

THE ORIGIN AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE
ORANGE ORDER IN NEWFOUNDLAND
1863-1890

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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ELINOR SENIOR



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An Abstract of the Thesis

The object of this study is to give an account of the origin of the Orange Order in Newfoundland in 1863, to investigate the activities of the Orange Lodges in the political life of the colony from 1863 to 1890, to estimate their influence, and more specifically, to examine the charge that the lodges were promoted in Newfoundland as an agency through which the supporters of the colony's union with Canada might work.

In a colony such as Newfoundland where the population was divided almost equally between Irish Roman Catholics and Protestants, where sectarian squabbles were prone to accompany election campaigns, and where political distinctions often coincided with religious distinctions, Orangeism was bound to find a welcome. With its two-fold ideology of ultra Protestantism and loyalty to the British Crown, Orangeism could appeal to those who sought to maintain or strengthen the ties with England, and, when the occasion demanded it, the Order could rally Protestants of all persuasions against any encroachments upon what were considered Protestant rights.

The need for some agency through which Protestants could be organized politically had been long felt. Outport Protestants of various denominations often tended to be as suspicious towards one another as towards Roman Catholics. Quarrels over schools, teachers, and educational grants kept Wesleyan and Church of England members at odds. The Liberal party had a strong auxiliary in the Benevolent Irish Society of St. John's through which the Roman Catholic vote could be organized, but the Tory machine lacked a counterpart until the Orange Lodges were organized.

Not only in the political field did the Orange Lodges fill a gap. In an age when hunger, sickness, fire, and death struck frequently and suddenly, the hapless fishermen often had no place to turn for help. The Orange Order, with its sickness and death benefits, aid to needy brethren,

mortality fees to widows, and other welfare services, was able to supply a degree of security in these emergencies.

As an agency to promote Newfoundland's union with Canada, the Orange Order was not a success in the 19th century. Although some of the Orange leaders undoubtedly hoped to use the lodges for this purpose, the rank and file Orangeman, like his Roman Catholic neighbour, remained cool towards any proposals designed to unite Newfoundland with Canada.

The Origin and Political Activities
of the
Orange Order in Newfoundland
1863 - 1890

This thesis is submitted
to the Department of
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gree of Master of Arts,
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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to discover why the Orange Order was introduced into Newfoundland in the early 1860's, to estimate the influence the Orange Lodges had on the political life of the colony from 1863 until 1890, and, in particular, to examine what relation the Orangemen of Newfoundland had to the first two attempts to unite Newfoundland with the Dominion of Canada.

In seeking to answer these questions, research was confined mainly to sources outside the Orange Order. The reason for this was that no records exist of the early period of Orangeism in Newfoundland because the Orange hall, which housed all the documents and correspondence of the Provincial Grand Lodge and of the two St. John's lodges, was destroyed completely by the great fire of 1892. The only document which the Orange Order still possessed from the pre-1890 period was a minute book of Royal Oak Lodge from 1874 until 1884. This being the case, the investigation of the Order was necessarily from the perimeter, rather than the centre. Recourse was had to government correspondence and documents of the period, which contained few references to Orangeism other than the occasional mention of disorders in which Orangemen were involved.

By far the most important source of information was the St. John's press. Although unreliable at times, the newspaper writers of the period provided the major amount of material dealing with Orange activities. This information, when cross-checked against government sources and Orange papers, presents part of the picture of Newfoundland Orange development during the period

under study. Apart from editorials and articles, the local newspapers were the official printers of government business such as the debates of the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council, proclamations, and the testimony of witnesses given in Supreme Court. Newspapers also contained the election manifestoes of the various political parties and leaders, and resolutions of different power groups in the colony. Thus, a study of newspapers is essential to any investigation of Newfoundland history of this period, particularly as there are many gaps in the official documents - missing volumes of governor's correspondence and despatches, lost copies of Colonial Office letter-books, and missing minute books of the Executive Council.

As few Newfoundland political leaders of the last half of the 19th century were prepared to write their memoirs or even to permit their private correspondence to be preserved for the benefit of posterity, historians have practically no help from this source. Alfred B. Morine, whose activities as a journalist, Orangeman, politician and lawyer in Newfoundland gave him an insight into the political affairs of the colony during the period, confined himself to a general history in which his observations on his own period are secondary and serve mainly as a vindication of his own behaviour during particular political crises.

Captain Abram Kean's autobiography deals largely with his seafaring experiences, although he throws some light on the political intrigues surrounding the 1885 election. By far the most enlightening autobiography of the period is Lieutenant-Colonel R.B. Macrae's Lost Amid the Fogs which paints a vivid picture of life in St. John's in the early 1860's. Bishop M.F. Howley's Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland could, with

justice, be called a political history of Newfoundland, It offers insight into the period from the point of view of Roman Catholicism. Tucker's Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild is valuable because of the excerpts from Bishop Feild's letters and the appendices containing some of Feild's charges of the Church of England clergy.

Pamphlet material relating to this period in Newfoundland history is almost as scarce as are private papers and memoirs. Of the few pamphlets existing, by far the most important is that printed by the Orange Grand Lodge in 1873 containing the anti-Orange election manifesto of Premier Charles Fox Bennett and the reply of the Orangemen. There are also several printed copies of charges delivered to clergy by various Church of England bishops. These sometimes give indications of the denominational and economic problems facing the colony from 1860 to 1890.

Prowse's History of Newfoundland, still the most impressive general history of the province, is useful for its wealth of copies of original documents, and more particularly for Prowse's observations on his own period, sketchy though these are. When dealing with the period after 1860, Prowse tends to present simply a chronological outline of the major events of each year, often in a casual fashion, forgetting that future generations would not be as familiar with the incidents as his contemporaries. Prowse attempted little in the way of detail or analysis. The present study, therefore, has had to include much of the general political, religious and economic history of Newfoundland from 1863 to 1890 in order to make the specialized topic understandable.

The view thus presented of the origin and political activities of the Orange Order in Newfoundland from 1863 until

1890 is mainly through the eyes of the governors, the premiers, the often hostile pens of editors, and only occasionally through the writings and speeches of Orangemen. Working with such limited sources, the writer's study of the inner workings and aspirations of the Newfoundland Orange Order must, necessarily, be somewhat circumscribed.

Notes on the system of References

1. The House of Assembly is referred to as H. of A.
2. Members of the House of Assembly are referred to as M.H.A.
3. Members of the Legislative Council are referred to as M.L.C.
4. The Newfoundland Archives are referred to as NA.
5. The Loyal Orange Association is referred to as LOA.
6. Other abbreviated or Latin terms used include:-

ed. - edited

ibid. - the same source cited.

op. cit. - the work already cited.

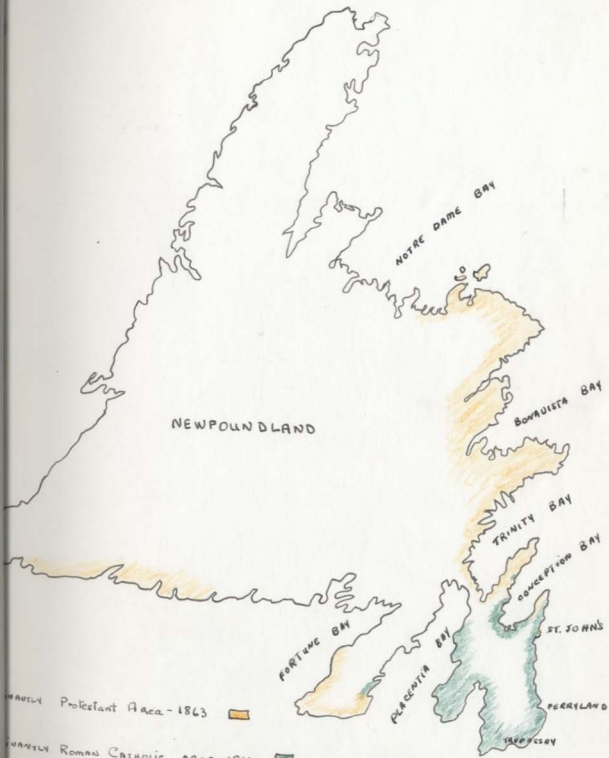
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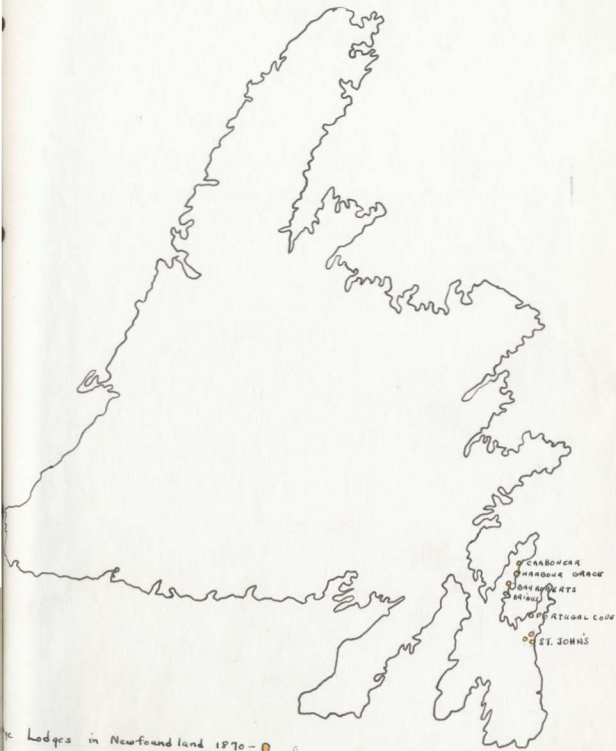
pp. - pages

vide - see

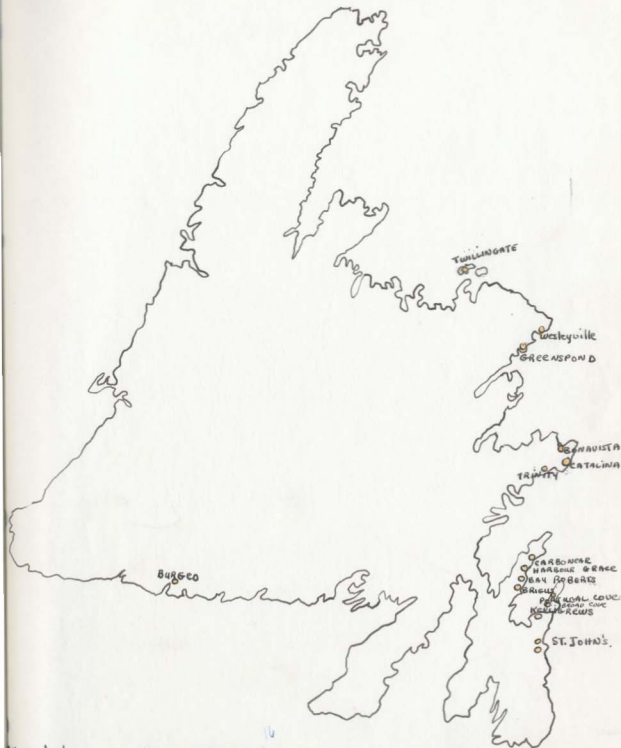
vide supra - see above

vol. - volume

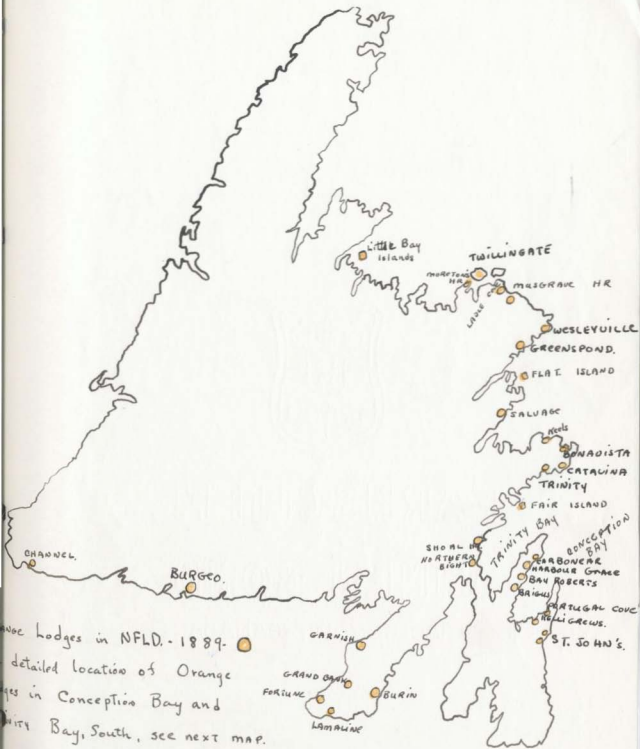




Lodges in Newfoundland 1970 - ●

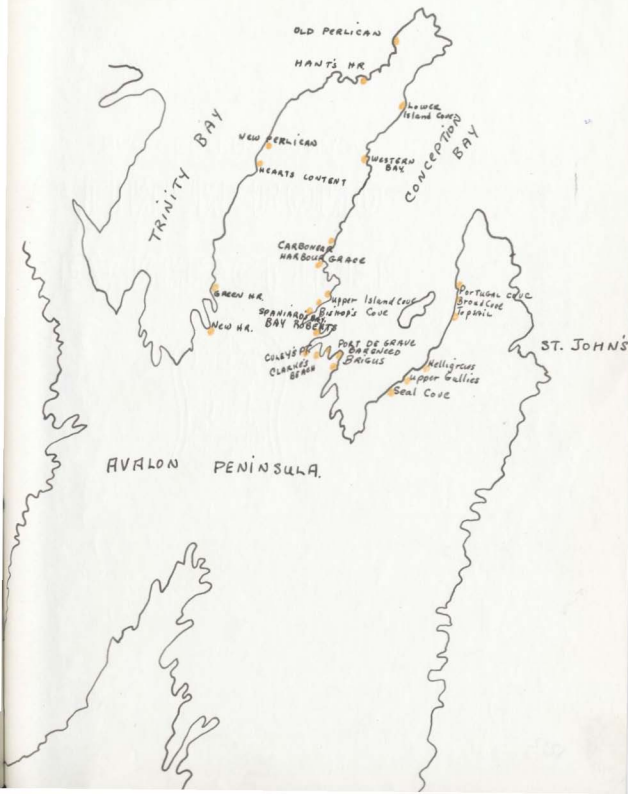


Lodge Locations in N.F.L.D. - 1884, - ●
According to available Orange Records.



Orange Lodges in NFLD. - 1889. ●
 Detailed location of Orange
 Lodges in Conception Bay and
 Trinity Bay, South, see next map.

Age lodges in Conception Bay
Trinity Bay South - 1889- ●



CHAPTER I

Newfoundland in the Early 1860's

A. The Order is Introduced

In September of 1873 a letter appeared in the St. John's Courier. Its object was to ridicule and discredit the infant Orange Order of Newfoundland. The violent tone of the letter, coming as it did from the highest official of government, had the reverse effect. Instead of placing the Orange Order under public disapproval, the attack rallied to the Orange ranks not only its supporters, but also those who, in less momentous times, might have been indifferent or hostile. In this letter, Premier Charles Fox Bennett, whose party had swept to power in 1869 on an anti-Confederation platform, claimed, "The new scheming Confederate leaders, with a view to secure to themselves the support of the Protestants, and thereby seats for themselves in the House of Assembly ... are using every artful means to accomplish that ambitious object. They tell the people that unless they establish Orange Societies, become members of those Societies, and prepare to defend themselves, they may on some unexpected night be all murdered in their beds."

1. The Courier, St. John's, Sept. 23, 1873.

2. C.F. Bennett. (1793-1883). b. Bristol, England. Came to St. John's, Nfld., in 1820; engaged in general trade. Appointed to Legislative Council in 1850; resigned in 1869 to become leader of the anti-Confederation party. Member of C. of E.

3. The Courier, St. John's, Sept. 23, 1873.

Premier Bennett went on to ask, "Why these Orange Societies, And for what purpose are Protestants to arm themselves? ... Ask these zealous, cowardly Orange teachers, and ask yourselves whether you would desire to see the combat that those men seek to instigate, waylaying and shooting each other, that they may, through your influence, walk into your House of Assembly."¹

The question that arises is, to what extent, if any, were the Orange lodges organized in Newfoundland as an agency through which the supporters of confederation with Canada could work, or was the seventy-three year old Premier wrong to identify the growth of Orangeism in Newfoundland with confederation. Certainly, his ill-timed attack on the Orange Order, which came as a surprise to his Roman Catholic supporters and received bitter criticism within his own party, closed the ranks of the Protestants against him, and, to a large degree, spurred the growth of Orange lodges in Newfoundland. The extent to which Newfoundland Orangemen were interested in, or promoted the idea of the colony's union with the other British North American provinces during the first decade of the founding of the Order in Newfoundland cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty. Few records or documents of the first ten years of the Order's activities exist, nor is there much reference to the Orangemen in Newfoundland newspapers prior to 1873. Yet the sudden expansion of the Order in Newfoundland during the confederation election campaign of 1869 suggests that some relation between the supporters of confederation and the promoters of Orangeism existed. In fact, one of the founding

1. Ibid.

2. NA: S 4/6. Bishop T. Power to Governor S. Hill, Feb. 16, 1878

3. The Sentinel. Toronto, July 3, 1930.

fathers at least was a strong advocate of confederation. He was¹ David Smallwood, grandfather of Premier Joseph R. Smallwood.² Smallwood came to Newfoundland from Prince Edward Island, and it is likely that Dr. Thomas Leeming, the man who organized the first Orange lodge in Newfoundland, found in Smallwood an able supporter of both Orangeism and confederation. Leeming, like Smallwood, was a native of Prince Edward Island where the Orange Order was allied with the conservative party which favoured confederation.³ Prince Edward Island Orangemen at that time were particularly militant. For the past decade their Order had suffered several setbacks at the hands of the Colonial Office in England. To begin with, in 1852 the then Governor, Sir Alexander Bannerman, had issued a proclamation calling upon magistrates and clergymen to use their influence to suppress the Orange lodges.⁴ Secondly, their efforts to have the Order incorporated were thwarted by the Colonial Office even though both Houses of the Colonial Legislature had passed the bill.⁵ Sir Alexander Bannerman, the erstwhile enemy of Orangeism, became governor of Newfoundland in 1857 and, ironically enough, was accused by the liberal press of supporting an "Orange faction".⁶ It was against this background that Dr. Leeming during his

1. The Morning Chronicle, St. John's, Oct. 23, 1869.

2. Mrs. M. Templeman, Personal Assistant to Premier J. R. Smallwood, to writer, July 17, 1959.

3. W.M. Whitelaw. The Maritimes and Canada Before Confederation. Toronto, 1934. pp. 188-189.

4. The Patriot, St. John's, Oct. 3, 1868.

5. LOA: Report of Proceedings of Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, Dec. 1863.

6. NA: S 4/3. Executive Council Minutes. May 24, 1861. p. 591.

frequent visits to Newfoundland while serving as surgeon and naturalist on the admiralty surveying steamer, Margaretta Stevenson, interested several St. John's men in forming an Orange lodge in the capital city of Newfoundland in the autumn or early winter of 1863. Dr. Leeming was Grand Secretary of the Orange Association of Prince Edward Island and, being a conservative in politics, it is likely he shared the attitude of the conservative party of that colony in favouring some sort of amalgamation with the mainland provinces.

The men whom he interested in Orangeism included Hector Fraser, Richard T. Rankin, William Hewardine, Mark Chaplin, Thomas Woods, Fred Stagman, David Smallwood, John Brown, John Hughes, and W. Thompson. Fraser became the master of the new lodge and journeyed to Halifax, Nova Scotia, in December of 1863 to secure a warrant for the opening of the new Newfoundland lodge which was called "Royal Oak". Richard T. Rankin, a prominent Mason in the colony, became Deputy Provincial Grand Master of the Newfoundland Orangemen in 1868, and Provincial Grand Master two years later when the Order was sufficiently well organized to warrant the establishment of a Grand Lodge in the colony.

A short history of the Orange Order in Newfoundland was compiled by the Newfoundland Orangemen in 1950. This credits Dr. Thomas Leeming, Hector Fraser, and Henry Marshall with the

1. D.A. MacKinnon and A.B. Warburton. Prince Edward Island, Past and Present. Charlottetown, P.E.I. p. 142.

2. H. M. Mosdell. When was that: A Chronological Dictionary of Important Events in Newfoundland. St. John's, Nfld., 1923. p. 77.

3. Souvenir Programme of the 120th Session of the Sovereign Grand Lodge of British America. St. John's, Nfld., 1950, p. 63.

1
 founding of the first Newfoundland lodge. A third account in
 the centennial issue of The Sentinel on July 3rd, 1930, attributed
 the organization of the first lodge to William Caldwell, Grand
 Master of the Nova Scotia Orangemen. This account is inaccurate
 2
 as the warrant for the opening of Royal Oak lodge in St. John's
 is dated December 22nd, 1863, while Caldwell did not visit
 Newfoundland until 1870 when he came to organize the Provincial
 Grand Lodge.
 3

For the first five years of its existence, Royal Oak
 Orange Lodge met secretly in a room over Whiting's Shop on
 Water Street. Later it moved to a room in the British Society
 Hall. A second Orange lodge was formed in 1868 by a group of
 St. John's men including James Browning, the son of a prominent
 businessman, John McKnight, E. S. Stirling, Thomas C. Duder,
 Samuel Soper, Thomas Woods, J.W. Spry, and J.R. McNeily. The
 4
 new lodge was called "Leeming" in honour of the man who introduced
 the Order to Newfoundland. It drew to its ranks such rising
 5
 political figures as Donald Morison and Michael T. Knight, and
 6
 the new lodge began to eclipse Royal Oak in numbers and importance,

1. Ibid.
2. The Sentinel, Toronto, July 3, 1930.
3. LOA: Golden Jubilee Report of the Loyal Orange Association of British America and Journal of Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Session of the E.W. Provincial Grand Lodge of Newfoundland, 1914. St. John's, Nfld., 1914. p. 15.
4. Mosdell. op. cit. p. 77.
5. Donald Morison. b. 1847, St. John's, Nfld. Elected member H. of A. for Bonavista 1889. Appt. Judge Supreme Court 1898. Provincial Grand Master Orange Order 1886, 1888-1896. Presbyterian.
6. Michael T. Knight. b. 1832, St. John's, Nfld. Elected to H. of A. for Twillingate 1885. Financial Secretary 1885-1889.

although the older lodge included among its later members James Spearman Winter¹, A.J.W. McNeily², Frederick W. Bowden³, and Alfred B. Morine⁴.

