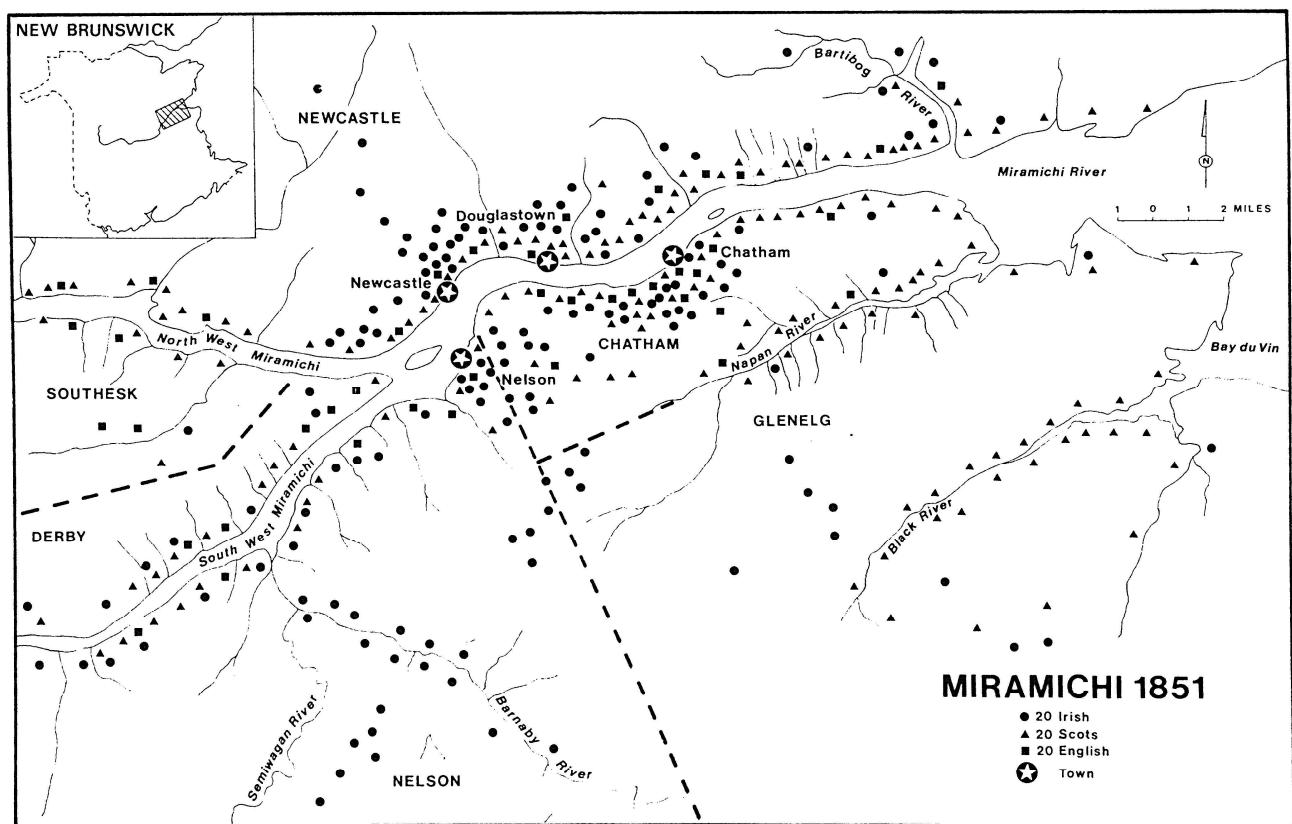
Figure 25. Map, Miramichi 1851. Source. Mannion, John J. *Irish Settlement in Eastern Canada::A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Figure 3, 25.
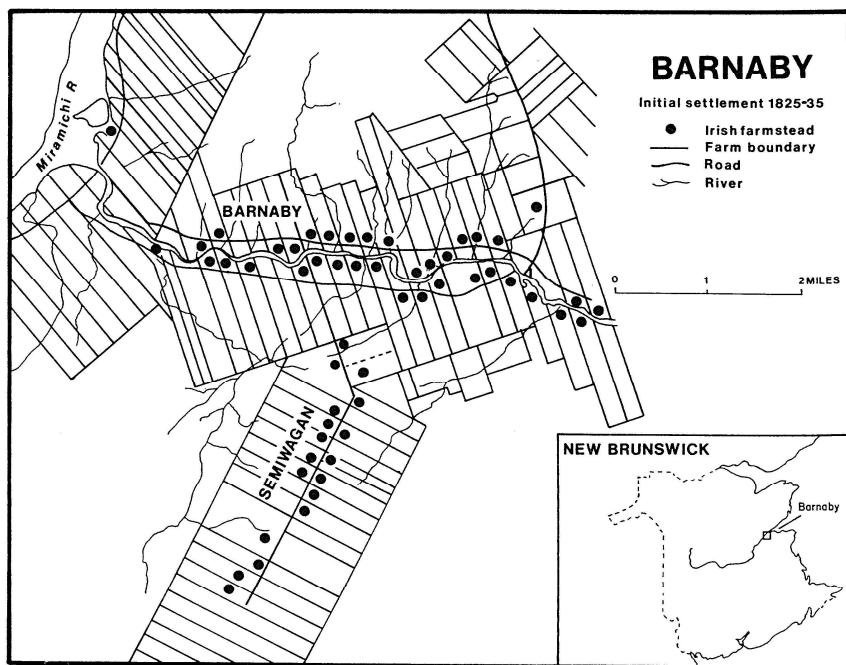
Figure 26 Map, Barnaby Initial settlement 1825-1835. Source. Mannion, John J. *Irish