During the anti-confederation election campaign of 1869 four new Orange lodges were established, three of which were located in outports in Conception Bay⁵. Boyne Lodge was formed at Carbonear, a chronic denominational trouble spot where hostility was prone to come to the surface during election campaigns or over educational grants from the government. Towards the head of Conception Bay a second outport lodge, Royal Standard, was founded at Brigus, while a third was organized on the south side of Conception Bay at Portugal Cove. The fourth new Orange lodge established in 1869 was in the capital city itself. This was "Royal Alfred" whose charter members included R. Charles, George Williams, C. Warren, John Ebsary and William Snow. A year later, two other lodges were formed in Conception Bay, one at Bay Roberts and the second at Harbour Grace.

* By 1870, the eight Orange primary lodges were sufficiently well organized to warrant the formation of a

1. J.S. Winter, K.C.M.G. (1845-1911). b. Lamaline, Burin district, Nfld. M.H.A. for Burin 1873-1885; for Harbour Grace 1885-89. Speaker H. of A. 1877-79. Knighted 1888. Attorney-General 1886-1889. Grand Master Orange Order 1876-1885. Premier 1898-1900. Church of England.

2. A.J.W. McNeily. (1845-1911). b. Armagh, Ireland. Came to St. John's, Nfld. 1849; ed. Belfast, Ireland. M.H.A. for Bonavista 1873-74; for Twillingate 1878; for Bay de Verde 1885. Speaker H. of A. 1878 and 1886. Grand Master Orange Order 1874-76. Wesleyan.

3. F.W. Bowden. Editor St. John's Public Ledger. Grand Chaplain of Orange Order 1874-1878.

4. A.B. Morine. b. Port Medway, N.S. 1857. Editor of Evening Mercury, St. John's, 1883-1885. M.H.A. for Bonavista 1886, 1893, 1897, 1900, 1904, and 1914.

5. Mosdell. op. cit. p. 77.

provincial grand lodge which would act as a link between the Orangemen in St. John's and their brethren in the outports, and also serve as a link between Newfoundland Orangemen and their counterparts on the mainland of British North America. The various individual lodges in the outports and St. John's sent representatives once a year to the Grand Lodge. These representatives elected the officers of the Grand Lodge and decided the major policies of the Order. In addition, the Provincial Grand Lodge acted as an agency for disseminating to the Newfoundland Orangemen the general policies and plans of the parent Orange body on the mainland. Along with the formation of this Provincial Grand Lodge, a higher order of Orangemen was established in 1870 - the Royal Scarlet Chapter. This Chapter represented an elite group within Orangeism to which members holding the orange and purple degrees might aspire.

Thus within the two years from 1868 to 1870, the Newfoundland Orange Order expanded from a single small lodge in St. John's to eight primary lodges, a Provincial Grand Lodge, and a Royal Scarlet Chapter. Well might Premier Charles F. Bennett ask, "Why these Orange Societies?" As Royal Oak Lodge remained the only Orange lodge in the colony from 1863 until 1868, there is a temptation to believe that the sudden growth of eight other lodges within the space of two years indicated some new factor at work to promote the Orange Order in Newfoundland. To understand the reasons for the origin and sudden expansion of the Orange Order in Newfoundland, a glance at the religious, political and economic background of the colony in the early 1860's is necessary.

B. The Religious Background

In the early 1860's Newfoundland's population of 122,638 was divided almost equally between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Adherents of the Roman Catholic Church numbered 56,895, while the Church of England claimed 44,285,¹ and the Wesleyan and other Protestant groups numbered 21,535.

The capital city of St. John's was predominantly peopled by members of the Roman Catholic Church, most of whom were of Irish descent. Of the 24,851 residents of the city, 18,249 were Roman Catholic, 4,010 were Church of England, and 2,512 were of other Protestant churches.²

Settlement on the island tended to reflect religious groupings. To the south of the Avalon Peninsula along the coast from St. John's to St. Mary's Bay and Placentia Bay, the surplus Roman Catholic population of the capital moved. Northward from St. John's, particularly in Trinity Bay and Bonavista Bay, the outports tended to be settled by Church of England and Wesleyan groups. It was in Conception Bay, with its thriving ports of Harbour Grace, Carbonear, Brigus, and Bay Roberts, that Roman Catholics and Protestants mixed in something like equal numbers and it was in these outports that religious animosities festered, often precipitated to open violence during election campaigns. But here, too, a certain degree of exclusiveness along religious lines was practised. From Topsail on the south coast of Conception Bay to Harbour Main at the head of the Bay, the area

1. NA: Nfld. Census 1857.

2. Ibid.

was almost exclusively Roman Catholic, while the north shore of Conception Bay tended to be settled by Protestants. Exceptions to this trend were the larger outports already mentioned above.

Sectarian and racial animosity was seldom far below the surface in the Newfoundland political arena, particularly following the introduction of representative institutions in 1832. The Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. M.F. Howley, writing in 1888, claimed, "The rise of denominationalism followed the inauguration of representative government." Bishop Howley elaborated his idea as follows:

Upon the granting of a local Legislature, as might be expected in a country hitherto unaccustomed to the exercise of the political franchise, considerable excitement and denominational discord was created. Hitherto all the public offices had been filled to the exclusion of the Roman Catholics. These latter, having a majority among the voting population, elected members of their own church; and deeming the time had at length arrived when they should obtain justice, probably became somewhat arrogant, and allowed their feelings of injured right to verge very closely on the borders of vengeance, if not to outstep them. The dominant party, however, seeing their long-possessed power and influence about to be wrenched from their grasp, no doubt made desperate efforts to retain their hold. 1

D. W. Prowse in his History of Newfoundland reiterated this opinion. "The worst effect of free government was the sectarian discord it produced. Previous to the introduction of the Legislature, the community was harmonious and united. For years afterwards, there was nothing but strife and discord."²

On the face of it, this analysis appears plausible enough. Certainly, prior to 1832 there had been comparative harmony and good will among the various religious denominations,

1. M.F. Howley. Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland. Boston, 1888. pp. 201 and 231.

2. Op. cit. London, 1896. p. 427.

so much so that the Benevolent Irish Society was founded and promoted for the first twenty years of its existence by Irish of both Roman Catholic and Protestant backgrounds, while the first Roman Catholic Bishop, James Louis O'Donel¹, and one of his successors, Bishop Thomas Scallan², were lauded by Protestants for their liberal gestures in promoting good relations between the denominations. In fact, Bishop Scallan was censured by Rome for permitting his clergy to attend Protestant funeral services³. This was the age when some Roman Catholics were in the habit of attending Mass in the morning and, "to compliment their Protestant friends, going to 'Church' in the evening"⁴. The discord and strife which became rife after 1832 seemingly coincided with the introduction of representative government in the early '30's, and there is a temptation to link the two. However, the granting of representative government simply set up a framework within which already existing seeds of discord found an avenue of expression.

The arrival of large numbers of Irish in Newfoundland following the Napoleonic Wars had altered radically the denominational composition of the colony, particularly the capital city

1. Bishop J.L. O'Donel. b. 1737, Knocklofty, Co. Tipperary, Ireland. Entered Order of St. Francis; went to Franciscan establishment at Prague; returned to Ireland 1775 to become Provincial of Chapter of Franciscans in Ireland. Appt. Prefect Apostolic to Nfld. 1784; remained in Nfld. until 1804.

2. Bishop T. Scallan. Bishop of Newfoundland from 1817-1830

3. Howley. op. cit. p. 246.

4. Ibid.

of St. John's where the government was vested in the British-appointed Governor and his officials chosen from the small Church of England merchant group. The new Irish arrivals, together with those already in the colony who desired a share in government power and purse opposed the existing administration. Thus it was that the original group to organize a political opposition was primarily Irish Roman Catholic, and they assumed the name of "Liberal". The group in power naturally resented any threat to their position and did what they could to discredit the 'upstart' opposition. It was not long before the political labels of 'Liberal' and 'Conservative' or 'Tory' were exchanged for the religious ones of 'Catholic' or 'Protestant' in designating the rival political parties.

Added to this was the campaign to "tone up" Catholic feeling under Bishop Fleming¹ and Bishop Mullock². Under the former, the hitherto non-denominational Benevolent Irish Society³ became to all intents and purposes a Roman Catholic organization, through which the Roman Catholic vote in the capital city could be organized.

What of the activities of the other religious denominations? The 'toning up' of Catholic feeling after Bishop Scallan's too liberal regime⁴ was matched by a parallel 'toning

1. Bishop M.A. Fleming, Roman Catholic Bishop of Newfoundland 1829-1850. b. Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary, Ireland, 1791. Entered Franciscan Order. Left Ireland for Newfoundland 1823.

2. Bishop John T. Mullock, Roman Catholic Bishop of Newfoundland, 1850-1867. Coadjutor to Dr. Fleming 1848.

3. Howley, op. cit. p. 235.

4. Ibid. p. 260.

1

up' of Church of England spirit under the new episcopate of Bishop Edward Feild. His attitude became apparent shortly after his arrival in 1844. Invited to assume the presidency of the Bible Society, an organization not exclusively Church of England, Bishop Feild declined. Lieutenant Colonel R.B. Macrae, one of the officers stationed with the British troops at St. John's, commented that this action of the new Bishop "fell like an unexpected knell on the hearts of the community who had already a desperate outward struggle of mastery with the vast majority of their Papist fellow-townsmen. Men lamented loudly that the new Bishop... had made a terrible mistake, for they cried for unity as regards religion, the more so indeed, as unhappily, by party strife, their religious and political positions could not be separated." Bishop Feild's attitude was indicated also by his stand against Wesleyism. In a charge to the clergy in 1858, he warned, "The increase of the Wesleyans, now assuming the name and functions of a church, makes but too manifest their desire and endeavour to draw away disciples after them." Bishop Feild had ample reason to fear the activities of the Wesleyans amongst his own flock. From Moreton's Harbour, Notre Dame Bay, one of his clergymen wrote, "The Methodists, who, by their class-leaders and prophetesses are busy everywhere, have made much havoc in this mission, driving some out of their senses and many out of the church."

1. R.B. Macrae. Lost Amid the Fogs. London, 1869. pp. 169-170. See also F.M. Buffet. The Story of the Church in Newfoundland. Toronto, 1939. pp. 39-44.

2. Bishop Edward Feild. b. Worcester, England, 1801. Bishop of Newfoundland 1844-1876.

3. Macrae. op. cit. p. 169.

4. Bishop Edward Feild. A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of Newfoundland on St. John's Day, Nov. 15, 1858. St. John's, Nfld., 1858.

5. Rev. H.W. Tucker. Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild. London, 1877. p. 170 and 217.

The Wesleyans were, indeed, on the increase. From 1845 to 1857 they had had a forty percent increase in membership, while the Church of England's increase was but twenty-nine and a half percent. That of the Roman Catholics was twenty-one and a half percent.¹ In St. John's, the Wesleyans numbered 1,473 out of a total of 6,822 Protestants in 1857.² This meant the already small minority of Protestants in the capital city were divided into several groups. This pattern repeated itself in the larger outports such as Carbonear and Harbour Grace, where³ hostility between the Church of England members and Wesleyans, especially over schools and teachers, vied in intensity with the animosity between Protestant and Roman Catholic. This led to a certain amount of exclusiveness being practised amongst the Protestant denominations. For instance, Old Perlican in Trinity Bay was settled by 744 Wesleyans with only one Church of England adherent among them. A similar situation existed at Hants Harbour, Trinity Bay, where Wesleyans numbered 597 to twenty-two Church of England members and one Roman Catholic. Bird Island Cove was another Wesleyan settlement of some 513 amongst whom were only 72 Church of England people and six Roman Catholics.⁴

The Wesleyans were not the only denomination that tended to settle together to the exclusion of other religious groups. Along the eastern coast of the island from Conception Bay north to Bonavista Bay, numerous outports such as Port de Grave, Heart's Content, New Harbour, Salvage, Swain's Island and Bonne Bay were

1. Tucker. op. cit. p. 171.
2. NA: Nfld. Census 1857.
3. Tucker. op. cit. p. 170.
4. NA: Nfld. Census 1857.

peopled entirely by Church of England adherents. Roman Catholics, too, tended to keep together in the smaller outports. In addition to the large concentration of Roman Catholics south of St. John's along the coast of the Avalon Peninsula, only Roman Catholics were to be found at Harbour Main, an outport which in the earlier part of the 19th century had had a mixed denominational population. Caplin Cove and Holyrood were also Roman Catholic settlements.

This settlement of the outports according to denomination was obviously more by design than by accident. It not only indicated a certain aloofness on the part of the various religious groups, but also was an earnest of things to come. Each religious group was jealous of its right to separate schools and teachers, and tended to become identified with a specific political party as well.

Denominationally, then, Newfoundland in the early '60's had almost an equal number of Roman Catholics and Protestants. The Roman Catholics predominated in the capital city of St. John's and along the southern coast of the Avalon peninsula. The Protestants, divided into several groups, formed a small minority in St. John's, but predominated in the outports along the eastern coast from Conception Bay to Bonavista Bay, and were also settled along the south coast, west of Placentia Bay. ✓

Relations among the various denominations had been amicable from the beginning of the 19th century to the period of the agitation for and the introduction of representative government in 1832. Thereafter, political parties tended to reflect the religious divisions in the colony, and this, in turn, confused political rivalries with religious differences, and, to some degree, engendered and promoted religious animosities. Within

the Protestant groups, there was a pronounced rivalry between the Church of England people and Wesleyans. The former regarded Wesleyanism as "preying upon us"¹. This, too, was the era of Wesleyan expansion and consolidation on the mainland provinces when Methodism provided one of the first of the 'continental pulls' for Newfoundland by including the colony's Wesleyans in the newly-formed Methodist Conference.

The 'toning up' of Roman Catholic feeling under Bishops Fleming and Mullock, and the parallel development in the Church of England under Bishop Feild in the 40's and '50's meant an emphasis on the doctrinal differences of the two most numerous religious groups in the colony. The slight proportionate decline in Roman Catholic numbers gave the Church of England cause for some satisfaction, but this was offset to some extent by the significant increase in Wesleyan membership. The strong political organization of the Roman Catholics within the Benevolent Irish Society counteracted to some degree their declining numerical strength. The Protestants, divided as they were into several groups, had no counterpart of the Benevolent Irish Society. The Orange lodges were to fill that gap.

C. The Political Background

Political developments in the colony in the 19th century could not but tend to emphasize the religious and racial divisions. The agitation in the early 1830's for representative government was essentially an attempt by the political 'have-nots' to wrest power from the grasp of the Church of England mercantile and official classes. The majority of the 'have-nots' in the capital city being

1. Tucker. op. cit. p. 210.

Irish Roman Catholics, it was not surprising that the struggle should take on sectarian colouring. Even though the Liberal reform party numbered among its leaders several Protestants, it was often identified as the "Catholic" party, while the entrenched group more often than not received the label of "Protestant" party rather than "Conservative" or "Tory".

Even the term "Orange" was used loosely as an expression of abuse twenty-six years before the first Orange lodge was formed in the colony. The mutual recriminations that followed the election riots at Harbour Grace, Carbonear, and St. John's in 1836 resulted in a petition to Governor Henry Prescott from "The Catholic People of Newfoundland" in which it was stated, "The Catholic Bishop and Clergy of Newfoundland have been ... the butt of the calumnies and Vituperation of the Orange Journals because they dared to support the rights of the people."

During the 1836 election, a group within the Roman Catholic Church were tagged with the epithets of "mad-dogs" and "Orange Catholics" by their co-religionists. Such was the case of William McLean Little who complained of being boycotted in business and condemned from the altar for his political views.

The sectarian aspects of the 1836 disturbances were observed by Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who wrote to Governor Prescott, "If the outrages at Harbour Grace and other places could be attributed to any temporary excitement

1. Charles Pedley. History of Newfoundland. London, 1863. pp. 379-382. See also A.B. Morine. Unpublished History of Newfoundland. c. 1934. Ch. 7A, p. 10.

2. NA: G 10/4. Petition of the Catholic People of Newfoundland, June 4, 1837.

3. Ibid. Investigation of Election Riots at Harbour Grace, 1836. pp. 67-70.

4. Ibid. See also CO 194-95. Case of William McLean Little. p. 267.

of the public mind, I should regard it with less solicitude, but it unhappily appears that this is one of those cases in which differences of religious opinion coincide and exasperate political distinctions."

Sectarianism, which had, to some extent, coloured the agitation for representative government in 1832, was even more pronounced in the campaign for responsible government in the early 1850's. Believing that representative government had failed to secure for them the degree of participation in public office to which they felt they had a right, the Roman Catholics looked to responsible government for redress.² The agitation was initiated by the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. John T. Mullock, and by a young Roman Catholic lawyer, Philip Francis Little,³ who had moved to Newfoundland from Prince Edward Island in 1845. Opposed to the idea of responsible government was the mercantile group, headed by Hugh W. Hoyles.⁴ They based their opposition to responsible government on the assumption that if it were introduced without a sub-division of the existing electoral districts, it would be "highly dangerous to our civil and religious liberties, as under the present unfair scale of representation, the Roman Catholic minority of the population

1. NA: Executive Council Minutes, Oct. 26, 1861, p. 7.

2. NA: Nfld. H. of A. Journal 1854. Report of Delegates G.H. Emerson and P.F. Little to Imperial Government on the right of the people of this Colony to Enjoyment of Self-Government, Sept. 30, 1854: p. 20.

3. Philip F. Little. (1822-1897). b. Prince Edward Island. Practised law in St. John's, Nfld. Elected to H.ofA. 1850. Leader of Liberal Party 1855-59. Premier 1855-58. Appt. to Supreme Court 1858.

4. Hugh W. Hoyles. (1814-1888). b. St. John's. Studied law at Halifax. Elected to H.of A. 1848 for Fortune Bay; 1852 and 1855 re-elected. Premier 1861-65. Appt. Chief Justice 1865.

have a majority in the Assembly, and the practical operation of Responsible Government would be to vest in the Roman Catholic Clergy, by whose influence such a majority are elected, the whole Legislative and Executive powers of Local Government.¹"

The Liberals countered this objection by pointing out that under the proposed arrangements, even if the electors voted denominationally, the result would be the return of sixteen Protestants and fourteen Roman Catholics.² They also noted that in the past Catholic districts had returned Protestant Liberal³ members who would not "sanction anything like Catholic ascendancy." The crux of the Liberal complaint against the existing administration was formulated in the report of Philip F. Little and George H. Emerson to the House of Assembly in 1854 on their visit to London where they approached the Imperial Government with a view to securing self-government for Newfoundland. "This is the strongest evidence [of what] the Council will resort to," they wrote. "They allow one solitary Catholic to sit at their Council and only deign to give 1/5 of the Government patronage to persons of the Catholic religion ... and this from the spirit of exclusiveness and intolerance towards nearly one half of the population."⁴

Such being the tone of the rival political parties, it is not to be wondered at that the rank and file members referred to their opponents as "Catholic" party or "Protestant" party. In fact, the first official formulation of what was later to become known as the "1861 Compromise" between religious denominations

1. NA: G 3/1. Printed Circular d. Mar. 6, 1854. St. John's.
2. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1854. Report of Delegates to Imperial Government, Sept. 30, 1854. p. 7.
3. Ibid. p. 8.
4. Ibid. p. 16.

was contained in the report of the Liberal delegates to the House of Assembly in 1854 concerning their visit to London. "It should be clearly understood," Mr. Little reported, "That the Council forced on the Assembly the consideration of the denominational element in adjusting the Representation Bill ... that the only fear the Council's party had on this head was, that their individual interest would suffer if the existing sectarian and family compact ascendancy, which they sustained in the Government of the Colony, were broken down, and the portals of office thrown open to men of meritorious character and ability, in whom the people reposed confidence, irrespective of sectarianism - not but that reference should be had to the rights of all denominations entitled to participate in power and patronage, and that it should be divided among them fairly and equally as might be consistent and practicable with public service." This was the Liberal attitude with reference to the consideration of denominationalism in the distribution of public office and patronage. It was to be re-stated in 1861 by the conservative leader, Hugh Hoyles, upon his forming a new government, and was finally put into practice in 1865 when Hoyles retired as Premier and F.B.T. Carter succeeded in persuading the two leaders of the Liberal opposition to accept membership in the Executive Council.

The '1861 Compromise' was an agreement among politicians and parties that developed out of the serious election disturbances of 1861. The politicians agreed that all denominations should have a share in the political patronage and administration of the colony. The Compromise proved a workable solution to the thorny problem of satisfying the various religious groups in the colony. It broke

1. Ibid. p. 8.

down in 1885 as a direct result of an Orange-Roman Catholic affray in Harbour Grace. To understand the situation that led to the Compromise of 1861 and the general political picture of Newfoundland at the time the first Orange lodge was founded, a glance at the events surrounding the serious election disturbances of 1861 is necessary.

The Liberal administration which had fought successfully the campaign for responsible government in 1855 continued in office until 1861. Its demise resulted from several factors, not the least of which were three bad fishing seasons. Within the party itself there was friction between the leader, John Kent,¹ and his powerful ally, Ambrose Shea.² Added to this, Kent did not enjoy the confidence of the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. John's to the same extent that his predecessor, Philip F. Little, had.

The dissensions which had begun to wreck the Liberal party as early as 1859 reached a climax in 1860. The eruption came over Bishop Mullock's attempt to arrange steamship service to carry mail and freight from St. John's to the outports. When Kent and his supporters hesitated to sanction the contract for the steamship service, Bishop Mullock published a letter denouncing the government,³ and disavowed his support of Kent's party in no uncertain terms.

The publication of this letter gave the Conservative ranks new hope. The attitude of the extreme Protestant group was described aptly by Lieutenant Colonel Macrae:

1. John Kent. b. Waterford, Ireland. Emigrated to St. John's. Entered commercial business. Prominent in agitation for responsible government. Speaker H. of A. Colonial Secretary, Premier 1859-1861.

2. Ambrose Shea (1817-1905). b. St. John's. M.H.A. for Placentia - St. Mary's 1852, 1861, 1865. M.H.A. for St. John's 1855; M.H.A. for Burin 1859. M.H.A. for Harbour Grace 1874-1884. Appt. Governor of Nfld. for 1886, but never assumed office.

3. D.W.Prowse. History of Newfoundland. London 1896 p. 186

The supporters of the Bishop were discontented with themselves and their vassalage. Among them were able and estimable men, who ... were sitting restless and uneasy under an unlawful fealty, but still unable of themselves, or unwilling, to shake off the medieval yoke. Murmurs, mild and respectful, here and there, which might have warned a more cautious usurper of the coming storm were heard ... the Government, his Government, actually neglected to or evaded carrying out certain legislative enactments upon which His Lordship's wishes had been promulgated. It was, indeed, high time for the mighty voice from Cathedral Hill to make itself heard ... There was certainly no mistake about the language, nor ambiguity respecting the meaning of the Bishop to his flock ... The present holders of power were condemned up-hill and down-dale for their shortcomings, their pilferings, their selfishness, and their misappropriation of public funds. He called upon the electors of the country to look out for new representatives, and to hold themselves in readiness for another election, the which, he added, may be very soon. 1

The Premier was placed in an untenable position. His government backed down and agreed to the steamship contract. But other difficulties arose to plague the Liberal administration. A partial failure of the fishery in 1860 led to unusual expenditure for the relief of the able-bodied poor. This brought another denunciation of the government by Bishop Mullock. Within the party, a cabal headed by Ambrose Shea and Patrick Nowlan sought Mr. Kent's political destruction, while the growing influence of an Independent or Native party was tending to split the Liberal vote, thus giving the Conservative party an advantage. The fall of the Kent ministry in March, 1861, came as no surprise, although the circumstances were unusual. Mr. Kent, in a moment of indiscretion, accused Governor Bannerman⁴ of conspiring with the judges of the colony and the minority in the House of Assembly to defeat a government bill. Governor Bannerman had come to Newfoundland in

1. Macrae. op. cit. p. 124.

2. Frowse. op. cit. p. 488.

3. Morine. op. cit. Ch. 7b. p. 15.

4. Governor Sir Alexander Bannerman. (1783-1864). Governor of P.E.I. 1851-1853. Governor of Nfld. 1857-1863. Shipowner, merchant, and banker of Aberdeen. M.P. for Aberdeen in Liberal interests 1832-47.

1857 with the full approval of the Liberal party which, in 1854, had spoken of the "marked success attending Sir Alexander Bannerman - certainly a Governor of rare abilities and long parliamentary experience - in the government of the smaller Colony of Prince Edward Island".

Attacked now by the leader of the party which had so praised him, Governor Bannerman desired an explanation from Premier Kent, but the latter took the attitude that he was not bound to give an account of his utterances as a member of the Legislature. The Governor then considered himself obliged to dismiss Mr. Kent, and called upon Hugh W. Hoyles, leader of the Protestant-mercantile group, to form a government. It was in this tense political crisis that the spring elections of 1861 were fought during which riots and disorders took on religious colouring. Two contemporary Newfoundland historians believed that religious differences had little to do with the riots.

D.W. Prowse in his History of Newfoundland wrote:

Many persons have imagined that the frequent election rows in Newfoundland about this period were the outcome of religious bigotry, but a better understanding of the facts will show us that this is an incorrect view. There is no real bigotry or sectarian intolerance in Newfoundland; all these riots were made to order ... The sham patriots who instigated their dupes to get up these disturbances often made religion a stalking horse for their designs on the Treasury; the blatant demagogues who cried that the Catholic Church was in danger, or that the sacred rights of Protestants were being trampled on, always bloomed out after the melee as fat officials. Instigated by these designing rogues, a few rowdies and bludgeon men led the way, and the simple crowd that followed were led to believe that their rights or religion were in danger. 3

A. B. Morine, in his unpublished history of Newfoundland, reiterated this view. "It was widely believed that the riot of

1. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1854. p. 16.
2. NA: Ibid. 1860. p. 70.
3. Op. cit. p. 483.

May 13th, 1861, in St. John's was a Roman Catholic out-break, sanctioned or sympathized by Bishop Mullock. This is not true. The riot was a political, not a religious, one. All the rioters, regardless of religion, were Liberals."

A reading of the evidence given at the inquiries into the 1861 riots leads to the conclusion that these views were accurate appraisals. Be that as it may, however, there can be no doubt that the subsequent bad feeling engendered by the riots and disorders took on sectarian colouring. The politicians who may have begun the disturbances for their own immediate ends had no way of controlling the by-products of ill-will in outports like Harbour Grace and Harbour Main. And the contemporary press had no reluctance to fan the flames by frequent reference to the disorders, so that the outport troubles began to influence the hitherto good relations between the denominations in the capital city. Bishop Mullock commented on this in a letter to Governor Bannerman on April 30th, 1861:

A few months ago Newfoundland was remarkable among the neighbouring Colonies for the total absence of religious dissensions. The disruption of this happy state of things came not from the Catholics. Every insult that a ruffian press ... could heap on them or their religion - every calumny that malice could invent, were daily disseminated among our excitable people; continual appeals to the Protestants to arm themselves with revolvers, filthy insults by defiling a Chapel, appeals to the most ignorant portion of the Protestant population to take the law into their own hands ... this going on for months while the Catholic papers preserved decency at all events. Add to this a general belief among Catholics, disseminated I know not how, but which I always endeavoured to combat, that the authorities were in direct opposition to everything Catholic, and that every effort would be made to deprive Catholics, if possible, of the rights guaranteed them by responsible government. 3

1. Op. cit. Ch. 7b. p. 15.
2. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1861. appendix. pp.50-154.
3. NA: G 3/3. Bishop Mullock to Bannerman, April 30, 1861.

As proof of his charges, Bishop Mullock sent to Governor Bannerman a man named Denis O'Neil who had come to the Bishop complaining of attacks made by a body of armed men on his property at Spaniard's Bay in Conception Bay. Bishop Mullock commented, "O'Neil claims he has been obliged to fly before a body of armed men ... who on Sunday determined to destroy the Roman Catholic Church and devastate all before them. As it appears a war of extermination is commenced against Her Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of this Colony, I respectfully lay the matter before your Excellency, for if these proceedings are allowed to go on a little further, the influence of the Catholic priests will, I fear, be not enough to restrain the feelings of their people whose lives are threatened and their blood split by ruffians as it appears with impunity."¹

The tone of Governor Bannerman's reply to the Bishop perhaps indicates why the government correspondence is singularly one-sided as to letters concerning the disturbances at Harbour Grace and other outports. Apart from the few letters of Bishop Mullock, there is almost no correspondence to government from Roman Catholics complaining of injury or attacks, while numerous letters from Protestants reached the Governor's desk. Governor Bannerman, who had sat on the Liberal benches in the British House of Commons and had supported O'Connell in securing the release² of Catholic disabilities, was on friendly terms with the Bishop. His reply to Dr. Mullock assumed a bantering tone. "God forbid that any war of extermination should take place, which I see you

1. NA: S 4/3. Bishop J.T. Mullock to Bannerman, April 29, 1861. p. 566.

2. Macrae. op. cit. p. 120.

anticipate and which the Catholic clergy's influence, you fear, could not allay ... From my experience here, I have invariably seen the influence to which you allude predominant at the height of the storm when men's passions are strongly excited ... but I have never seen that influence used at the beginning of that storm when it might prove so beneficial to the peace of society.¹"

The Governor remarked that O'Neil in his interview had claimed that his house at Spaniard's Bay had been attacked by a mob of both Roman Catholics and Protestants, and that he had made no complaint to the Governor of any attack being made on the Roman Catholic Chapel.²

That Roman Catholic clergy participated actively in politics cannot be denied. Father Kyran Walsh of Harbour Main described how he canvassed on behalf of two candidates in that district during the 1861 elections.³ His effectiveness was indicated by the testimony of other witnesses during the inquiry into the Harbour Main riots of 1861. David Kenny of Cat's Cove, who had intended to vote for the Conservative candidates, testified that he had been advised by Father Walsh to vote for the Liberal candidates and he did so. "If I was left to my own free will, I would have voted for Nowlan and Byrne," the witness stated.⁴ It was not until the 1869 general election that the Roman Catholic clergy were specifically forbidden to engage in politics or to use the churches for political addresses.⁵

1. NA: S 4/3. Governor Bannerman to Bishop Mullock, April 29, 1861. p. 566.

2. Ibid.

3. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1861. Testimony of Rev. K. Walsh before the Select Committee H. of A., May 28, 1861. app. pp. 58-59.

4. Ibid. Testimony of David Kenny. app. p. 62.

5. The Newfoundlander. St. John's, Sept. 3, 1869.

On the other hand, there is ample evidence of the part played by Roman Catholic clergymen in quieting aroused feelings, and using their influence to preserve peace. At the close of the 18th century it had been the Roman Catholic Prefect Apostolic, James L. O'Donel, who exposed to the authorities a United Irish conspiracy in St. John's¹. It was the thunderous peel of the Cathedral bells on the evening of May 13th, 1861, that called the Roman Catholic portion of the rioters to hear their Bishop's command to "go to their homes and not leave them again that night". Among the wounded on May 13th, 1861, was Father Jeremiah O'Donnell, the Roman Catholic chaplain of the garrison. Doubly anxious to prevent a collision between the two divisions of his flock, the Roman Catholics of the city and the Roman Catholic soldiers ordered out to quell the rioters, Father O'Donnell had thrown himself amongst the rioters in an attempt to dissuade them from disturbances. He was struck down by the first volley² fired by the soldiers.

This riot in the capital city was a direct result of the disorders at Harbour Main during the 1861 spring elections. So unexpected was it, that the organization for its suppression was practically non-existent.³

D. Conception Bay Disturbances.

Rumours of trouble at Harbour Main had come to the Government's notice on May 1st, 1861, when the Executive Council received word that the Returning Officer at Harbour Main was

1. Howley. op. cit. pp. 193-194.

2. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1861. app. p. 136. Testimony of Rev. J. O'Donnell before Select Committee. See also testimony of Lt. Col. John J. Grant, Commandant Garrison St. John's. pp. 129-130.

3. Macrae. op. cit. p. 128.

afraid to declare the state of the poll, or to make a return of the writ because of the violence threatened to himself and his property by the supporters of James G. Hogsett and Charles Furey, the Liberal candidates for the district. The Executive Council promptly despatched Colonel Grant and Magistrate Charles Simms with fifty soldiers to Harbour Main to protect Returning Officer Patrick Strapp, and to make inquiries into the disturbances.

The Harbour Main electoral district extended along the coast of Conception Bay from Topsail to Colliers. It was a predominantly Roman Catholic district numbering 4,153 of that denomination and 1,235 Protestants. The district had been represented in 1859 by two Liberal Roman Catholics, Patrick Nowlan and Charles Furey, but in the 1861 election, Nowlan deserted the Liberal party and teamed up with another Liberal renegade, Roman Catholic Thomas Byrne. Against this pair the Liberals pitted George James Hogsett, a recent convert to Roman Catholicism, and Charles Furey.

That the contest would prove a bloody one, few had any doubts. The rival candidates descended on the district, complete with some thirteen carriages from St. John's⁴ as well as crowds from as far away as Holyrood and Brigus. Some attempts at compromise were made. For instance, Charles Furey arranged with Thomas St. John of Cat's Cove that the Conservative

1. NA: S 4/3. Executive Council Minutes, May 1, 1861, p. 575. See also May 4, 1861, p. 576.

2. Ibid.

3. NA: Nfld. Census 1857.

4. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1861. app. p. 67. Testimony of John Reddy before Select Committee.

5. Ibid. app. p. 58. Testimony of Rev. K. Walsh before Select Committee.

voters would not be interfered with at the Harbour Main and Holyrood polling booths provided the same courtesy was extended to the Liberal voters at Cat's Cove. However, trouble was not to be averted. On polling day a crowd of some 200 to 300 men left Harbour Main for Cat's Cove, a small cove whose eighty or so inhabitants were mainly supporters of the Conservative party. Liberal voters from Salmon Cove and Chapel's Cove were required to cast their votes at Cat's Cove polling booth, and the Harbour Main crowd felt their presence would ensure the Liberal voters their right to cast their ballot. The appearance of the huge crowd from Harbour Main threw the Cat's Cove residents into a panic. They hastily erected a barrier of flake beams across the road, and gathered in a nearby field. Father Kyran Walsh who was at the head of the Harbour Main crowd spoke to the Cat's Cove people. Contradictory evidence was given at the inquiry as to the nature of this conversation. However, all agreed that as some of the crowd moved forward, shots were fired. One man died and several were wounded. The Harbour Main crowd decided that discretion was the better part of valour and retreated to Harbour Main where, either with or without intimidation, the Returning Officer, Patrick Strapp, received the votes of the thirty-six Salmon Cove and Chapel's Cove residents. Later at the inquiry into the disorders, Strapp claimed he took the votes under protest. "Through the fear of threats, I did not refuse them," he claimed, adding, "a man named

1. Ibid. app. p. 96. Testimony of T. St. John before Select Committee.
 2. Ibid. app. p. 60. Testimony of Rev. K. Walsh before Select Committee. See also Testimony of G. Furey, app. p. 87.
 3. Ibid. app. p. 58. See also Testimony of Philip Mahoney of Cat's Cove, app. p. 92.

Thomas Penney came in afterwards ... he told me they had a meeting on Moore's Hill...They had seven committees made out to overhaul my house to look for guns.¹"

Penney's information proved accurate. A few weeks after the election, Strapp's property at Harbour Main consisting of seven buildings was attacked by a mob of about 150. He and his family were forced to flee while the dwellings, stores, and out-offices were razed to the ground.²

One of the witnesses, William Holden, who was summoned by the Select Committee of the House of Assembly investigating the Harbour Main disorders, declined to give evidence. In his letter of explanation, the witness enclosed a threatening note which had been sent to him. The note read in part:

Holden, I think you ought to make much of your time in Harbour Main now, for I think you have not long to live there. Another thing, you won't have anything to live in, for before two months is at an end, you will not have a stick or a stump in Harbour Main. You bloody informer - you bugger, it was you who informed on the liberal men that hauled down Strapp's house ... Oh Holden, God forgive you, Tory Rascal of Hell... Before two weeks is at an end, your house and all in it will be no more. You Tory vagabond, you informer on rum and men. 3

Harbour Main was not the only outpost experiencing disorders during the spring elections of 1861. In Harbour Grace electoral district where the population in recent years had changed from a predominantly Roman Catholic one to one where the combined Protestant votes slightly out-numbered the Roman Catholics, it had been the tradition to elect one Roman Catholic and one Protestant to represent the district. However, for the

1. Ibid. app. p. 107. Testimony of Patrick Strapp before the Select Committee.

2. Ibid. app. p. 50. Petition of Patrick Strapp to Government, June 2, 1861.

3. Ibid. app. p. 97. Enclosure W. Holden to S. Rendell, June 12, 1861.

three years between 1859 and 1861, elections had been held every year, but to no avail. The Protestant candidate, J. Hayward, was returned without trouble, but the Roman Catholics were divided into two rival groups. The clerical group supported James L. Prendergast, a merchant, whose return was protested after each election, and declared null and void.

An examination of these controverted elections at Harbour Grace will give an indication of the interplay of sectarianism and politics in the Conception Bay area during the early 1860's.

Prendergast's election in 1859 was objected to by some Harbour Grace residents who claimed that the opposing candidate, a Roman Catholic named Henry Moore, had been forced by threats and intimidation to retire from the contest before polling day. A Commission¹ was appointed by the government to investigate the charges. At first, Moore said he would give the Commission the names of the parties who had threatened him, but later he declined. A 'Molly Maguire'², consisting of twelve lucifer matches and a threatening note had been shoved under his door to discourage him.³

Nevertheless, the testimony of thirty-six witnesses proved sufficient for the House of Assembly to decide that Prendergast's election was questionable, and it was declared void.⁵ New elections were ordered for Harbour Grace in the autumn of 1860.

- P. 495.
1. NA: S 4/3. Executive Council Minutes, Dec. 16, 1859.
 2. 'Molly Maguire' was the name of an Ulster group of agitators.
 3. NA: G 3/3. Harrison Ridley to Governor, Jan. 30, 1860.
 4. NA: S 4/3. Executive Council Minutes, May 31, 1861. p. 596.

As the time of the election approached, Kent's Liberal cabinet was bombarded with letters from the Harbour Grace magistrates asking for military aid to prevent riot and outrage. Justice of the Peace, Harrison Ridley, informed the Governor, "Riotous as were the proceedings last year when two Roman Catholics contested the election, the fact that this year the contest will be between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic, we have reason to fear outrage and intimidation of a much more violent character." Ridley went on, "Persons of influence here have exhausted every effort of conciliation, having even offered to assist in returning any respectable Roman Catholic, but the Bishop insists that Prendergast shall be their candidate."¹

The Executive Council asked the Governor to send the necessary forces.² In writing to the Commander of the Troops, Major Grant, the Governor bluntly informed him, "The individual [Prendergast] who was returned as member of the House of Assembly and whose election was declared null and void, is again a candidate ... and it is with deep regret I add that I believe he is countenanced and supported by the same influences which prevailed [at the last election] ... I mean clerical dictation."³

The next day, October 31, 1860, a more urgent letter was received by the Governor from the two magistrates at Harbour Grace, John Munn and Harrison Ridley, and the Returning Officer, Robert Pinsent. They wrote, "A mob of people have paraded the town with fife and drum ... with a view to intimidate persons from presenting themselves as candidates tomorrow ... We earnestly request that troops be despatched from St. John's ... Unless

1. NA: G 3/3. Harrison Ridley to Governor, Oct. 29, 1860.
2. Ibid. Resolution of the Executive Council, Oct. 30, 1860.
3. Ibid. Governor Bannerman to Major Grant, Oct. 31, 1860.

the military can arrive at Harbour Grace between two and three tomorrow, no opposing candidate will dare come forward." ¹

Just as the troops were about to leave for Harbour Grace, the Governor received a telegram from the Harbour Grace magistrates stating that Thomas Higgins, the Protestant candidate, had retired under compulsion, and therefore the troops were not needed. ² A second telegram from Returning Officer Robert Pinsent confirmed Higgins's resignation, but failed to mention that the resignation was made under any threat or intimidation. ³

Two weeks later, Higgins, the candidate who had resigned, made a sworn statement describing the events immediately preceding his resignation.

... On my way to my own house about a half hour after [going to the hustings to be nominated] I heard the sound of the drum and fife and I was overtaken by a large number of persons... I knew at once they were supporters of J.L. Prendergast ... I addressed the mob and asked them what all this excitement was about. The leaders of the mob, Stapleton, Connors, MacKay, and a man of the name of William Dunn told me ... they would go to all lengths to put Prendergast in ... and they would have blood sooner than I should be returned ... The leaders told me if I wanted to save the town, my own life, and property, I must resign... I did not wish a repetition of the disgraceful scenes of last year's election, and to preserve the peace and safety of the town, I wrote a resignation without protest. As soon as the mob received the resignation, they left me and went up to the Court House. I went down to my place of business on the beach and remained there some time ... I was coming up to my house when I again met the mob who had been to my house in search of me. They said I must come with them to the Court ... They insisted and had I not gone quietly they would have dragged me. As soon as I got to the Court House I immediately went into Mr. Pinsent's office and told him I intended to resign. He asked me if I made any condition to my resignation. I told him no. I gave up the thing in disgust and that I knew if I attached conditions to my resignation, they would have attacked me. ⁴

1. Ibid. Harbour Grace Magistrates to Governor, Oct. 31, 1860
2. Ibid. Bannerman to Major Grant, Nov. 1, 1860. See also NA: S 4/3: Ex. Council Minutes, Nov. 2, 1860. p. 546.
3. NA: G 3/3. R. Pinsent to Governor, Nov. 13, 1860.
4. Ibid. Deposition of Thomas Higgins, Nov. 1, 1860.

Police Constables Israel Goss of Harbour Grace threw further light on the proceedings when he appeared before D.W. Frowse to give evidence. In his deposition, he stated, "I saw a mob bringing up Mr. Higgins. They had him in front and marched behind him cheering and bawling. There were about 200 men. Higgins did not look pleasant. When he got to the Court House steps, I saw him turn round as if to speak, but I could not tell what he said. He went into the Court House. Soon afterwards, Mr. Pinsent came out ... I heard him tell the mob or crowd Mr. Higgins resigned to preserve the peace and safety of the town ... I walked down the street a short way with Mr. Pinsent. I said to him, 'If that's free and independent elections, God help you'. 'Perhaps,' said Mr. Pinsent, 'It's best as it is'¹."