Settlement in Eastern Canada::A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Figure 8, 40.
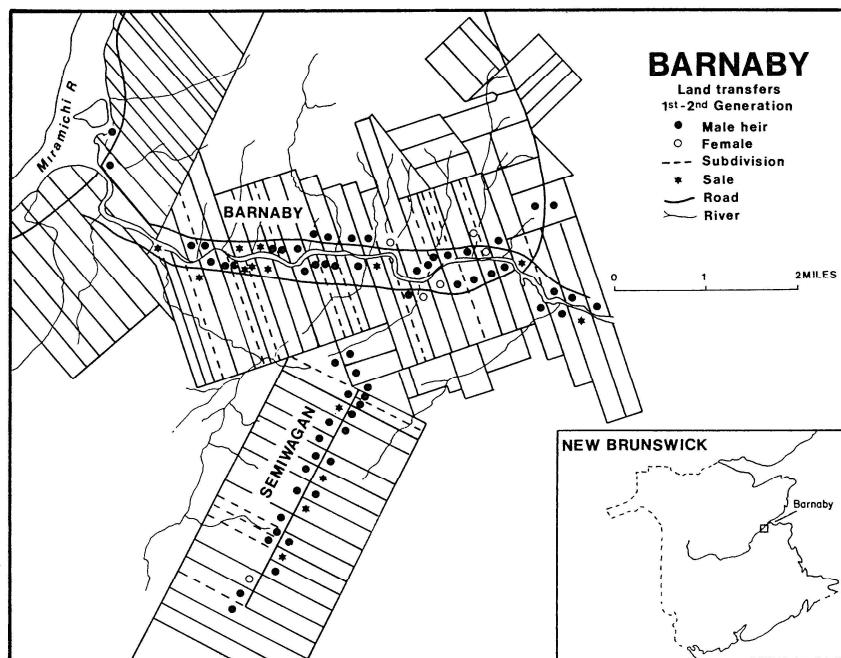
Figure 27. Map, Barnaby: Land transfers 1st – 2nd Generations. Source. Mannion, John J. *Irish Settlement in Eastern Canada::A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Figure 12, 49.