Magistrates Harrison Ridley and John Munn added to the charges of foul play. On November 20, 1860, they made a sworn statement to the effect that "... the mob we have referred to was regularly organized and drilled by Mr. Prendergast ... When committing the outrages in the first instances... they were entirely guided and controlled by Mr. Prendergast, who ... gave them the signal for attack and ordered them to desist."²

Once again, Prendergast's election was declared null and void by a Roman Catholic-dominated House of Assembly. Once again, Harbour Grace was to have new elections. Once again, the government was stampeded with requests for military aid. The Executive Council resolved that the request was entirely reasonable.

1. Ibid. Deposition of Constable Israel Goss, Nov. 17, 1860.

2. Ibid. Deposition of Harrison Ridley and John Munn, Magistrates of Harbour Grace, Nov. 20, 1860.

Governor Bannerman wrote to the Commander of the Troops on April 20, 1861, "The resident magistrates [at Harbour Grace] have intimidated to me that they have the strongest grounds to fear that the same lawless and riotous proceedings will take place and that similar outrages on the persons and properties of Her Majesty's subjects as took place at the last two elections will be committed at the ensuing one unless a military force be sent to aid the civil power." Governor Bannerman went on to say, "There are three candidates, one of whom is the same individual who was the cause of these outrages ... whose election was set aside, and I have no doubt he will create as much trouble as he did on former occasions."

The Governor's fears were well founded. On April 27, 1861, Harrison Ridley wrote:

We are in such an awful state no power in the country, civil or military, can in the slightest allow liberty of action or freedom of election. The state of public feeling here is so intense that rather than allow the second candidate to be returned to support Hoyles, the whole town and the lives of the Protestants would be sacrificed. They not only say it, but I know from our own independent Roman Catholics, it to be a fact; the same is the feeling in Carbonear for although the Taylor party have such an energetic determined band of resolute men who have driven back the attacks that have been made upon it, yet if the Catholic party cannot carry their object there by brute force, they will not hesitate clandestinely to murder and destroy. Men who have always been of the most moderate and temperate views and who are as much opposed to violence as we are, do not hesitate to say they and everyone of them would lose their own lives ... if there is not some arrangement made before Polling Day. You cannot form an idea of the intensity of the feeling and the murderous intentions of the party and no power can check them. They are like madmen. 2

The magistrate's tone reached a hysterical pitch as he described the events that followed the nomination of candidates.

"Yesterday's proceedings were dreadful. In the morning there were

1. Ibid. Bannerman to Major Grant, April 20, 1861.
2. NA: S 4/3. W.H. Ridley to Colonial Secretary, R. Carter, April 21, 1861. pp. 568-570.

at least a thousand men round the Ensign, the standard of the party... The Moore party [supporters of Hoyles] went up town and began dispersing when the other met some of them ... The soldiers were called out and peace was established ... Then the Carbonear gang came up ... and being joined by all the Harbour Grace men they drove the Moore party to their homes. They then took possession of the town and completely destroyed the houses and windows on each side of the street. It was four o'clock before they dispersed, having done all the damage they could ... They vow murder and destruction ... Many people's lives are without doubt in danger."

The Executive Council expressed surprise that such proceedings occurred when the military had been sent to prevent outrage. A sergeant in the Royal Newfoundland Companies gave his version of the proceedings:

About 20 or 30 members of the Protestant party, men from Bear's Cove, were proceeding quietly to their homes at the east end of Harbour Grace. They were met by Prendergast's party who were coming up town toward the westward with music and flags and made a violent attack on the Bear's Cove men with stones and sticks... Mr. Pinsent went with the troops to quell the disturbances, having received a telegram that a large party of men armed with sticks had left Carbonear for the purpose of attacking Harbour Grace. The fight had ended by the withdrawal of the Protestant party at the command of the magistrate. The magistrate and troops then intercepted 300 or 400 men armed with pickets and carrying the flag known as the Bishop flag - white with a red cross - who appeared on the road from Carbonear. Before Mr. Pinsent could finish reading the Riot Act, the Carbonear men rushed past and joined forces with the Harbour Grace supporters of Prendergast and the fight was renewed with great violence and fury. Mr. Pinsent addressed the leaders of the contending parties. The Roman Catholic leaders declared their readiness to disperse if the other party did so first, whereupon Mr. Pinsent commanded the Protestants to disperse. The Protestants said they were assembly only to protect their lives, and, being guaranteed of protection by Mr. Pinsent and the Military, they threw down their stones and sticks, and with the exception of

1. Ibid.

40 or 50 men who drew to the side of the road to allow the Roman Catholic party to pass home, they dispersed. The Roman Catholics, however, passed the soldiers and pushing upon the remainder of the Protestant party, then unarmed and separated, delivered a furious volley of stones upon them, and then beat many of them in a brutal manner, directly in the sight of the police and military, and drove the Protestants out of Water Street. The Roman Catholic party immediately attacked the houses of the Protestants on Water Street as well as those of two or three Roman Catholics known to support Moore and Hayward. 1

The sergeant went on to state that the military marched along after the mob as they passed through town, halting when the mob halted, waiting until they had demolished the immediate object under attack, and then following them to witness further destruction. "... when the mob passed in front or rear of the troops to continue their work, they saluted the soldiers with a cheer; no insult was offered the troops beyond that of one drunken rioter putting his fist in the face of a soldier and daring him to fire at them," the sergeant reported. 2

Magistrate Robert Pinsent was asked to explain why the magistrates allowed property to be destroyed in the presence of those "who were ready and willing to protect it." In his defense, Pinsent said he had exposed himself freely and was hit often by stones while trying to quell the disturbances. "The only alternative, as I understood it, to effect this object, was by ordering the troops to fire, and that last deadly resort I did not feel warranted in adopting ... as although the damage to property was considerable, little or no personal violence was inflicted on anyone." 4

1. NA: S 4/3. Executive Council Minutes, May 4, 1861. p. 576.

2. Ibid. July 4, 1861, p. 613.

3. Ibid. Bannerman to Harrison Ridley, April 29, 1861.

4. Ibid. Report of Magistrate R. Pinsent to Executive Council, May 7, 1861. p. 378.

The property damage amount to £1,353.6.¹8. Nor did the disturbances end there. Early in May, a petition purporting to be from the Protestant inhabitants of Harbour Grace was sent to Governor Bannerman, complaining of the unprotected and lawless condition of the town. "Acts of violence are daily perpetrated to such an extent that men are prevented from going to their ordinary work or from getting their necessary supplies or provisions for their families, through the intimidation which is exercised by the opposite party. This deplorable state is attributable to the inefficiency and misconduct of the whole police force and the Stipendiary Magistrate."²

The petitioners warned that a collision of the two parties could only be avoided by the dismissal of the head constable and by the suspension of Magistrate Pinsent.³ The Executive Council, which had already sent Joseph Peters to act with Mr. Pinsent as a second magistrate, now ordered Mr. Pinsent's immediate suspension from office because he had refused to act with Mr. Peters.

This then was the temper of the times when the new House of Assembly met in St. John's on May 13th, 1861, an unlucky day. Troops lined Military Road for the short distance from Government House to the Legislative building. As the hour of the opening of the Legislature approached, the crowd surrounding the House of Assembly swelled to disturbing proportions.⁴ Lieutenant Colonel John Grant estimated it at 10,000.

1. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1863. app. p. 1005.

2. NA: S 4/3. Petition of the Protestant Inhabitants of Harbour Grace (Copy) Executive Council Minutes, May 14, 1861.p.590.

3. Ibid.

4. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1861. Testimony of Lt.Col. John Grant before Select Committee. app. p. 129.

The Harbour Main Liberal candidates, George James Hogsett and Charles Furey, arrived and attempted to take seats in the House of Assembly as the members for Harbour Main. To support their claim, they produced a writ signed by Returning Officer Patrick Strapp declaring them the duly elected members.¹ The Premier, Hugh W. Hoyles, ordered the police to remove them. Their ejection from the House threw them literally into the arms of the mob outside who carried Hogsett in heroic fashion upon their shoulders down the steps of the Colonial Building.² The Governor's carriage was stoned as it pulled away from the Legislature building, and the military was pelted with stones.³ A magistrate was struck as he attempted to read the Riot Act.³ By six o'clock the civil authorities could no longer cope with the rioters, and called upon the military.⁴ The business property of relatives of Patrick Nowlan, one of the Conservative candidates in the Harbour Main election, was attacked by the mob, as were the office and dwelling of Robert Winton, the editor of the conservative St. John's Daily News,⁵ who was to become an ardent advocate of Orangeism. Before the mob was dispersed by the firing of the troops, an estimated £4,599.7.0⁶ damage was done.

The immediate circumstances surrounding the fatal volley fired by the troops have never been clarified. Lieutenant

1. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1861. p. 6.
2. Ibid. Testimony of Lt. Col. John Grant before Select Committee. app. p. 129.
3. Ibid. Testimony of Adjutant A.S. Quill before Select Committee. app. p. 139.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. 1863. app. p. 938.
6. Ibid.

Colonel R.B. Macrae described the event in indignant tones.

"... in the middle of the street ... the troops were halted and there exposed for two mortal hours to the ridicule and stones of the mob, who paid as much attention to the Riot Act as they would a snow-storm. They laughed at the notion of the troops firing on them ... At length, as twilight descended ... a shot, nobody knew how, and nobody could afterwards tell, was fired at troops; and then, at whose command nobody exactly knew, an irregular volley was poured at close point-blank upon the crowd,¹ which instantly turned to flee in hideous yells of terror."

This account is substantially the same as that given at the inquiry into the riot by the Commander of the Troops, Colonel Grant, and by other soldiers engaged in the incident, as well as by magistrates Thomas Bennett and Charles Simms.² Sergeant Major Patrick Matthews of the Royal Newfoundland Companies testified that before the military fired there was a shot fired from the hill and a rumour went through the ranks,³ "They are firing at us."

Two men were killed outright.⁴ The number who were wounded or died as a result of wounds has never been ascertained. Father Jeremiah O'Donnell, the Garrison Roman Catholic Chaplain, who with Fathers Richard O'Donnell and John Vereker, exposed themselves freely amongst the rioters in an attempt to quiet them,⁵ was among the wounded. Almost immediately after the shooting,

1. Macrae. op. cit. p. 130.

2. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1861. app. pp. 128-139.

3. Ibid. app. p. 139. Testimony of Sergeant Major Patrick Matthews before the Select Committee.

4. Ibid. app. p. 125 and p. 154.

5. Ibid. app. p. 136.

the bells of the Roman Catholic Cathedral peeled through the city calling the people to the sacred grounds where Bishop Mullock called upon them to keep the peace.¹ In his testimony before the Select Committee investigating the disturbances, Father John Vereker stated that "no ten pounds' worth of property would have been damaged or destroyed after the priests had arrived at the scene of destruction ... had the troops been left in barracks."¹

No sooner had the new Conservative administration recovered from the shock of the riot of May 13th, and asserted its authority by declaring Patrick Nowlan and James Byrne as the duly elected members for Harbour Main, than it was peppered with petitions from the chronic trouble spot in Conception Bay - Harbour Grace. Magistrates John Munn, Joseph Peters, and W. Harrison Ridley, in petitioning for a military force of forty or fifty men, claimed, "The excitement in this town instead of subsiding becomes daily more threatening and defiant. No Protestant is safe if he keeps open his shop or appears in the streets after sunset. Out-harbour dealers are beaten and driven from town. The few policemen² are defied." A petition signed by the Protestant clergy of Harbour Grace and 120 inhabitants corroborated this view. "All trade and business is suspended and threats of murder and incendiarism denounced against those who only wished lawfully to exercise their franchise ... The inhabitants receive no protection whatever."³

The disturbed state of the outports in Conception Bay led the Executive Council to urge Governor Bannerman to apply for

1. Ibid. app. p. 136. Testimony of Father J. Vereker before Select Committee.

2. Ibid.

3. NA: S 4/3. Executive Council Minutes, May 24, 1861.p.591

4. Ibid. May 31, 1861. p. 596.

an increase to the military force in Newfoundland. The recommendation was couched in strong terms. "In view of the riots at Carbonear, Harbour Grace, Harbour Main, Cat's Cove, and St. John's, the Council is of the opinion that a larger military force is imperative ... some to be stationed at Conception Bay. The Governor is asked to bring this opinion to the notice of the Imperial Government and hope to get an increase before the return of the people from the fishery in the fall." ¹

The finale to the year of riots was played out quietly at Harbour Grace when new elections were held November 20th. James L. Prendergast's election in the spring had been set aside again by the House of Assembly. The ominous prelude to the new election was the murder of Police Constable Jeremiah Dunn. ² From the inhabitants and magistrates came the usual requests for troops. These were sent promptly under Major Grant.

The despatch of the troops provoked the editor of the St. John's Record to raise the cry of "Orangeism" two years before an Orange lodge existed in the colony. In an editorial daring the Governor to send troops to Harbour Grace, the Record asked, "Will the Catholics and Protestants of that district, those who have hitherto united for their mutual prosperity, commence the work which Sir Alexander has assigned them - namely to cut each other's throats for the especial gratification of His Excellency and His Excellency's little contemptible Orange Faction in St. John's? Will Sir Alexander repeat his former experiment and send Queen's troops to force compliance with his

1. Ibid. June 14, 1861. p. 601.
2. Ibid. Nov. 2, 1861. p. 9.

wishes? We challenge him to do it.¹"

Commenting on the editorial, Governor Bannerman noted that the Record had been alluding weekly to Orangemen and Orange factions, "when it is well known, there is not and never was, an Orange Society, or Lodge, in this Colony."²

The Record's bombast did not divert the movement of the troops to Harbour Grace. Major Grant reported that a meeting of 500 or 600 Roman Catholics was held the afternoon of the troops' arrival. At the meeting it was proposed to bring forward some one less objectionable to the Protestants, but it was decided finally to support Prendergast again and to use every effort to return him to the House of Assembly. However, Major Grant was able to report on November 21st that everything had passed off quietly during the election. The returns of the election - 884 for Hayward, 870 for Moore, and 421 for Prendergast³ - confirmed that the latter's anxiety over the previous elections was not without some foundation.

These election riots of 1861 which took on all the aspects of sectarian strife, especially in the Conception Bay area, resulted in a 'gentleman's agreement' among the politicians that all religious groups should be represented fairly in the distribution of government offices and in the arrangement of the administration.⁴ This had been the demand of the Liberals in 1854⁵ when they were fighting for responsible government, and when they gained power in 1855 they practised what they preached by including two Church of England Liberals, George H. Emerson and Thomas Glen, in the Executive Council.⁶

1. Ibid. Oct. 26, 1861. pp. 5-6.
2. Ibid.
3. NA: G 3/3. Major Grant to Bannerman, Nov. 21, 1861.
4. Prowse. op. cit. p. 491.
5. See above p. 19.
6. NA: Nfld. Bluebook 1855. p. 72.

The Church of England Conservative leader, Hugh Hoyles, upon forming the new government in 1861, declared, "The population of the Colony being divided into two religious denominations, Protestants and Roman Catholics, a government to be satisfactory to all parties, to be just and useful, ought to be composed of members of both denominations." He, too, attempted to practice what he preached by reserving two seats on the Executive Council for Roman Catholics and by inviting the President of the Legislative Council, Lawrence O'Brien, a Roman Catholic, to remain in that position. Mr. O'Brien continued in office, but Ambrose Shea, the leader of the opposition refused to accept any position in the new government. Governor Bannerman referred to this attempt at a religious compromise or amalgamation in his address to the Executive Council upon his departure from the colony in 1864. But it was not until 1865 that the amalgamation was effected under the new Premier, F.B.T. Carter. At that time, Ambrose Shea and John Kent, the Roman Catholic leaders of the Liberal party, accepted office in the government. Governor Anthony Musgrave, under whose administration the amalgamation was effected, wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, "The whole history of the Colony since the introduction of Responsible Government has been an narrative of a struggle for political domination between the two religious sections of Roman Catholics and Protestants. However plausibly it may have been represented to the contrary, from the inauguration of the new system with Mr. Little's

p. 282.

1. NA: S 4/4. Executive Council Minutes. Aug. 27, 1864.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

administration in 1855 to the time of the dismissal of Mr. Kent in 1861, the Roman Catholic influence has prevailed, and since that time the Protestant body have possessed the preponderance.¹"

From the Liberal ranks came approval of the 'amalgamation'. Robert J. Parsons, the Protestant Liberal member of the House of Assembly for St. John's East who edited the Liberal newspaper, the Patriot, wrote, "We know of no government better calculated to ensure the confidence of the country than one in which all parties are duly represented and by which patronage is fairly distributed. The country had party government for thirty years and what has been the result? The country has suffered in character as well as purse from party politics ... The entire Colony has consented to a form of government in which all sects should be fairly represented and receive a due share of government patronage, instead of the old absurd and unjust system which gave all power and patronage to one sect."²

The Conservative press re-echoed this sentiment. Robert Winton, editor of the St. John's Daily News, who was to become a supporter of Orangeism, wrote, "Mr. Carter has obtained the co-operation of the leading members of the Opposition to join him in the formation of a coalition government. We have always been impressed with the conviction that only one policy can be sustained - that which leads to the development of resources upon the principle of exact and even-handed justice to all denominations."³

The new political-religious arrangement proved a workable solution to the problem of denominational representation.

1. NA: G 11/6. Governor Musgrave to Cardwell, April 19, 1865. p. 59.

2. The Patriot, St. John's, Feb. 17, 1866.

3. The Daily News, St. John's, April 19, 1865.

As long as the 'amalgamation' solution was practised, the political life of the colony remained more or less stable. It was not until the disastrous collision of Orangemen and Roman Catholics at Harbour Grace in 1883, that the principle of amalgamation broke down, and political parties again divided along religious lines.

E. The Economic Background.

When Dr. Thomas Leeming, the man who founded the first Orange lodge in Newfoundland, arrived in St. John's early in June of 1863, he came to an economically distressed colony. The Governor had, at the request of the Bishop of the Church of England and other Protestant clergymen, proclaimed a day of special humiliation and prayer "for the Divine favour and for the removal of the afflicting dispensations".

The most serious of the afflictions was the failure, year after year, of the fishery. In the ten years from 1859 to 1869, only one season - that of 1866 - was regarded as an 'average' catch. With each year's failure of the fishery, the ranks of the destitute swelled, placing such a drain on the colony's annual revenue that by 1863 it was reported that pauper relief took one-quarter of the colony's revenue. So alarming was the economic

1. The Daily News, St. John's, June 15, 1863.

2. The Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser, St. John's Feb. 24, 1863.

3. NA: S 1/43. R. Carter, Colonial Secretary, to S. Walcott, Emigration Commissioners Board, Mar. 14, 1862; Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1863, p. 9; G 11/5, Bannerman to Duke of Newcastle, April 30, 1864; Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1865, p. 2; Ibid. 1866, p. 6; Ibid. 1867, p. 19; Ibid. 1868, p. 11; Ibid. 1869, pp. 13-14.

4. NA: S 4/3. Executive Council Minutes. Circular Respecting the Growth of Pauperism, July 25, 1863.

condition of the colony that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, upon enquiring whether Newfoundland might absorb some of the distressed workers from the northern manufacturing counties of England, was told that Newfoundland could not offer the least prospect of advantage to any emigrants. ¹ Nor had the colony been welcoming any new emigrants in recent years. ² Indeed, seventy Irish 'stowaways' who were left at St. John's by the Galway Packet caused much indignation, as they arrived at a time "when many of our own people are compelled to leave the colony to seek a living elsewhere". ³

This was a far cry from the situation prevailing in 1857 when the government showed concern over the inadequate labour supply for the fisheries and public work, and commissioned agents in Ireland to procure a number of Irish labourers for Newfoundland. "No measures should be left untried to induce emigrants to a country where labor is scarce, living is cheap; the climate salubrious and the staple pursuits of the population, without reference to employment on government works, afford remuneration to the able and industrious man". ⁴ the Executive Council informed the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1857. By 1863, Governor Bannerman was obliged to report that the colony could hold out no advantage to emigrants. He went on to describe the plight of the colony:

- 1. NA: G 11/5. Governor Bannerman to Duke of Newcastle, May 18, 1863.
- 2. Bishop Feild to _____, 1861. Cited in Tucker, op. cit. p. 169.
- 3. NA: G 3/3. Premier Hugh Hoyles to Governor Bannerman, Sept. 9, 1863.
- 4. NA: S 4/3. Executive Council Minutes, Dec. 11, 1857. pp. 200-302.

In successful years the produce of the fishermen enables him to live not only in comfort, but frequently in profusion, regardless of and forgetting the failures - from causes beyond human control, and when that time arrives, the fishermen have no alternative but to resort to a most vicious system which has long prevailed in Newfoundland, that of getting supplies on credit, on the faith of the suppliers receiving the produce of the fishery. The latter thus incur a considerable risk, are frequently cheated by those whom they trust, and must, necessarily, charge high prices for the goods they supply. Fishermen coming back unsuccessful must, of course, return in debt, and should a second and sometimes a third unsuccessful year follow, they get disheartened, become indifferent, indolent, and many who had before been consumers of articles from which the revenue is solely derived (there being no direct taxation) become dependent upon pauper relief. Such has been the state of a large number of the labouring classes for the last two years. 1

Not only from the Governor came word of the distress in the colony. The House of Assembly was bombarded with petitions for relief. John Kavanagh, the member for St. John's East, described the people of nearby Torbay as 'in a state of absolute starvation'². The Justice of the Peace at Old Perlican, Trinity Bay, wrote on March 31st, 1863, "Paupers are daily on the increase in both this and the Bay de Verde districts. Many who had provisions to last them until now have nothing left and cannot get a morsel on credit from those who have it for sale"³. People living on the Campe Islands near Forteau were reported to be living on one cake of hard bread a day.⁴

A contemporary of the Newfoundland scene in 1863 wrote, "In the wintry months of 1863, poor Fish and Fog land was, indeed, hardly pressed ... Down tumbled insurance companies never to raise their heads again, and old established houses of undoubted strength

1. NA: G 11/5. Bannerman to Newcastle, May 18, 1863.
2. Daily News, St. John's, Feb. 5, 1863.
3. NA: S 2/78. Magistrate James L. Mews to R. Carter, Colonial Secretary, Mar. 21, 1863.
4. NA: S 2/78. Rev. Edward Botwood to same, Feb. 4, 1864.

and reputation shook and trembled under such terrific blows. Bad enough for these, but worse for the fisherman to endure. What a sad, sad picture it must have been to witness the return of the disappointed starving man to his cottage with starving faces¹ before him, to whom he brings no help."

Despite these hard times, the import-export figures for 1862 and 1864 show that the colony was still able to export more than it imported.² In fact, Newfoundland was the only one of the four maritime colonies that could boast such a surplus. The following figures were supplied to the British House of Commons³ for the year 1860:

	Value of Imports	Value of Exports
Newfoundland	£1,205,892	£1,222,800
Prince Edward Island	230,054	201,434
New Brunswick	1,446,740	916,372
Nova Scotia	1,702,309	1,323,906

A look at the economic situation in the three other maritime colonies in 1860 indicates that Newfoundland, financially, was certainly no worse off, if not somewhat better off, than her neighbours. Newfoundland, with a population of 122,836, was able to raise an annual revenue of £128,469, while New Brunswick, with almost double that population (252,047), raised but £178,663. Nova Scotia, with treble the population of Newfoundland raised only £176,584, and Prince Edward Island, with about half the population of Newfoundland, was able to raise a mere £28,742 in annual revenue.⁴

1. Macrae, op. cit. p. 191.

2. NA; Nfld. Bluebook, 1862, p. 168. Ibid. 1864, p. 165.

3. NA: G 1/34. Return of an Address to the Honourable the House of Commons showing the Area, Population, Revenue, Debt, and Commerce of Each British Colony. London, May 15, 1862.

4. Ibid.

Perhaps the answer to the riddle of Newfoundland's extreme distress in the 1860's was that the distress was due not only to the poor fisheries of those years, but also to the uneven distribution of wealth in the colony and its exportation abroad. One observer in 1863 wrote, "Little pity on account of the failure of their trade do the merchants of Fish and Fog land deserve. For years and years they have drawn away their wealth and influence from the place ... doing little or nothing for the public good, and separating themselves from a contaminated community as soon as possible."¹

Bishop Edward Feild reiterated this view in a strongly-worded charge to his clergy in 1869 in which he described the wide-spreading pauperism. He did not hesitate to criticise the merchants who "continually withdraw from the colony, year after year, wealth, earned by the hard and ill-required labour to be wholly spent in other countries, cruelly hindering all material progress and improvement here."²

Pauperism not only raised the public debt from £120,000 in 1857 to £180,000 in 1862,³ but it had given rise also to undesirable practices within the political system, whereby relief was bartered for votes between ambitious politicians and pauper constituents.⁴ Efforts to overcome pauperism and its consequences led the government to seek new means of revenue. The possibility

1. Macrae. op. cit. p. 99.
 2. Bishop E. Feild. "Poor Pastoral", 1869. Cited in Tucker, op. cit. Appendix A, p. 301.
 3. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1863, p. 11.
 4. Bishop E. Feild. "Poor Pastoral", 1869. Cited in Tucker, op. cit. Appendix A, p. 301.

of collecting taxes in Labrador was investigated¹ and attempts to encourage agriculture and mining were made also by the government. Only 42,609 acres were under cultivation in 1862, and most of this was within a mile or two of the sea.² Yet those who combined agriculture with fishing were seldom among those seeking relief. The government noted this and proposed to give a bounty to those who would move inland where the soil could be cultivated by those members of the family not engaged in the fishery.³ Government grants were made also to the Agricultural Society to encourage the raising of sheep, and bounties were provided to encourage the bank and mackerel fishery.⁴

The absence of a local gentry "who lend such valuable assistance in times of poverty" was noted also by the Executive Council in its report on the growth of pauperism. "As a rule, our successful men cease to reside in the Colony when their fortunes are acquired"⁵. This turn-over in the merchant class was descried by the Church of England Bishop who complained in 1860 that "the business and trade of this country are passing into the hands of Scotchmen and Presbyterians"⁶.

In addition to the fishery and the small agricultural industry, Newfoundland provided some optimism with regard to mining. A lead mine was being worked at La Manche in Placentia Bay,⁷ and a copper mine, developed by Charles Fox Bennett in 1864 at Tilt Cove in Notre Dame Bay, was employing hundreds by 1868.⁸

1. NA: G 11/5. Governor Bannerman to Newcastle, Aug. 10, 1863.

2. NA: Nfld. Bluebook, 1862. p. 223.

3. NA: S 4/4. Executive Council Minutes, Oct. 23, 1866. pp. 410-413.

4. Ibid. April 15, 1865.

5. Ibid. Oct. 23, 1866. pp. 410-413.

6. Bishop E. Feild to _____, June, 1860. Cited in Tucker, op. cit. p. 157.

7. NA: Nfld. Bluebook, 1862. pp. 231-232.

8. Bishop E. Feild to Rev. J. Moreton, Nov. 23, 1858. Cited in Tucker, op. cit. p. 228.

Governor Bannerman urged the Imperial government to lend the colony some financial aid to undertake a geological survey, pointing out that from its geographical position, Newfoundland would acquire new importance if "inhabited by a resident ¹ population attached to its soil and interested in its welfare".

This, then, was the economic state of the colony when Orangeism made its way into Newfoundland. The colony had suffered five bad fishing seasons. Pauper relief had taken an increasing share of the colony's revenue and had given rise to undesirable political practices in the distribution of relief. Some attempts to vary the colony's economy had been made by the government's encouragement of farming and mining, but the immediate prospects were far from bright. The editor of the Daily News summed it up as follows while discussing the possibility of Newfoundland's uniting with the other British North American colonies in 1864:

Men say, 'Oh, let us alone. We are very well off as we are'. Perhaps we are. Perhaps the condition of the country, with the turmoil, trouble, and misery which it has experienced for the last thirty years, is satisfactory; perhaps the present condition of the colony with failing fisheries, failing revenues, and people walking idly about our streets six months out of twelve, is for them a flattering condition of affairs." 2

1. NA: G 11/5. Governor Bannerman to Newcastle, May 18, 1863.

2. The Daily News, St. John's, Dec. 14, 1864.

CHAPTER II

Orangeism and Confederation

A. Newfoundland Invited to Consider a Federal Union

The decade following the founding of the first Newfoundland Orange lodge was the period in which the scheme of Confederation provided the colony's politicians with fodder for election platforms. This chapter will attempt to discover what links, if any, existed between the Orangemen and the supporters of Confederation both in Newfoundland and on the mainland. The scant evidence available concerning the origin of Royal Oak Lodge in St. John's in 1863 and its activities for the next ten years make it necessary to investigate the Orange Order from its circumference, rather than from its center.

The first communication on the proposed union of the British North American colonies arrived in Newfoundland in 1858 when the Governor General of Canada, Sir Edmund Walker Head, sent a letter to Governor Bannerman enclosing a copy of a minute of the Executive Council of Canada regarding a federation of the British colonies of North America. In response, the Newfoundland Executive Council nominated delegates to attend any meeting for the discussion of such a federal union, providing such a meeting was authorized by the Imperial Government.¹

In the autumn of 1864, after John A. Macdonald had resumed office as head of a coalition government, he telegraphed Premier Hugh Hoyles inviting Newfoundland to unite with the other provinces at Quebec on October 10th to consider a federal union. The hesitant attitude taken by the Executive Council indicated that the anti-Confederate ranks were beginning to make themselves

1. NA: S 4/3. Executive Council Minutes, Oct. 1, 1858, p. 354.

heard in the colony. The Executive Council accepted the invitation in such a manner as not to bind the government nor the Legislature to any of the proceedings. It was agreed that the subject should not be treated as a party question. As an earnest of this, the leader of the opposition, Ambrose Shea, and the Speaker of the Legislature, Frederick F.B. Carter, were appointed delegates to the Quebec Conference.¹

The St. John's Daily News, which was to be one of the leading pro-Confederate and pro-Orange newspapers in the capital city, commented cautiously, "We believe we can safely state it as the general opinion of the people of this Colony that anything in the shape of a Legislative Union of the Colonies involving either presently or proximately such a system as that now in operation in the United States should be regarded with the greatest disfavour".²

The agitation against Confederation led the Daily News three months later to adopt a more vigorous line. "We have endeavoured to show that the trade and commerce of this country, instead of being in any way injuriously affected by this project, would be largely increased in extent and value. All restrictions on intercolonial trade would be swept away ... Should Confederation not be accomplished, some additional taxation will be found necessary ... The only step we can take to avoid additional pressure is to throw in our lot with the other colonies".³

The Daily News was an ultra-Protestant newspaper whose editor, Robert Winton, was to be listed among the Orange ranks.⁴ Joining the Daily News in support of Confederation was the Roman

p. 290.

1. NA: S 4/4. Executive Council Minutes, Sept. 1, 1864.
2. The Daily News, St. John's, Sept. 21, 1864.
3. Ibid. Dec. 20, 1864.
4. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minute Book, Dec. 5, 1877.

Catholic newspaper, The Newfoundlander, edited by Edward D'Alton Shea, a brother of the leader of the opposition in the House of Assembly. Shea wrote, "Opponents of Confederation say that our burthens would be increased, and more especially for purposes of defence ... It is assumed that when the Union is consummated all British protection will be withdrawn ... The Confederacy will have large claims on the protection of England, and those claims will be recognized in no grudging spirit. It is through this Confederacy that the influence of England is to be upheld on this Continent".

Just as Orangeman Ogle Gowan and Roman Catholic Bishop Macdonnell allied themselves in the early days of Orangeism to uphold the British interest in Upper Canada, so, too, in Newfoundland, the Irish Roman Catholic leaders found common cause with early Orangeism in advocating Confederation as a means of maintaining the English influence in British North America.

B. St. John's Press Fans Sectarianism

Although Confederation was to supersede sectarian squabbles as the daily fare in the St. John's press, the latter still provided considerable newspaper material during 1864. Early in the year, a hint that Orangeism had found its way into the colony appeared in The Courier. The burning of a Protestant school house at Long Pond on the south coast of Conception Bay provoked an anonymous letter to the editor complaining that The Day-Book, another St. John's newspaper, was attacking the teacher of the Long Pond school "whose political sentiments are

1. The Newfoundlander, St. John's, Dec. 22, 1864.
2. See p. 85.
3. The Courier, St. John's, Feb. 13, 1864.

so well known and whose kindly feelings towards Roman Catholics his whole previous life bears witness to". The writer went on to castigate The Day-Book editor for stirring up religious animosity by "accusing the adherents of the Roman Catholic Church of Long Pond of burying the School-house ... This is pretty cool and will no doubt be appreciated by our Roman Catholic fellow countrymen --- It is to be hoped he will be called to a severe reckoning for printing such libellous stuff". The writer concluded by asking, "Has the wind changed, and the Day-Book hoisted the Orange flag?"

The unfavourable reference to Orangeism in The Courier called forth an editorial in The Daily News in which editor Robert Winton accused the leading members of the Liberal opposition of promoting Fenian societies in Newfoundland.² Not content with this, the Daily News made a severe attack on the editor of The Courier, Henry Winton.

"It [The Courier] is also a professedly Protestant paper," wrote the Daily News editor, "although it supported a Government which invariably ignored all Protestant interests, robbed the Colony of the very stone imported for the construction of our public buildings and presented it to the Roman Catholic Church; which, out of sixteen light-housekeepers, refused every Protestant application, and gave these sixteen appointments to Roman Catholics."³

Again in October the Daily News lashed out at those 'backsliding' Protestants who sided with the Liberal opposition.

1. Such men are but a rare exception to a general rule which unites the Protestant constituencies of the country in the determination reached only through years of persecution and trial, to stand by and maintain their rights and privileges to the last

1. Ibid.
2. The Daily News, St. John's, April 1, 1864.
3. Ibid. June 23, 1864.

extremity, rather than yield them up to their oppressors ... This is the condition that the minority [the Roman Catholics] have only themselves to thank for ... They introduced into the Legislature and (obtained for them the direct personal influence of high church dignitaries) a class of men who openly threatened, if thwarted in their schemes, to "wade knee-deep in Protestant blood." They were the men who by violence, disenfranchised a larger proportion of the Protestant voters ... It is because after only a recent escape from this system of despotism we show ourselves unwilling to return to it, that the cry of 'No-Popery' is flung at us ... All we insist upon is our fair representation in the councils of this country, Popery or No Popery. 1

The tone of the editorials emanating from The Daily News was such as to stir the prejudices of the uneducated Protestants against the Roman Catholics. The cant expression "to wade knee-deep in Protestant blood" was a carry-over from the troubles in Ireland where it was alleged to have formed part of the Defenders' oath. Even if used by rowdies during election riots, the expression would best be left unprinted in the interests of good-will in the colony. There was much about the Protestant press to warrant Bishop Mullock's censure. 2

The Day-Book editor, Francis Winton, took a 'holier-than-thou' tone in reprimanding his brother, Robert Winton, for his attitude towards Roman Catholics. Francis Winton claimed:

We believe that there is no class of people in this country more desirous of living at peace with their neighbours than are the Roman Catholics of this town, but they are continually being insulted by the Daily News in reference to just those matters upon which all men feel most sensitive; and it is for this reason alone that the News is regarded as the special 'No Popery' sheet. Does the Editor not suppose that his statement that "The Pope of Rome is a humbug" is forgotten? This is the sort of thing calculated to do mischief. We do not find such language coming from the Catholic press in reference to men of a different faith. 3

1. Ibid. Oct. 10, 1864.
2. See above p. 23.
3. The Day-Book, St. John's, Oct. 13, 1865.

The press war waged on bitterly during the year, with no quarter given. The Daily News in November reprinted an article from the Toronto Watchman, the organ of the Orange Order, concerning Fenians. "The secret oaths of this organization," the article stated, "obliges all its members to exterminate all heretics and heresy and especially are they called upon to murder the Protestant clergy and as might have been expected the loyal Orangemen have come in for their share of their 'tender mercies'".¹

This notice of the Upper Canadian Orangemen scarcely a year after the first lodge was formed in St. John's leads to the suspicion that the editor of the Daily News was more than a disinterested observer of the Order even at this early date. He was, in fact, to be listed among the officers by 1877.²

Sectarianism was still strong enough to cause disunity and animosity. It remained to be seen whether Confederation was an issue which could draw together two otherwise distinct groups - the Orangemen and the Roman Catholics.

The advance of the new year, coupled perhaps with the good-will engendered by the holiday season, led the editor of the Daily News to adopt a more conciliatory tone towards the men opposed to Confederation. "These people forget that old party lines and old party ties are about to be wiped out forever by means of Confederation; that we are entering upon a new epoch in our political affairs; and that one of the blessed results of Confederation may be that Thomas Glen, the editor of the Ledger, Mr. Kent, and ourselves, and a great many others equally eminent and astonishing men who have been hitherto politically

1. The Daily News, St. John's, Dec. 20, 1864.
2. LOA: Royal Oak Minute Book, Dec. 2, 1877.

hostile, may come to find ourselves on the same political platform, and advocating the same principles and policies".

C. Anti-Confederation Feeling Grows.

Such was not to be the solution immediately. As soon as the House of Assembly opened in 1865, the government was faced with two petitions asking that the issue of Confederation be delayed until the subject could be submitted to the people in a general election. None of the petitioners were members of the new Orange lodge.

The anti-Confederation wing of the Liberal party bitterly attacked the inclusion of the three leading Liberals, Ambrose Shea, John Kent, and E.D. Shea, in the administration of F.B.T. Carter to form the "amalgamated" government in the spring of 1865. Roman Catholic Liberals Henry Renouf and Thomas Talbot charged that the amalgamation, instead of representing a denominational compromise, was in reality an alliance of the three pro-Confederate Liberals with Carter's Confederate party. On the face of it, there seemed to be some justification in the charge. Shea and Carter had been the Newfoundland delegates to the Quebec Conference of 1864 and had returned convinced Confederates. Kent, the former Roman Catholic Premier, and Edward Dalton Shea, editor of the Roman Catholic Liberal newspaper, the Newfoundlander, had both been won over to the Confederate cause. On the other hand, the evidence available concerning the re-shuffle

1. The Daily News, St. John's, Jan. 8, 1865.
2. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1865. p. 23. Petition from John Bowring and others, Members of the Commercial Society. Ibid. p. 27. Petition of J.V. Nugent, Chairman, and Peter Duchemin, Secretary of a Public Meeting of St. John's Citizens.
3. The Morning Chronicle, St. John's, Oct. 16, 1865. See election address of T. Talbot, H. Renouf, and John Casey, Candidates for St. John's West. See also The Daily News, St. John's, April 26, 1865. See also The Patriot, St. John's, July 4, 1865.
4. The Patriot, St. John's, Sept. 30, 1865. See also The Newfoundlander, St. John's, Dec. 22. 1864 and Oct. 23. 1865.

in the government of 1865. gives no indication that any issue other than that of solving the denominational problem was involved. Whether the Shea brothers and Kent had been pro-Confederates or not, they would have been the obvious Liberals to be invited into the government. The fact that they were pro-Confederates made the invitation that much more palatable to both parties in the arrangement. In fact, Shea was to win his way into Orange hearts. When he was turned out of his own constituency by the anti-Confederates in 1869, the Orangemen of Harbour Grace gave him a safe seat in the House of Assembly for ten years - from 1873 until the disastrous Orange-Roman Catholic collision at Harbour Grace in 1883 disrupted the happy relations.

Despite the new unanimity of such once diverse elements as the pro-Orange editor of the Daily News and the Roman Catholic Liberal editor of the Newfoundlander, Confederation found no ready large-scale support in the colony. The merchant group in St. John's led the opposition and found incongruous allies in the anti-Confederate wing of the Liberal party, whose spokesman was Robert J. Parsons, editor of the Liberal newspaper, the Patriot. Even supporters of Confederation, such as John Kent and John Rorke promised their constituents they would not advocate the project in the House of Assembly. Thus, Carter's victory at the polls in the autumn of 1865, though seemingly a victory for the Confederates, was far from it. In fact, if the House had divided

1. See above pp. 42-45.

2. The Patriot, St. John's, Sept. 30, 1865; See the election address of John Kent. See also The Patriot, Aug. 12, 1865, Report of the Chamber of Commerce. See also the Daily News, St. John's April 26, 1865.

3. The Patriot, St. John's, Sept. 20, 1865. Ibid. Nov. 25, 1865.

4. R.A. Mackay. Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies. Toronto, 1946. p. 426.

into Confederates and anti-Confederates, the latter would have had a majority.¹ Among the Carter supporters were such 'Antis' as Rendell, Whiteway, and Green.²

During the election campaign, the Daily News advised the voters to "return their old members - tried and true men, who sought to recover the prostrate liberties of the Protestant denominations throughout the country, and well did they succeed". Winton went on to urge the outport constituents, "to let no sectarian prejudices come between you and the expression of your gratitude to these men. Let there be no question among you as to whether they are Churchmen or Dissenters, so long as they are tried and true men".³

This call for Protestant unity and the return of Protestant candidates,⁴ regardless whether they were Church of England members or Dissenters, indicates that the Daily News was worried about the divisions within the Protestant group. With neither the Church of England nor the Roman Catholic Church having a clear-cut majority in the population, the other Protestants held the balance of power in any election. This state of affairs had been lamented by the Church of England group as early as 1844 when their new Bishop, Edward Feild, had widened the gap amongst Protestants by refusing to serve as president of the non-denominational Bible Society.⁵ It was the growth of Orangeism in the colony that was to provide a unifying agency for the various Protestant groups through which a united Protestant voice could be expressed.

1. The Morning Chronicle, St. John's, Nov. 28, 1865.
See also the Patriot, St. John's, Dec. 2, 1865.

2. Ibid.

3. The Daily News, St. John's, Oct. 18, 1865.

4. The Patriot, St. John's, Sept. 2, 1865.

5. See above p. 12.

During the election year of 1865, the Newfoundland press made passing reference to Orange activities. The Liberal newspaper, the Patriot, reprinted a letter of the Right Reverend Doctor J.J. Lynch of Toronto, who protested against insults offered to the Sisters of Charity in Toronto. Commenting on the letter, the Patriot editor wrote, "This is a nice colony for Newfoundland to unite^{6c?} with ... Is there, then, no law in Canada to which an appeal can be made in cases of this kind? Or is the Law powerless or corrupt where Orangeism predominates?"¹ A few months later, the Patriot again sniped at Orangeism, this time indirectly. "Let them remember that the people of Newfoundland have never been charged with treason to their Sovereign. His Royal Highness, the Heir to the Throne, when in our midst, was treated with that respect and consideration due to our future Ruler, and not openly insulted and outraged as he was by those immaculate creatures of Kingston² and other localities in that paradise of loyalty - Upper Canada".