MAP I
THE "COASTAL" IRISH

NEWFOUNDLAND
(after Mannion)

HALIFAX
(after Punch)

25 %
10
5

(LESS THAN 1% NOT REPRESENTED)
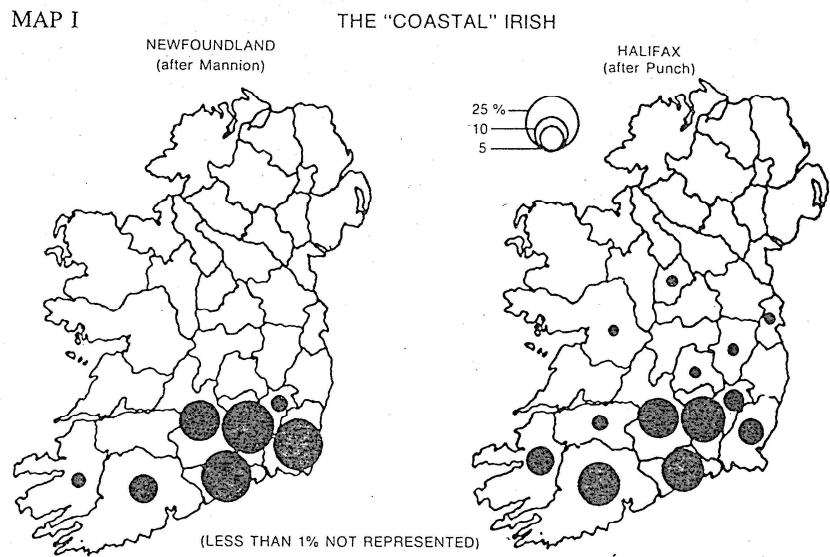
Figure 28. Map, The "Coastal" Irish: Newfoundland (after Mannion) & Halifax (after Punch). Source Toner, Peter M. "The Origins of the New Brunswick Irish, 1852" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, no. 1-2 Spring/Summer, (1988) Map I, 107.

"HOME" COUNTIES FOR NEW BRUNSWICK IRISH

(LESS THAN 1% NOT REPRESENTED)
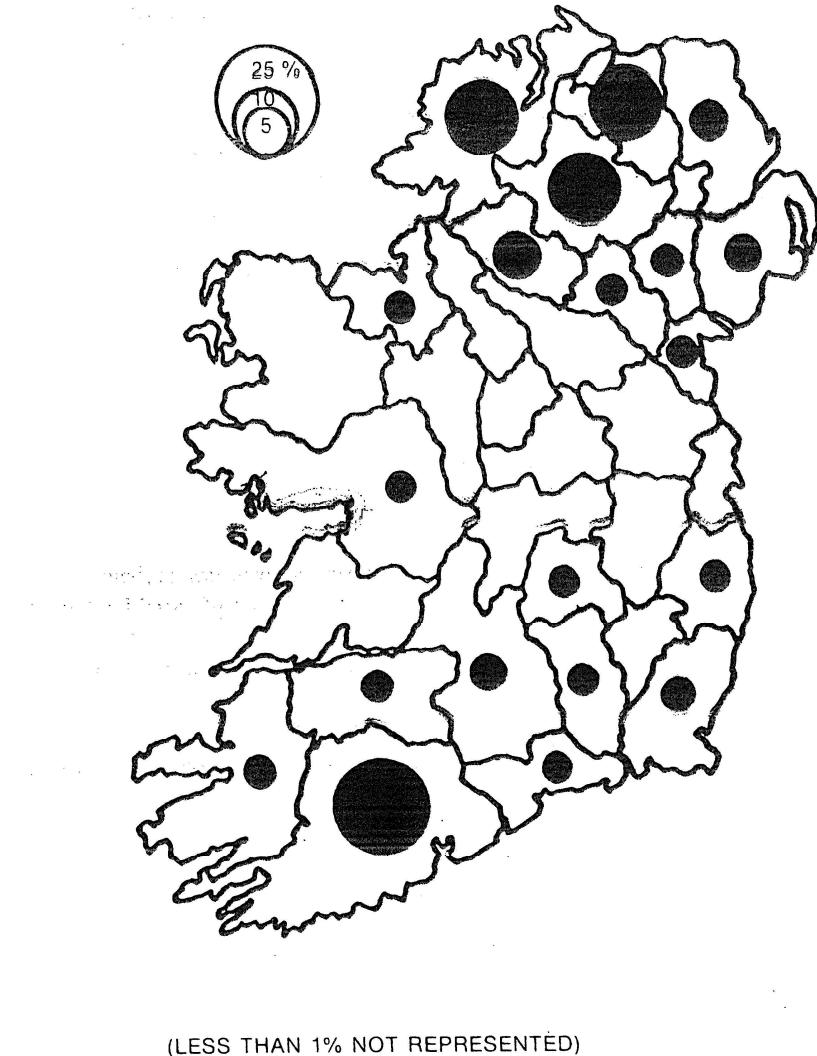
Figure 29. Map, "Home" Counties For New Brunswick Irish" Source Toner, Peter M. "The Origins of the New Brunswick Irish, 1852" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, no. 1-2 Spring/Summer, (1988) Map II, 109.

MAP III · CATHOLIC REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION
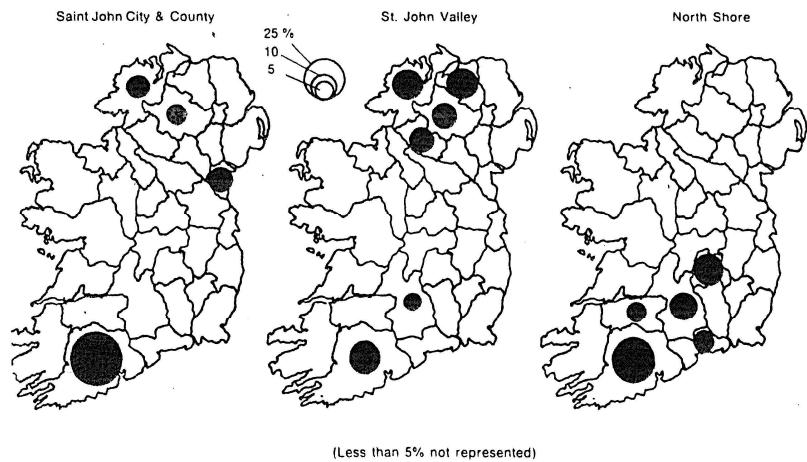
Figure 30. Map, Catholic Regional Distribution: Saint John City & County, St. John Valley, North Shore. Source Toner, Peter M. "The Origins of the New Brunswick Irish, 1852" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, no. 1-2 Spring/Summer, (1988) Map III, 110.

3   *Price of White Pine, 1785–1868.*

top line: landed in Great Britain.   *bottom line*: F.O.B. Quebec.
left-hand scale: shillings per load.
right-hand scale: dollars per thousand (M)
board feet.
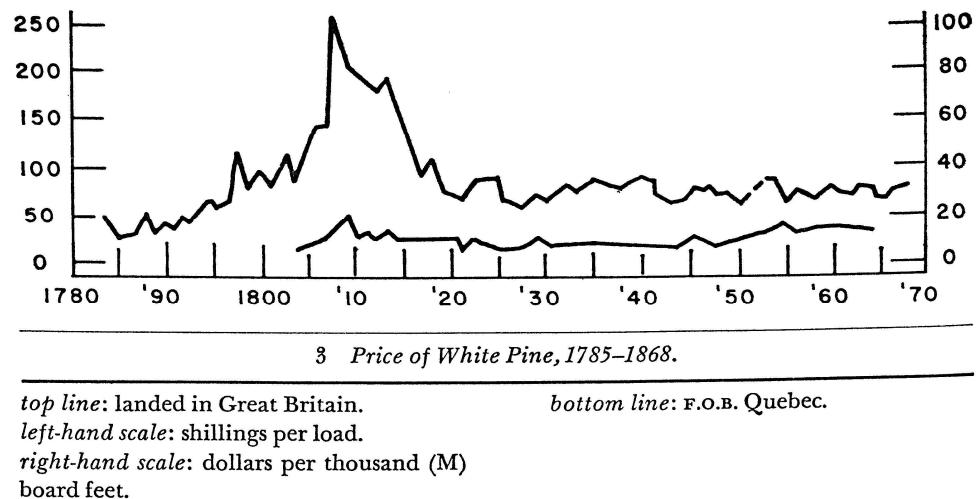
256   *Great Britain's Woodyard*

Figure 31, Chart, Price of White Pine, 1785-1868, Source Lower, Arthur R.M. *Great Britain's Woodyard: British America and the Timber Trade, 1763-1867.* McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and London, 1973, Chart 3, 256.

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