Parsons of the Patriot was referring, of course, to the imbroglio of the Prince of Wales's visit to Kingston where Orangemen refused to haul down their Orange flags and arches at the request of the Duke of Newcastle. The Irish Orangemen did not share the Patriot's attitude towards the incident. In an address of sympathy to the Kingston Orangemen, the Irish Grand Lodge stated, "We have deeply felt the insult offered the Orangemen of Canada by the Crown Minister in attendance on His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. We have seen how popish ecclesiasticals not only took part in the processions honoring the Prince, but were received with marks of favour, while the loyal and faithful Orange Order, the services of which, in

1. The Patriot, St. John's, May 2, 1865.
2. Ibid. Aug. 5, 1865.

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preserving Canada for the Sovereign of England, a Colonial Secretary should not have been ignorant of, was treated with contumely¹".

In fact, Upper Canadian Orangemen were still playing the role of preservers of Canada for England as late as 1865 when the threat of Fenianism gave them a new raison d'etre. The Daily News printed, just prior to the Newfoundland election, a manifesto of the Canadian Orange Order in which the former Grand Master, Ogle Gowan, claimed "... the enemies of Great Britain are plotting her overthrow and Ireland is not to be the first point of attack"². Gowan warned "when the cold weather sets in our source of supply [of troops] will be cut off; theirs from America will be open ... It is the general belief both of Fenians and their sympathizers that no army would be sent out in the spring to attempt the reconquest of the country." The former Grand Master urged the loyal men of Upper Canada to arm and "where there exist Militia Volunteer corps ... I would recommend every 'truelman' to enrol. Where circumstances ... prevent such enrolment and arming, these steps should be taken by each individual Orangeman"³.

D. Fenianism in Newfoundland

That Fenianism had found its way into Newfoundland is doubtful, or if it had, it found no more ready response than had the other Irish secret societies such as the United Irish Society and Ribbon Societies which had come and gone without taking root.⁴

1. LOA: Report of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. May, 1858. p. 10.
2. The Daily News, St. John's, Nov. 15, 1865.
3. Ibid.
4. J. Ogden to Hon. Vice-Admiral Waldegrave, July 2, 1800. Cited in Prowse, op. cit. p. 418-419. See also Charles Pedley, History of Newfoundland, London, 1863. p. 395.

By printing unfavourable articles on Fenianism, the Daily News was simply using it as a club to beat their political enemies with. The charge that John Kent had promoted Fenianism in Newfoundland¹ received little credence. The Patriot took notice of the Orange manifesto on Fenianism by remarking that the Orange organ, The Watchman, "declares it has positive information of a contemplated invasion of the provinces, that 600 armed men were in Toronto, and that members of the Government were fraternizing with Fenians"². This was no idle threat. Governor General Moncell in his Speech from the Throne on June 8, 1866, stated, "The threats and preparations for attack on Canada constantly and openly made by a body organized in the United States of America and known as 'Fenians', compelled me, since Parliament arose, by the advice of my ministers, to call out for active service a large portion of the Volunteer Militia force of the province"³.

Newfoundland Irishmen had their own source of information on Fenianism, and the tone of the reports would indicate that the Roman Catholic Irish leaders had little sympathy for the American-fostered society. A confidential report on American Fenian activities was sent to Ambrose Shea, the Roman Catholic Liberal leader who had coalesced with Carter's government. The report was intercepted by government authorities under rather unusual circumstances. The sender was James Ryan who described himself as a "Keeper of the B.C.L. House". Ryan registered the letter which he mailed from St. Louis, in the United States. Upon its arrival in Halifax, the postal authorities noticed it

1. The Daily News, St. John's, April 1, 1864.

2. The Patriot, St. John's, Dec. 2, 1865.

3. NA: G 3/4. Governor General Moncell to Governor Bannerman, June 8, 1866.

had been tampered with. As most registered letters contained money, the postal authorities opened the letter to see if the money had been removed. The contents of the letter proved such as to move the Postmaster to take the letter immediately to the Governor of Nova Scotia. In the letter, Ryan told Shea, "I could get a small fortune here just now to go to New York and pilot a craft that the Feneans are setting out at New York to go to cut the cabel as soon as Stephens ¹ lands in Ireland ... My host is a second Stephens, if he only knew what I am wrighting, I would not have a minute to live". Ryan went on to tell Shea, "They are all Feneans here [St. Louis] with few exceptions and the Clergy and Bishop are all opposed to them".

It is obvious that had the Newfoundland Irish leaders, such as Shea and Kent, had any sympathy whatever for Fenianism, such a letter would never have been sent to Shea. The attempt, then, to link Kent's name with Fenianism was simply a political gambit in which Kent was the pawn. Yet there can be no doubt that by publicizing news of Fenians and playing up Canadian Orangemen as the bulwark against Fenian invasion, the pro-Orange Daily News awakened interest in Orangeism amongst the Newfoundland Protestants. No such awakening was necessary for the Irish Roman Catholics. They would have been acquainted with-Orangeism in Ireland or have heard of it from their parents. Newfoundlanders

1. James Stephens. Founder of the Irish Republican Brotherhood in 1853. Visited the American branch known as Clan-na-Gael. See Private Papers of Major-General H.H. Tudor. "A Secret Report on the Intelligence Branch of the Chief of Police from May, 1920, to July, 1921, pp.76 - 80.
2. NA: G 3/4. Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia to Governor A. Musgrave, Nov. 22, 1866. Enclosure James Ryan to Ambrose Shea.

of Irish extraction had already used the word 'Orange' on more than one occasion as a term of abuse.¹

The coupling of pro-Orange sentiments with pro-Confederate views in the Daily News can hardly be considered a coincidence, especially as the press campaign of the News came at a time when the St. John's Orangemen had increased in membership to the extent of moving to larger quarters in the British Society Hall.

The Liberal press began to have doubts about the new coalition government. At the beginning of 1866, after the Carter party had returned triumphantly from the polls, the Patriot complained, "Had an anti-Confederate man been nominated to one of these offices in the government, "coalition" would not partake so much of trickery as its aspect now presents. We doubt much whether this "coalition" would ever have taken place had "Confederation" never been mooted".²

E. Decision on Confederation Postponed.

The new House of Assembly resolved "to abstain from pronouncing any decision on the proposal for a Union of the Colonies, or on the details of that measure as regards this Colony, and considering the present uncertain state of public sentiment on this grave question, and being unadvised of the action thereon that may be taken or contemplated by the other Provinces ... this House does not deem it expedient to enter upon its discussion with a view of any decision thereon".³

Reinforcing this stand, an Anti-Confederate League was formed in June, 1866, by a group of merchants led by two members

1. See above p. 16.
2. The Patriot, St. John's, Jan. 6, 1866..
3. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1866. p. 68.

of the Nova Scotia Anti-Confederate League who journeyed from Halifax for the purpose of organizing the Newfoundland League. Members of the new League included such prominent merchants as Robert Grieve, A.W. Harvey, J. Bowring, Thomas Glen, H. Renouf and W. Pitts.²

The Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. J. T. Mullock, was hesitant in his attitude towards Confederation. In his Lenten Pastoral of 1867, he remonstrated against Confederation if it were to interfere with denominational schools in the colony. "Wherever education divorced from religion has been generally adopted, its fruits are a frightful immorality, hatred, ill-will, and a contempt for life and property," the Bishop pointed out. "Here, thank God, all classes live peaceably together, but this blessing is said to be threatened by new political arrangements under which the education of the people is to be taken out of the hands of the local Clergy and transferred to a Board in a remote Province notorious for its anti-Catholic spirit".³

During the actual election campaign of 1869, the Roman Catholic Church tried to maintain a neutral position on Confederation. The Church had sustained a severe blow in the death of both the Newfoundland Bishops in the spring of 1869, and the Diocese came under an administrator who took it upon himself to forbid the clergy to use the churches for political addresses in connection with the election.⁴

The Lord Bishop of the Church of England was not too optimistic about Confederation either. In his 'Poor Pastoral' of

1. The Patriot, St. John's, June 30, 1866.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. March 12, 1867.
4. The Newfoundlander, St. John's, Sept. 3, 1869.

1869, he wrote, "Let us not build much ... upon the proposed Confederation; or upon the new laws and legislators under and by which we shall be governed. We may hope for some change for the better, in our social, as well as our political state. But he must have greater faith in Dominion politics and politicians¹ than I have, who expects to obtain much relief from that quarter."

The Confederates, however, were not entirely inactive. According to the Courier, weekly meetings of persons favourable to Confederation were held in the autumn of 1867.² But the "Antis" put their trust in Premier Garter who had pledged his word that "no steps will be taken ... till the people shall have expressed their opinions at the next general election"³. By now, the man who was to marshal the anti-Confederate forces so adroitly during the 1869 election had begun to be heard on the subject. The Patriot wrote on Dec. 9, 1867, "That estimable citizen, Charles Fox Bennett, deserves the sincere thanks of every lover of his country for the bold and manly stand he has assumed against those who would barter away the rights and liberties of this colony for the purpose of self-emolument and personal ambition"⁴.

Governor Anthony Musgrave, who had travelled to Ottawa in the autumn of 1867 to attend the opening of the first Parliament of Canada, opened the Newfoundland House of Assembly in 1868 by informing the Newfoundlanders, "I found the greatest readiness evinced by the Government of Canada to consider in a spirit of

1. Bishop E. Feild. "Poor Pastoral", April 24, 1869. Cited in Tucker, op. cit. Appendix A. p. 301.

2. The Patriot, St. John's, Oct. 10, 1867.

3. Ibid. Nov. 11, 1867.

4. Ibid. Dec. 9, 1867.

liberality any suggestions or propositions on the part of those Colonies which had not yet united¹".

This provoked the "Antis" into holding a great public meeting in the Fishermen's Hall where representatives of almost all the leading St. John's mercantile houses resolved, "That this meeting sees with regret that it is the intention of the Government to press the subject of Confederation upon the consideration of the Legislature during the present session". They went on to declare, "It is inexpedient and detrimental to the general interest of our Island to enter into the Confederation on any terms whatever, whilst as at present, the Dominion is distracted by financial and other internal troubles²".

By 1868, Thomas Glen had assumed the leadership of the Anti-Confederate group in the House of Assembly. He moved an amendment to the Reply to the Speech from the Throne in which he said, "We consider it desirable that no action be taken thereon until the present Legislature is dissolved when the question of Confederation can then be submitted to the people at the polls³". The motion was lost by sixteen to ten. This meant there had been a swing towards Confederation since the 1865 election when anti-Confederates had been in a decided majority in the House of Assembly.

However, the agitation of the "Antis" proved strong enough to stay Carter's hand. Governor Musgrave wrote to the Duke of Buckingham, "I regret it has not been possible to press the question of Union with the other provinces upon the Legislature at this time. Pains have been taken to ascertain the feeling of

1. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1868, p. 14.
2. The Patriot, St. John's, Feb. 8, 1868.
3. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1868, p. 20.

members of both Houses upon this subject. It is obvious that the agitation for repeal of the Union now prevailing as regards Nova Scotia, the nearest to Newfoundland, and the disorder and uncertainty in the general working of Confederation ... has exercised a prejudicial influence even on many who, on general principles, were favourable to the proposal¹.

F. Liberal Press Reports on Orangeism.

The Liberal press took time out from its anti-Confederation propaganda to notice the Irish Orange celebrations on July 12th, 1868, which, they told Newfoundland readers, was "celebrated with more than ordinary turbulence". In fact, the Patriot² felt duty-bound to reprint a warning in the Dundalk Democrat to the effect that "We have frequently told the Catholics that they should not come into collision with Orangemen without having firearms in their hands, not for the purpose of attack, but to defend themselves"³.

A month later, the Patriot shed some light on the founding of Orangeism in Prince Edward Island and its branching out to Newfoundland. Reporting on a debate in the Prince Edward Island House of Assembly, the Patriot printed an account of an exchange between the Honourable Mr. Henderson, a Prince Edward Island Orangeman, and the Honourable J. Hensley, the Liberal Premier of the colony, whose party had ousted the 'Tory' administration of Pope in 1867⁴. Henderson claimed "the first decided impulse given to Orangeism in this Colony was the result of Lieutenant-Governor Bañnerman's proclamation against Orange

1. NA: G 11/6. Governor Musgrave to Duke of Buckingham, May 12, 1868.

2. The Dundalk Democrat was published in Dundalk, Ireland.

3. The Patriot, St. John's, Sept. 5, 1868.

4. Ibid. April, 20, 1867.

Lodges in the year 1852. That celebrated State Edict called upon Magistrates and ministers of religion to use their influence for the suppression of those Societies¹". The Premier corrected Mr. Henderson, pointing out that the proclamation did not mention Orange Societies - that it was against all secret societies. Mr. Henderson declared the proclamation was deemed "an act of wanton persecution". He went on to describe how Governor Bannerman was afterwards appointed Governor of Newfoundland "where he had a fair trial of Societies of a character the very opposite of Orange Societies, for during an election, dark tragedies were enacted, the blood of Protestants who were in the minority there flowed freely, and he was powerless to prevent it. The Governor himself was lustily denounced by the Catholic press, and was obliged to take up his pen to defend himself against the attacks of the Catholic Bishop"². The Prince Edward Island Orangeman concluded his perogation by claiming, "these events made a very deep impression on the minds of true Protestants on this Island, and the result was a large addition to our Orange Societies".

There is a temptation to believe that Royal Oak Orange Lodge in St. John's may have owed its origin partly to the anger aroused in Prince Edward Island Orangeman by Governor Bannerman's hostility to Orangeism and that they may have regarded their introducing Orangeism into Newfoundland as 'paying off an old grudge' against Governor Bannerman. However, if Henderson's remarks on the promotion of Orangeism in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland are as fanciful as his remarks on the 1861 disturbances in St. John's, too much credence cannot be given them.

1. Ibid. Oct. 3, 1868.

2. Ibid.

For one thing, it was not 'Protestant' blood that flowed during the St. John's riots, but Roman Catholic blood. As to Bishop Mullock attacking Governor Bannerman publicly, this was nonsense. Bishop Mullock did remonstrate with the Governor privately about sending the troops out on the afternoon of the riots, but there was no truth in the charge that the Governor "was obliged to take up his pen to defend himself". The Patriot asked, "Who ever heard of the Catholic Bishop attacking the Governor?"

The pro-Orange and pro-Confederation press remained uniformly silent as far as reference to local Orangeism was concerned. The Daily News could not resist reprimanding the editor of the Patriot for "his attack on our late Governor", but he did not say a word about the comments on the Prince Edward Island Orangemen or the hint that Newfoundland Orangeism had any connection with Governor Bannerman's hostility to the Order.

The rumblings of anti-Orangeism in the Liberal press grew more distinct as the Order expanded. By 1868, the second Orange lodge - Leeming - had been organized by some young St. John's men. The master of the new lodge was the 22-two-year-old son of merchant Gilbert Browning whose large bakery establishment was mysteriously destroyed by fire on October 22nd, 1868.

With the founding of the second lodge in the capital city, the Newfoundland Orange Order was given a new status by the appointment of Richard D. Rankin as the Deputy Provincial Grand Master. Two years later, with the expansion of the Order

1. See above pp. 38-40.
2. Macrae, op. cit. pp. 132-133.
3. The Patriot, St. John's, Oct. 3, 1868.
4. The Daily News, St. John's, Oct. 6, 1868.
5. Ibid. Oct. 22, 1868.

to eight primary lodges, the Order was to boast the establishment of a provincial Grand Lodge with Rankin as the Provincial Grand Master.

G. The Anti-Confederation Election Campaign of 1869.

The expansion of the Orange Order in Newfoundland coincided with the vigorous anti-Confederation campaign of 1868-69 which saw the trend towards Confederation suddenly diverted to the opposite direction by a vituperative press onslaught climaxed by the most energetic electioneering campaign in the colony's history.

At the beginning of the election year, Governor Musgrave had written optimistically to the Governor General of Canada to the effect that "since my return to the Colony, I have found that there has been latterly a growing inclination for Union with the Dominion of Canada".¹

The pro-Confederate newspaper, the Express, summed up the traditional political picture in the colony on January 8th, 1869:

Unlike Halifax, St. John's has been the strongest hold of Anti-ism, chiefly owing to the mercantile influence and even more so to the "bellowings" of a few unprincipled demagogues ... Harbour Grace commands more influence than St. John's and is, in fact, the political keystone of the Island, and the district of Burin has always determined the fate of political parties - the latter was thoroughly Unionist at the last election ... Harbour Grace was at that time Anti, but a partial election there last November showed that the Union current had set in. Harbour Grace will influence the districts of (formerly Anti-Confederate) Trinity, Bonavista, Twillingate and Fogo, so that there is little doubt that Confederation in Newfoundland, within the next six months may be considered an accomplished fact. 2

1. NA: G 18/2. Governor Musgrave to Rt. Hon. John Young, Governor General of Canada, Jan. 21, 1869. p. 37.
2. The Express, St. John's, Jan. 8, 1869.

In addition to these favourable Confederation indications, a serious split occurred in the anti-Confederation ranks. Thomas Glen, the Church of England member for the Roman Catholic district of Ferryland, who had assumed parliamentary leadership of the anti-Confederates, became involved in a bitter quarrel with Charles Fox Bennett. The quarrel became public when the two¹ engaged in an exchange of letters in the Morning Chronicle in the early part of January, 1869, and at times, Glen's tone took on an almost pro-Confederate colour.² Fortunately for the 'Antis', the quarrel was patched up and the Morning Chronicle was able to announce with satisfaction "that thanks to Mr. Bennett, the Anti-Confederate cause is fairly open again ... We are at liberty to say that last year's Anti-Confederate Organization [which had waned³] is being renewed, and that the question will be orally placed before the people not only of St. John's, but also of the outports. Not one single district shall be given to the Confederates without a contest³".

An impressive number of merchants and professional men, who had denounced Confederation in the 1865 election, had been won over to the Confederate cause. Among these was Robert Pinsent who, in 1865, had been one of the organizers of the Anti-Confederate League.⁴ Others who had changed from an openly hostile or hesitant attitude to one of approval were Stephen Rendell, John Rorke, and Tessier. Listed among the honorary members of the Confederate League were the Honourable W.J.S. Donnelly, M.L.C.,

1. Morning Chronicle, St. John's, Jan. 12-16, 1869.
2. Ibid. Jan. 13, 1869.
3. Ibid. Jan. 12, 1869.
4. The Patriot, St. John's, June 30, 1866.

T. H. Ridley, John Rorke, W. S. Green, Edward Evans and John Munn, all Members of the House of Assembly, Adam Scott, the editor of the Ledger, Robert Winton, editor of the Daily News, James Seaton, editor of the Express, J.T. Burton, editor of the Telegraph, and Edward D'Alton Shea, M.L.C., who edited the Newfoundlander.¹

The St. John's newspapers had, for the most part, swung into line behind the merchants. The Ledger which had opposed Confederation in 1865 was pro-Confederation by 1869, as were the Newfoundlander, the Express, the Daily News, the Telegraph, and the Royal Gazette.² Only the Patriot and the Morning Chronicle were consistently opposed to the project, while the Courier, which had been pro-Confederate since 1863,³ changed its attitude in 1869 and denounced Confederation. The Harbour Grace Standard, which in 1865 had written caustically, "The advocates of Confederation who were so silent while the elections were going on, are now, like rats, creeping from their burrows and again nibbling away", by 1869 was "flaunting the Confederate flag".⁴⁵

Despite this impressive array of Confederates, those opposed to Confederation closed their ranks behind Charles Fox Bennett whose lengthy letters on the subject received prominence in the Morning Chronicle, edited by Francis Winton. In fact,

1. The Courier, St. John's, July 2, 1870.
2. The Patriot, St. John's, Nov. 14, 1868.
3. The Courier, St. John's, Aug. 5, 1863.
4. Morning Chronicle, St. John's, July 29, 1869. See also the Daily News, St. John's, July 29, 1869.
5. Morning Chronicle, St. John's, Mar. 25, 1869.

Bennett secretly purchased the Morning Chronicle sometime before
 1
 1871. Typical of the propaganda being propounded by Bennett was
 his letter of January 9th, 1869. In it, he asked:

Is it not true that upon entering Confederation, we must give up all check upon the extent of the taxation to be imposed on us by the Dominion of Canada?

... In addition to present taxes, we must pay the vexatious taxes now imposed on the population of Canada ... Great Britain has hitherto provided us with ample military and naval protection without any charge whatever upon our revenue ... Previous to the introduction of the local Legislature, Great Britain imposed no taxes on us other than a small tax on spirits and wines and on flour, but paid the whole Civil List of the Colony.

The measure of Confederation originated with the great bankers and money dealers in London who were holders of Canadian bonds and railway stocks ... Are the people of this Colony conscious of the fact, that the moment they enter into Confederation, they sever that link which now and ever since the days of its discovery, has bound them in direct and happy alliance with that great country, Great Britain - that henceforth the British Ensign will no longer be the flag of their country, the hybrid flag of the Dominion taking its place.

... Let me ask your readers - who are the men who have proposed to the country the adoption of this hateful and ruinous measure of Confederation? What their motives for urging it? What interest have they in the country beyond that which they extract from the taxes so heartlessly wrung from the labouring classes? ... and when an unsuccessful voyage, from the scarcity of fish, defeats his purpose, what assistance have they given the honest unfortunate to provide for his helpless family during the inclement winter and enable him to resume his industry under more hopeful circumstances another year? Such was the practice of our merchants in Newfoundland in the good old times before our present Rulers came into power; who ... destroyed that confidence which previously prevailed between the Merchants, the Planters, and the Fishermen, by teaching the two latter that their benefactor was their oppressor, encouraging them to defraud the former by withholding from him the results of their labour, which the supplies he furnished enabled them to put to a profitable use.

... I warn the Electors that once entrapped into Confederation - there is no possibility thereafter of escape. 2

1. The Public Ledger, St. John's, Jan. 31, 1871.
2. Morning Chronicle, St. John's, Jan. 9, 1869.

Ironically, both Bennett, the leader of the Anti-Confederates, and the Upper Canadian Orangemen, who supported Confederation, were striving towards the same goal - that of maintaining the connection with Great Britain, but both advocated diametrically opposite means to secure this end. While Orangemen looked to Confederation as a means of strengthening the British connection, Bennett believed that any movement towards union with the mainland would, in some way, be a disintegrating force to the British connection. Thus it was that two forces, both desiring the same end, instead of combining, attacked one another.

The pro-Confederate tenor of the House of Assembly was echoed in the reply to the Speech from the Throne in February of 1869. The Assembly's reply noted, "The time has now arrived for us to take action on the great question of Confederation, and we can assure your Excellency that we shall give our earliest attention to the consideration of our Union with the Dominion of Canada on such fair and equitable terms as may be calculated to serve the interests of the Colony".

H. Orangemen Form Volunteer Corps.

As the Confederates and Anti-Confederates prepared for the election fray, the Orangemen were consolidating their position in other arenas. On February 10th, 1869, the three most prominent members of the Order formed the Avalon Company Rifle Volunteers. Richard T. Rankin, the Deputy Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge was named Captain of the new Volunteers, while James S. Winter, who was to play a leading role in Royal Oak Lodge and the Provincial Grand Lodge, was the lieutenant. James Browning, the master of the newly-formed Leeming Lodge of St. John's, was named ensign. The Avalon Company was to form part

1. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1869. p. 27.

3. Morning Chronicle, St. John's, Feb. 10, 1869.

of the St. John's Battalion.

This interest of the Orangemen in the Volunteers paralleled a movement of the parent institution in Ireland shortly after its formation. The Irish Orangemen filled the ranks of various local Volunteer Corps formed by the gentry just prior to the outbreak of the rebellion in 1798. As members of volunteer corps, Orangemen could become proficient in the use of arms.

The disturbances in Ireland over the proposal to dis-establish the Church of Ireland provided the Morning Chronicle with another opportunity to snipe at the Orangemen. In an editorial on July 16th, 1869, Francis Winton wrote, "The Orangemen of Ireland are beside themselves with frenzy. For 200 years they have, from the vantage ground of a pampered Establishment, preached and practised a religion of hatred and intolerance ... There are only 500,000 Church of Ireland and four million Roman Catholics in Eire ... In the face of such an opposition, the Ulster boys and all the Orangemen of the Empire will be of wonderful little account. Here is a glorious chance for the Orangemen of Toronto and Kingston".

There is a temptation to believe that Francis Winton's adverse harping on the activities of Orangemen in Canada and Ireland was provoked by his personal quarrel with his brother, Robert Winton, the editor of the pro-Orange Daily News. These quarrels amongst journalists, especially those with political ambitions, could not be taken too seriously. For instance, Robert Winton's attacks on John Kent soon subsided when Kent threw in his lot with the Confederates. Likewise, R.J. Parsons, the editor of the Patriot, changed his tone of approval for Kent and Shea's action in amalgamating with Carter's government to one of bitter

denunciation when Kent and Shea advocated Confederation. Journalistic animosities and friendships were allied closely to the stand a journalist took on any particular issue at a particular time.

H. Confederation Splits Traditional Political Parties.

The pace of the Confederate campaign quickened with the sending of four delegates to Ottawa in 1869 to discuss the terms of union. The delegation consisted of the Attorney General, F.B.T. Carter, Receiver-General John Kent, the Hon. Nicholas Stabb, M.L.C., and the Hon. Peter Tessier, President of the Chamber of Commerce in St. John's¹. The latter joined the delegation more as an observer, as the Chamber of Commerce was still non-committal² in its attitude towards Confederation.

Despite the Confederates securing a majority in the House of Assembly, having a substantial preponderance amongst the St. John's journalists, and listing a growing number of merchants among their ranks, the Anti-Confederates still claimed such powerful merchants as C.F. Bennett, Walter Grieve, Thomas Glen, E. Stabb, L. Tessier, Allan Goodridge, James Clift, R. Prowse, H.K. Dickinson, W. Pitts, and Robert Thorburn³. The latter group appealed to the voters on a non-denominational basis. "No religious distinction shall be permitted to enter into it. Anti-Confederate Protestants will clasp hands with their Roman Catholic friends in an effort to keep the country for ourselves."⁴ As the election contest grew nearer, the Morning Chronicle published daily front-page articles exhorting the voters to "keep our fisheries for ourselves. Let us keep our lands, mines, and minerals to ourselves. Let us keep our revenue to ourselves.

1. NA: G 18/2. Governor Musgrave to Governor General of Canada, Sir John Young, May 12, 1869.

2. The Daily News, St. John's, Aug. 7, 1869.

3. Morning Chronicle, St. John's, May 20, 1869.

4. Ibid. Aug. 23, 1869.

Let us stick to our old Mother Country, Great Britain, the True Land of the Brave and Home of the Free"¹.

Robert Winton of the Daily News diverted his accusations of Fenianism from his now erstwhile confederate ally, John Kent, and charged his brother, Francis Winton of the Morning Chronicle with "systemically repudiating every principle, whether of politics or Creed to which he was educated"². The Daily News warned the people of Bonavista "if they elected him [Francis Winton] , he'll sell them at once. Not to the Canadians. No! No! He'll sell it [the country]³ to his own particular friends - the Fenians"³.

Confederation split the old parties horizontally. Where the traditional Liberal and Conservative ranks had divided more or less along religious lines, the new Anti-Confederate party was a hybrid of both parties. The result was that outports which had hitherto conducted their elections with relative calm, now showed signs of turbulence, and the government was peppered with requests for additional police from outports like Bonavista and Greenspond.⁴ In Brigus, the excitement was described as "so great at present against all who signed the requisition for Mr. Pinsent [a Confederate candidate] ... that it is not safe to move out after dark and I imagine a strong police force will be required both here and at Barened to enable any of Mr. Pinsent's voters to come to the Poll"⁵. Violence was reported also at the Conception Bay outports of Port de Grave, Bay Roberts and Harbour Grace.

The Confederate candidate, Robert Pinsent, complained

1. Ibid. Oct. 7, 1869.

2. The Daily News, St. John's, Oct. 14, 1869.

3. Ibid. Oct. 21, 1869.

4. NA: S 1/55. Colonial Secretary J. Bemister to Michael Murphy, Oct. 22, 1869. G 1/55. Same to Magistrates at Greenspond, Oct. 29, 1869.

5. NA: G 1/4. J. Maddock to J. Wilcox, Nov. 6, 1869.

to the Governor of the "personally violent and insulting conduct of the [anti-Confederate] mob at Port de Grave", and he asked the Governor to send a military force to ensure freedom of election. "Such demonstrations have effectively done the work of intimidation here"¹. The Justices of the Peace from Harbour Grace, the traditional trouble spot in Conception Bay, wrote, "... from the extensive demoralization of this district since Saturday last, a military force in addition to H.M.S. Niobe² of not less than 100 strong will be required at Bay Roberts". The Governor made arrangements for troops to be stationed at Spaniard's Bay, Bay Roberts, Port de Grave, and Brigus,³ and he informed Earl Granville, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that "the Anti-Confederates hope to gain the electors by violence and over-awing the more respectable portion of the community who are supporting Confederation"⁴.

The thoroughness of the Anti-Confederate campaign was described by Pinsent. "On no occasion and at no place but one (the small settlement of Cupids) was I permitted during a stay of over a fortnight, to hold any undisturbed meeting for the purpose of explanation and canvass ... On Saturday, the polling day, there was a gathering at Brigus from parts of the District of over 1,000 who were only restrained, I believe, from outrage by the presence of the military"⁵.

1. NA: G 3/4. R. Pinsent to Governor Stephen Hill, Nov. 9, 1869.

2. NA: G 3/4. Justices of the Peace, Harbour Grace, to Nicholas Stabb, Acting Colonial Secretary, Telegram, Nov. 9, 1869.

3. NA: G 18/2. Governor Hill to Officer Commanding Troops, St. John's, Nov. 10, 1869. p. 62.

4. NA: G 11/7. Same to Earl Granville, Nov. 10, 1869.

5. NA: G 3/4. R. Pinsent to Governor Hill, Nov. 19, 1869.

The reason for the sweeping victory of the Anti-Confederates was their effective propaganda. "The popular feeling (I mean that of the great body of the poor and extremely ignorant)," Pinsent wrote, "can be best described as a panic, created by the propagation of the grossest falsehoods as to taxation and drafting, etc., not permitted to be contradicted by argument or counter-statement". Pinsent claimed that, "The men of intelligence, position and stake in the country were almost wholly in favour of the Confederate cause ... The clergy of all denominations, the principal merchants and planters were with me, but were almost powerless in their influence over the masses".

Governor Stephen Hill re-echoed this opinion. "The Party Cry of the Anti-Confederates of 'Selling the Country' had a wonderful effect on the minds of the fishermen - they begged the Confederate candidates to alter their views and they, the fishermen, would vote for them." The Governor believed that "notwithstanding the presence of the troops, many Confederate supporters were afraid to vote, knowing that the special protection afforded them must soon necessarily be withdrawn".

I. Orange Activity during the Election Campaign.

What of the Orangemen's activities during the autumn election campaign? They were busily organizing three lodges in the Conception Bay area. Two were established on the north side of the Bay - at Carbonear and Brigus - where Confederate candidates were experiencing the hostility of the anti-Confederate ranks. The third was at the small outport of Portugal Cove on

1. Ibid.

2. NA: G 11/7. Governor Hill to Earl Granville, Nov. 22, 1869.

3. Ibid.

the south side of Conception Bay. In St. John's, a third lodge was organized in the election year. This rapid growth of the Orange Order during the Confederation election campaign leads to the suspicion that the two factors were not entirely unrelated. Indeed, the Provincial Grand Lodge intimated as much four years later. In an address to the members of the Order written in reply to Premier Bennett's attack on the Orangemen in 1873, the Grand Lodge declared:

The Government party fear the united action, at the coming election, of Protestant influence all over the country: and why? Not because of any declarations or assertions of our Association or its members, for we have never yet made any public or organized movement. But it is because of the dread, amounting to a certainty felt by the Government, that the Protestants of the country are having their eyes opened to the Truth as regards the doings and designs of the dominant party. Because they find that the opinions entertained four years ago by many Orangemen and other Protestants, have been confirmed by experience, and are now the settled convictions of thousands of Protestants all over the country, who were then deluded into believing otherwise. 1

The 'Government party' to which the Orangemen were referring was, of course, the Anti-Confederate party which had swept to power in 1869. At that time, the Orange Order was not far enough organized to enable any would-be Confederates to make use of it for their own purposes, should they have so desired. In fact, Orangemen were found in the Anti-Confederate ranks in 1869.²

From the point of view of the Orangemen, the election of 1869 was the worst of disasters. The new government had a sweeping majority of Anti-Confederates and Roman Catholics. Of the thirty members of the House of Assembly, twenty-one were Antis, among whom were listed eleven Protestants and nine

1. The Insult to the Orangemen and the Protestants of Newfoundland by the Government, and the Reply of the Orangemen. p. 7.
2. The Courier, St. John's, Nov. 29. 1873.

1

Roman Catholics. The remnant of Carter's party of Confederates making up the official Opposition consisted of nine Protestants. The Roman Catholics of Carter's party - Shea and Kent - were both defeated. Shea was defeated in his own Roman Catholic district of Placentia-St. Mary's by the Church of England leader of the Anti-Confederates, Charles Fox Bennett. Kent lost his seat in St. John's East, a seat he had held ever since responsible government had been introduced in 1855.

The Daily News licked its election wounds by sounding the old denominational rallying cry. "Protestants have been pretty well badgered and kept in the rear-ground ever since the introduction of representative institutions. Latterly, however, it has leaked out that the Protestant population of this country is very much in excess".

2

The election defeat of the Confederates stirred the Orange Order to great activity. In 1870, lodges were organized at Harbour Grace and Bay Roberts in Conception Bay. With eight primary lodges now functioning, the Newfoundland Orange Order was considered firmly enough established to warrant the formation of a provincial Grand Lodge which would centralize the activities of the Orangemen from the various outports, and permit the St. John's leaders to exercise a certain amount of control over the membership. Thus, by the time of the new elections of 1873, Orangemen were in a much more tenable position than they had been in 1869.

1. See Appendix 231E.
2. The Daily News, St. John's, Dec. 18, 1869.

J. Newfoundland Orangeism - An Offshoot of the Mainland.

As Orangeism came to Newfoundland by way of Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, a glance at the activities of the Orangemen on the mainland prior to 1863 might give a hint whether there was any truth in Premier Bennett's charge that the supporters of Confederation were using the Orange Lodges in Newfoundland to achieve their object.

The first record of Orangeism in British North America is that of a lodge formed in Montreal in 1827 by men who had been members of the Order in Ireland. Prior to this, some of the British regiments stationed in Upper and Lower Canada held their own lodge meetings to which they occasionally invited civilians. It was along the St. Lawrence River from Brockville to Toronto that the Order became rooted firmly. Groups of emigrants and United Empire Loyalists were attracted to the movement in the late 1820's by Ogle R. Gowan, a Wexford Irishman who had been a member of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Gowan had emigrated to Upper Canada in 1829, and by 1832 he had become the first Grand Master of the Order in British North America.

In the decade from the founding of the first lodge in Montreal to the MacKenzie Rebellion of 1837, Orangemen claimed a growth of membership of 15,000. Politically, the early Canadian Orangemen were divided in their party affiliations. In the 1828

1. R.M. Sibbett. Orangeism in Ireland and Throughout the Empire. vol. 2. p. 522.

2. Ibid.

3. Walter McCleary. History of the Orange Association in the Dominion of Canada. Toronto, 1953. p. 16.

4. Sibbett. Op. cit. vol. 2, p. 523.

5. The Sentinel, Toronto, July 3, 1930.

6. McCleary, op. cit. p. 17.

and 1834 elections in Upper Canada, about half the Orangemen were believed to have been supporters of MacKenzie's Reform party¹, but by 1836 Orange ranks rallied to the Conservative side following a strongly-worded manifesto of the Grand Lodge in which MacKenzie² was denounced as a traitor who threatened revolution. In this denunciation, the Orange Order found a supporter in the Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada, Alexander Macdonell, and the Methodist, Egerton Ryerson.³

So cordial were relations between Orangemen and Roman Catholics that the traditional July 12th parades were not held in 1836. This, then, was the temper of Upper Canadian Orangeism during the first decade of its growth. Under Gowan's leadership, the religious aspect of Orange ideology was subordinated to the political - that of loyalty to the British Crown. Orange hostility to the more extreme Reform programme was an expression of this political ideology which was to dominate Orange activities in Upper Canada for many years. This trend in Orangeism in Upper Canada was not surprising since Gowan himself had been associated with the moderate wing of Orangeism in Ireland under Sir Harcourt Lees who attempted to secure Roman Catholic good-will. In fact, it was his moderation towards Roman Catholics that led more zealous members of the Order to accuse him of infidelity to Orange principles.⁴ No wonder, then, that Lord Durham found the Canadian Orangemen something of an anomaly. In his report, he wrote:

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. p. 18.
3. Ibid. p. 19.
4. Donald Creighton. John A. Macdonald: The Young Politician. Toronto, 1955. vol. 1. p. 195.

It is somewhat difficult to understand the nature and objects of this rather anomalous Orangeism in Upper Canada. Its members profess to desire to uphold the Protestant religion, but to be free from those intolerant feelings towards their Catholic countrymen which are the distinctive marks of the Irish Orangeman. They assert, that their main object, to which the support of the English Church is subsidiary, is to maintain the connection with Great Britain; at their public dinners, after drinking the "pious, glorious, and immortal memory" with all the usual formality of abuse of the Catholics, they toast the health of the Catholic Bishop McDonnell. It would seem that their great purpose has been to introduce the machinery, rather than the tenets of Orangeism, and the leaders probably hope to make use of this kind of permanent conspiracy and illegal organization to gain political power for themselves. In fact, the Catholics scarcely appear to view this institution with more jealousy than the reformers of the Province. It is an Irish Tory institution, having not so much a religious as a political bearing ... Still the organization of this body enables its leaders to exert a powerful influence over the populace; and it is stated that, at the last general election, the Tories succeeded in carrying more than one seat by means of the violence of the organized mob thus placed at their disposal. 1

Lord Durham, a servant of the Whig government which had instituted a parliamentary investigation of the Orange Order in England and Ireland in 1835 and had passed an Act of Parliament compelling the Order to dissolve in 1836, was not likely to be disposed to generosity towards the Canadian Orange Order. His appraisal of the working of the Order in Upper Canada was accurate, if ungenerous. Orange strength increased in an almost completely Protestant area, and what antagonism might have existed against Roman Catholics was to some degree mitigated by the working alliance between Orangemen and Roman Catholics just prior to the outbreak of the MacKenzie Rebellion. A similar working alliance between Upper Canadian Orangemen and Roman Catholics was to be effected under John A. Macdonald in the 1870's. But before this

1. NA: Report on the Affairs of British North America from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner. House of Commons, London, Feb. 11, 1839. p. 65.

2. A.R.M. Lower. Colony to Nation. London, 1853. p. 274.

happened, the Order suffered some adversity.

The Rebellion Losses Act, designed to compensate those who had suffered during the MacKenzie Rebellion of 1837, was criticized by Conservatives, amongst whom were Orangemen who condemned the Bill as "indemnity to rebels in Lower Canada"¹. Orangemen were in disrepute, too, over the burning of the Parliament buildings in Montreal in 1849. According to Lord Elgin, whose Whig leanings would allow him little sympathy for the Orange Order, the whole incident was "the work of the Orange Societies, backed by the commercial men who desire annexation,² and the political leaders who want places".

Whether Orangemen were responsible for the arson has not been proven. Certainly, the British American League, an organization formed largely through the efforts of Gowan and his Orangemen, had become tainted with annexationism.³ Gowan had organized the new League as an agency "to unite the Anglo-Saxon population against the dominant influence of the French and to maintain that connection [British] inviolate"⁴. To carry this into effect, a resolution in favour of the union of all the British North American colonies was proposed at a convention of the League in Kingston in 1849.⁵ Orange historians explain the somersault of the League from a position of extreme loyalty to annexationism as resulting from a lack of screening of members in the Montreal branch of the League.⁶ With the League somewhat under an annexationist shadow the Orange leaders reverted to the

1. McCleary, op. cit. p. 74.
2. Lower, op. cit. p. 274.
3. McCleary, op. cit. pp. 80-90.
4. Ibid. p. 85.
5. Creighton, op. cit. p. 143.
6. McCleary, op. cit. p. 85.

the traditional Order as the best machinery through which to work for Protestant interests and maintenance of the British connection. These interests could best be served by a union¹ of the British North American colonies, they came to believe.

John A. Macdonald may have regarded the Orange Order as a possible vehicle for carrying the gospel of Confederation to the remote parts of the country. He was an old friend of Gowan and had accepted office originally on condition that Gowan would receive some political award.² Macdonald himself had been an Orangeman and holder of the Purple and Royal Blue degrees.³ Orangemen go so far as to claim that it was from the Orange Constitution that he conceived his idea of Confederation.⁴ His biographer, Sir George R. Parkin, claimed that Macdonald had joined the Orange Order in his early years, but the connection had not continued.⁵ Be that as it may, Macdonald felt closely enough allied to the Orangemen, or at least wished to avoid offending them to the extent that, when the Duke of Newcastle refused to allow the Prince of Wales to disembark at Kingston because the Orangemen of the "Derry of Canada" had placed Orange arches across the streets, Macdonald refused to continue the trip on the royal yacht, and instead, joined his Kingston Orange supporters.

Macdonald's dramatic decision to desert the Royal Prince and his mentor, the Duke of Newcastle, in favour of the adamant Orangemen is an indication of the influence wielded by the Order

1. Ibid. p. 85 and p. 87.
2. Creighton, op. cit. I. p. 120.
3. McCleary, op. cit. p. 34.
4. Ibid.
5. Sir George Parkin. Makers of Canada ed. by Parkman. Toronto, 1910. vol. 18, p. 348.

at the time. Toronto boasted 250 lodges and Montreal four, while Gowan, in 1857, claimed that fourteen Orangemen sat as members of the Upper Canadian House of Assembly. Macdonald's political position in 1860 was somewhat delicate because the Grand Master of the Order, John Hillyard Cameron, was leading an anti-ministerial wing of Orangemen against him. This wing united with George Brown's radical 'Clear Grits', a move which had been advocated by Orangeman George Benjamin in 1853 when he had led a minority of the lodges to withdraw from the Grand Lodge in protest against the moderation of Gowan's pro-Catholic and pro-French policies. It was not the first time the Upper Canadian Orangemen had allied themselves with the Reformers. It had happened in the early days of the Order.

The demand for parliamentary reform, coming as it did from the quarter where Macdonald expected to receive support, proved too great a thorn in the side of the 'chief'. His outburst of wrath brought the Orange Grand Master and his followers to a cooler reflection and repentance by 1863. It was this dubious state of Macdonald's supporters in Upper Canada that made his tenure in office dependent upon Cartier's Lower Canadian majority from 1858 to 1863. Lower claims Macdonald could not count on more than half of the Upper Canadian Conservatives.

With the Orangemen under Cameron showing such signs of defection and trouble, there is a temptation to conclude that Macdonald probably considered them a dubious agency through which

1. G.R.C.Keep. The Irish Migration to Montreal. Unpublished thesis at McGill University. Montreal, 1948. pp. 113-115.

2. Creighton, op. cit. pp. 211-212 and p. 228. (vol. I).

3. Ibid. p. 195.

4. See above. p. 85.

5. Creighton, op. cit. vol. I. p. 339.

6. Lower, op. cit. p. 307.

to work for Confederation. Although Cameron announced in 1863 that "the hatchet, if it had ever been lifted between Macdonald and myself, now was solemnly buried"¹, Macdonald may still have had some reservations about using a force which he was unable to control. Had Gowan still been at the head of the Order, there probably would have been no hesitation on Macdonald's part. However, by this time Gowan had been eased out of the leadership of the lodges.

K. Maritime Orangeism.

What of the activities of the Orange lodges in the Maritime provinces whence the Order in Newfoundland received its direct impetus? The introduction of Orangeism into New Brunswick seemed to have followed closely on the heels of the Order's debut in Lower Canada. As early as 1844, New Brunswick boasted twenty-seven lodges and a Grand Lodge². Nova Scotia's first lodge was organized in 1847 by an North of Ireland Orangemen, James Britton. By 1850, there were eight primary lodges in the province sufficiently organized to warrant the founding of a Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia³.

However, both in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the Order was torn by internal strife in the 40's. The root of the trouble was the conflict over the issuing of warrants, and a rivalry between James Britton and John H. Crosskill, the Master of Victoria Lodge in Halifax. Britton tried to secure a warrant for the Nova Scotia Grand Lodge directly from Lord Enniskillen, Grand Master of the parent institution in Ireland. Before the warrant could be sent, the Irish Grand Master received a letter from Crosskill protesting against a warrant being issued to Britton. The parent institution in Ireland was relieved of the ticklish

1. Creighton, op. cit. vol. I. p. 339.
2. The Sentinel, Toronto, July 3, 1930.
3. Ibid.

business by a reconciliation being worked out through the efforts of George Benjamin. This was not the last the Irish Grand Lodge heard of the Nova Scotian Orangemen. In 1852, it was badgered again with communications from the Grand Master of Nova Scotia regarding a Halifax lodge which was meeting under a warrant issued by the County Lodge of Tyrone in Ireland. The Irish Grand Lodge assumed a 'hands-off' policy, disclaiming any connection with the Halifax lodge. The complaint led the Irish Grand Lodge to set up a committee to pay attention to the emigration of Protestants to the colonies, and to encourage private lodges by maintaining correspondence with Orangemen who "removed to another land and to encourage them to cherish the existence of Orangeism in the Colonies". It would seem, then, that Maritime Orangemen looked to Ireland for guidance, rather than to the Grand Lodge of British North America which at that time was also in the throes of internal conflict, and thus hardly in a position to act the role of peace-maker.

However, the fact that the Nova Scotian Orangemen wrote to Ireland to regularize the Halifax lodge indicates that the leaders in that province were aware of the need for centralized control. Certainly, the parent body in Ireland was grieved over the divisions of the Orange ranks in Upper Canada. At a meeting of the Grand Lodge in Dublin, the Committee on Correspondence from America proposed a resolution to "express their deep regret that any differences should exist amongst Orangemen, tending to weaken those bonds of brotherhood ... The Committee deem it inexpedient

1. Ibid.

2. LOA: Report of Proceedings Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. Dublin, 1852. p. 7.

3. Ibid. p. 9.

to obtrude, by any opinion of theirs, into the internal operations of the working of the system in North America, feeling that matters of private difference can best be settled by persons of local knowledge and position¹.

The Irish Grand Lodge thus declined to interfere in the quarrel which resulted in the wing under George Benjamin withdrawing from Gowan's Order, and establishing a Grand Lodge of its own in Lower Canada. Three years later, the parent Order in Ireland was able to congratulate the Canadian Orangemen on "the recent unanimity and united action which have been restored among all the Orangemen of Canada"².

Differences again arose in 1858 between the Orangemen of Upper and Lower Canada. The Grand Lodge of Ireland was called upon to mediate. The parent institution pointed out, "... in regards to all appeals ... the advice [of the Grand Lodge] has been of a friendly and conciliatory character, and that it has not been usual for it to interfere in any way whatsoever with the proceedings of Lodges unconnected with the Grand Lodge of Ireland"³. The Irish Grand Lodge urged the Canadian Orangemen to unity, adding, "... the connection of a great colony [British North America] with the realm of England is mainly, under God, to be attributed to the loyalty and union of the Orangemen of Canada".

The links between Canadian and Irish Orangemen began to be strengthened by these exchanges of addresses and expression of interest in each other's activities. The correspondence led to

1. LOA: Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. Nov., 1853. App. No. 2, p. 29.

2. Ibid. Nov., 1856. App. No. 3, p. 40.

3. LOA: Reports of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. May, 1858. p. 10.

personal visits of Canadian Orangemen to Ireland which resulted in the setting up of an 'Imperial Grand Council of Orangemen' in 1866, at the suggestion of Ogle Gowan. Gowan proposed that the Imperial Grand Council should meet annually and that representatives should "consider the state of Orangeism and Protestantism generally with a view to devising means for the extension of Orangeism". He also proposed public meetings and lectures on Protestantism and Orangeism in various parts of the Empire, and suggested that suitable persons be invited to address such meetings and to advocate the principles upon which Orangeism was founded.

The 1860's, then, proved to be the decade of organized expansion of Orangeism in the colonies. The Imperial Grand Council was functioning by 1866, and delegates to it were thinking in terms of a vigorous proselytizing campaign. There are some grounds for believing that the origin of the Orange Order in Newfoundland was part of the larger plan for expansion of Orangeism. Certainly, the Orangemen of Prince Edward Island, amongst whom was Dr. Thomas Leeming, the founder of Newfoundland Orangeism, were showing signs of militancy. An act to incorporate the Order in Prince Edward Island had passed both local Houses of the Legislature in the early 1860's, only to be shelved by the Colonial Office on the advice of the Duke of Newcastle, who, in a letter to the Lieutenant Governor of Prince Edward Island, described the Orange Institution as "calculated to embitter religious and political differences and must be detrimental to the best interests of any colony in which it exists".

1. LOA: Reports of Proceedings of the Grand Orange Conference held in Belfast, July, 1866. p. 1.

2. Ibid. p. 2.

3. Ibid. p. 3.

4. LOA: Report of Proceedings of Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland. Dec. 1863.

This rebuff was suffered by the Prince Edward Island Orangemen in the very year that Dr. Leeming was busy organizing Royal Oak Lodge in St. John's. The gratuitous insult offered by the Duke of Newcastle, following as it did hard on the heels of his anti-Orange behaviour while accompanying the Prince of Wales to Canada in 1860, seemingly served as a stimulus to the Order.

The downfall of Macdonald's government in 1863 may have led militant Orangemen such as Leeming to gird themselves up for the coming political fray. Macdonald's eclipse from power in 1863 and his return in 1864 by means of a shaky coalition gave Conservatives elsewhere in the British American colonies little hope that they could resist the continental influences as manifested in the annexation movement, influences which would draw them away from Great Britain towards the United States, unless the colonies were strengthened by some sort of a union.

In his book, Colony to Nation, Lower claims that Macdonald did not fully accept the scheme of a federal union of the British North American colonies until the spring of 1864¹. If this were the case, it is unlikely that Macdonald had any part in an Orange project to promote the idea of union prior to that date, nor even at a later date, considering the difficulties he was having in keeping the Upper Canadian Orangemen in line. That Orangemen did promote the idea of a union as early as 1849 and continued to urge such a union is claimed by the Order.

From this summary of the activities of Canadian and Irish Orangemen, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the Newfoundland Order owed its origin both to the expansionist programme of the Order as a whole, and to the mainland pull of Canadian Orangeism

1. Op. cit. p. 313 and p. 294.

whose interests appeared to be identified with a union of the
British North American colonies.

CHAPTER III

Orange Influence in Ousting the Bennett Regime

A. Confederation Defeated

The decisive victory of the Anti-Confederates in 1869 gave Thomas Glen the right to assert confidently in the House of Assembly, "Confederation was dead and gone and would never more be heard of". Yet proposals of Confederation were interpolated into the Newfoundland political scene with monotonous regularity. The Anti-Confederates were the ones to raise the issue at the next general election in 1873, and again in 1874 they tried to use Anti-Confederation propaganda with the same effectiveness as they had in 1869, but to no avail. Politicians who may have toyed with the idea of using the Orange Order as a vehicle for Confederation proceeded with extreme caution, and seemed, at first, to prefer an emphasis on Protestant unity to that of rallying the Orange ranks behind what appeared to be an unpopular programme. Perhaps this accounts for the efforts of the Anti-Confederates to saddle Orangemen with the odium of being Confederates.

The press of the once powerful Conservative party now fashioned its propaganda along religious lines. The editor of the Telegraph, who was described as "the mouthpiece of the Church of England", was accused of "continually misrepresenting the intentions of the Anti-Confederate party, whom he charges with the attempt to establish Roman Catholic ascendancy". The charges and counter-charges of Catholic or Protestant domination

1. Morning Chronicle, St. John's, Mar. 3, 1870.
2. The Insult to the Orangemen and Protestants of Newfoundland by the Government, and the Reply of the Orangemen. p.3-4.
3. The Courier, St. John's, Mar. 1, 1870.
4. Morning Chronicle, St. John's, May 20, 1869.
5. The Courier, St. John's, Jan. 12, 1870.

of Newfoundland were repeated with such regularity by the 'haves' and 'have-nots' in the political life of the colony that the cliché assumed the proportion of fact. Yet an examination of the religious composition of the House of Assembly in the first five elections following the introduction of responsible government will show that the Protestant-Roman Catholic divisions were almost equal.

In the 1855 Assembly there were fifteen Protestants and at least thirteen, probably fifteen, Roman Catholics. The 1859 House was composed of sixteen Protestants and twelve, probably fourteen, Roman Catholics. In 1861, seventeen Protestants and twelve, probably thirteen, Roman Catholics, were returned. The 1865 House contained nineteen Protestants and eleven Roman Catholics, while the 1869 election in which C.F. Bennett allegedly swept to power on Roman Catholic support, resulted in only nine members of the House being of that religion and the remaining members belonging to Protestant denominations.

The Legislative Council, whose members were appointed by the Governor in consultation with the Executive Council, had a fixed denominational quota - six Protestants and six Roman Catholics. It was the Executive Council which was pointed at accusingly as an agency of exclusiveness. Here there was some basis for complaint, although the fault lay not so much with the administration in power, but with the refusal of the opposition to participate in the Executive Council. The 1855 Council had four Roman Catholics and three Protestants, including the governor. The critics pointed out that the two Liberal Protestants on the 1855 Executive Council represented Roman Catholic districts, and therefore did not really constitute a Protestant representation. The Kent administration of 1859 was made up of four Roman Catholics and

1. See appendix 227A - 231E.

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two Protestants. It was the 1861 election upset that resulted in an Executive Council composed entirely of Protestants with the exception of the President, Lawrence O'Brien. This was the result, not of design, but of necessity. Hoyles offered two seats on the Executive to Roman Catholic members of the Liberal party, but the seats were not accepted. The denominational character of the Executive Council was not altered until 1865 when the new Premier, F.B.T. Carter, managed to persuade Ambrose Shea and John Kent to enter his Executive Council. The Bennett administration of 1869 began with an Executive Council of three Protestants and three Roman Catholics. Two of the Protestants represented Roman Catholic districts, and it was this factor that gave their political enemies an opportunity of accusing Bennett of attempting to establish a Roman Catholic ascendancy.

The accusation was a most unjust one, for it was the 1869 Confederation issue which created, for the first time in Newfoundland, a truly non-denominational party in which religious distinctions were swept from political affiliations. True it is that the bloc vote of the Roman Catholics went to the new party under C.F. Bennett, but so did the majority of votes of the Protestant districts of Bonavista, Twillingate, and Port de Grave, as well as the votes of one of the three members of Trinity. Thus the 1869 composition of the House of Assembly was twenty-one Protestants and nine Roman Catholics, and of the twenty-one Protestants, nine were listed among Carter's pro-Confederate party.²

The new administration was faced with a petition from Henry LeMessurier and John Woods protesting against the return of

1. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1860. p. 3.
2. The Courier, St. John's, Mar. 1, 1870.

F.B.T. Carter and Edward Evans for Burin.¹ The Bennett government delayed action on the petition from February 22nd, 1870, until April 2nd, during which time the House was adjourned each day because of a lack of a quorum.² When the petitions were considered finally, A.J.W. McNeily, who was to play a prominent part in Orangeism, and William Whiteway, secured a stay of the proceedings against Carter and Evans by producing an affidavit to the effect that the committee appointed to consider the petition had not been properly appointed.³ McNeily and Whiteway were to work hand in hand on more than one occasion to produce political manoeuvres favourable to themselves and Orangeism.

By the time of the first by-election of the Bennett government, the opposition ranks had rallied enough to adopt a vigorous line. The Anti-Confederate candidate for the Bay de Verde district was represented as a 'Fenian'. In fact, the Bennett government was termed a "Fenian Roman Catholic" one.⁴ The Anti-Confederate candidate, Mr. Reader, was consequently given a short shrift at Bay de Verde, and Rogerson,⁵ the Conservative candidate received 437 out of the 588 votes.

B. Orange Expansion in the Outports.

While the opposition was heartened by this swing away from the Anti-Confederate ranks, the Newfoundland Orangemen in 1870 were busily organizing new lodges in the larger outports of Bay Roberts and Harbour Grace in Conception Bay. Nova Scotia, which had supplied the Newfoundland Orangemen with their first Orange

1. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1870. p. 25.
2. Ibid. pp. 31-46.
3. Ibid. p. 69.
4. The Courier, St. John's, April 12, 1870.
5. Ibid.

warrant in 1863, now sent their Grand Master, William Caldwell,¹ to Newfoundland to organize the Provincial Grand Lodge. Richard T. Rankin, who had been appointed Deputy Grand Master in 1868, now was named Grand Master. The officers of the new Grand Lodge were A.J.W. McNeily, F. LeMessurier, Thomas Woods, and Edwin Knight.² McNeily was a native of Armagh, Ireland - the birthplace of Orangeism. Though he came to Newfoundland when only three years of age, he returned to Ireland to study at Queen's College, Belfast, which, perhaps, accounts for the tone he was reported to have adopted at a public lecture in 1870. The Morning Chronicle published an anonymous letter on March 26th, 1870, which accused McNeily of religious bigotry. According to the letter, McNeily "indulged his feelings against Catholicity, outraging those of the Roman Catholics present by sneering allusions to their Pope, Priesthood, and religion".³ The charge of bigotry against McNeily would stand further investigation, but the public notice of McNeily in this light is, perhaps, an indication that it was really the Orange Order that was under attack.

C. Orangemen and Confederates Unite.

A.J.W. McNeily apparently was the liaison between the Orange Order and the Confederates who, encouraged by the favourable result of the Bay de Verde by-election, organized a new Confederate League in 1870.⁴ McNeily was on the Executive of the new League along with Stephen Rendell, Ambrose Shea, F.B.T. Carter, Robert Grieve, Charles Bowring, and Prescott Emerson. Three other men who

1. The Sentinel, Toronto, July 3, 1930.
2. LOA: Loyal Orange Association Journal of Proceedings 1913. St. John's, p. 11.
3. Morning Chronicle, St. John's, Mar. 26, 1870.
4. The Courier, St. John's, July 7, 1870.

were to rank among prominent Orangemen were listed among the members of the new League - John H. Warren, Samuel Knight, and Gilbert Browning.¹

Not content with the founding of the Provincial Grand Lodge and the new Confederate League, the Orangemen organized also an 'inner circle' of Orangeism in 1870. This was the 'Scarlet Chapter' formed in St. John's.² The introduction of this higher order of Orangemen into Newfoundland meant that a certain exclusiveness was to be practised - the higher order representing a select group of Orangemen whose activities and discussions were supposedly on a higher level and kept secret from the ordinary rank and file of Orangemen.

The alliance of the old wing of the pro-Confederate party and the Orange leaders excited the government press to indignant remarks. The Courier claimed the second by-election Confederate victory at Trinity in 1870 "was not a reaction in favour of Confederation, but the result of a crusade against Popery and Fenianism ... His [Robert Alsop, the anti-Confederate candidate] opponents represented him as a Roman Catholic and a Fenian and the people were told that if the present government continued in office, their Bibles would be burnt and that Fenianism would put down every Protestant in the country".³ The Courier went on to claim, "Mr. Rendell's agents did all in their power at Hants Harbour by raising the cry of 'down with the Pope and Popery'; they so excited the people there that even a most estimable Roman Catholic who had done business there for years was threatened because he did not hoist the Confederate flag".⁴

1. Ibid.

2. Mosdell, op. cit. p. 77.

3. The Courier, St. John's, Sept. 21, 1870.

4. Ibid.

This type of flamboyant journalism could not be taken at face value. The Anti-Confederates, to secure better the Roman Catholic support, felt it necessary to accuse their opponents of anti-Catholicism. The Confederates, who numbered amongst their leaders the Roman Catholic ex-Liberal leader, Ambrose Shea, tried to fasten the odium of Fenianism on the Bennett government, rather than engage in a direct anti-Catholic attack. For instance, Warren, whom the Courier accused of the grossest anti-Catholicism, took the line that his anti-Confederate rival "put the Queen and British Government against us and made them take away the troops who were the peoples' protectors against the St. John's Rowdies"¹. Warren went on to warn the voters of Trinity, "Don't vote for Alsop because the company he keeps would take advantage of the first chance to haul down the Old Flag and put up the Stars and Stripes"².

This was nonsense, of course, for Charles Fox Bennett campaigned largely on a platform of maintaining the British connection. The Roman Catholic newspaper, the Newfoundlander, refuted the Anti-Confederate claim that the people of Trinity had been tricked into voting against Alsop by being told he had 'turned Catholic', but the Newfoundlander editor went on to intimate that "something like that might have been cracked as an election joke by some wag as is the practice on most such occasions."³

The Courier kept up its attack against the new Confederate League. In December of 1870, it reported "Nothing

1. Ibid. Oct. 1, 1870.
2. Ibid.
3. The Newfoundlander, St. John's, Sept. 27, 1870.

can be more diabolical than the conduct of the Confederate League in their attempts through their press and agents, to propagate the war cry of religious discord ... in their despair they have resorted to the desperate and fiendish alternative of endeavouring to set Protestant and Roman Catholic in turbulent hostility against each other¹".

Indeed, once the Confederate League had unleashed Fenianism as a political gambit, it was difficult to control the more rabid part of its journalistic supporters from reducing Fenianism to anti-Catholicism. The Public Ledger, which was edited by Orangeman Frederick W. Bowden, specialized in emphasizing the Roman Catholic character of the Bennett government. Early in 1871, Bowden described the proposed Education Act as an indication of government partiality towards Roman Catholics. "The Roman Catholic grant was to be left untouched," Bowden complained. "The absurdity of this is evident; for what reason can be adduced for refusing Episcopalians and Wesleyans what has been accorded to Roman Catholics. We are convinced that separate schools are desired by the clergy alone, and that if the people are left to themselves, they would have their children educated by the same teachers³".

A week later, Bowden resumed the attack. "It is vain for the Anti organs to assert that the present Government represents Protestant interests. The Government to all intents and purposes is Roman Catholic. There may be two or three nominal Protestants in it, but these may as well go to Rome or anywhere else for ought they care about their fellow religionists ... Now we have no

1. The Courier, St. John's, Dec. 21, 1870.
2. Bowden was listed as an officer of Royal Oak Orange Lodge as early as 1874. See Royal Oak Minute Book, Jan. 14, 1874, p.2.
3. Public Ledger, St. John's, Jan. 10, 1871.

sympathy whatever with cries of 'Catholic' and 'Protestant'; but when we find the Antis making use of the one to gain political office, we see nothing objectionable in the Confederates, who are chiefly Protestant, using the other to secure justice¹".

D. Sectarian Cry is Raised.

Bowden returned to the sectarian cry in early January of 1871 by publishing a letter, signed by Adam Scott, who wrote, "I have asserted in a previous issue that Mr. Bennett declared to Dr. Power, the Roman Catholic Bishop, that he depended upon Dr. Power for carrying on his government"². That some alliance did exist between Bennett and Dr. Power was borne out in correspondence exchanged between Dr. Power and Governor Thomas Glover some seven years later. Dr. Power referred to the anti-Orange manifesto published by Bennett in 1873, admitting, "I remember how severely it was criticized by his own party ... It came upon me with as much surprise as on others"³.

The tenor of Dr. Power's letter indicated that he was intimate with the details of the political campaign of 1873 and, to some extent, exposed his own indignation that Bennett, by his attack on Orangeism, had 'pulled something over him'. The degree to which Bennett relied on Dr. Power's support and control of the Roman Catholic vote cannot be ascertained, although the Public Ledger asserted that this support was paramount. "The late Sir Alexander Bannerman and Sir Hugh Hoyles fought a battle and won a victory," Orangeman Bowden wrote, "the fruit of which was to place the Protestants of this Country in the position to which

1. Ibid. Jan. 17, 1871.

2. Ibid. Jan. 31, 1871.

3. NA: S 4/6. Bishop Power to Governor T. Glover, Feb. 16, 1878.

their numbers entitles them. Mr. Bennett completely destroys the fruit of that victory by seeking the assistance of Dr. Power¹".

The harping on denominationalism as a criticism of Bennett's government was, perhaps, an indication of how few reasons the Bennett administration presented for criticism by the opposition. Alfred B. Morine, an ardent Orangeman and pro-Confederate, later described the Bennett regime in glowing terms. "The Colony enjoyed great prosperity during the Bennett Regime... He gave the colony good government"². Morine went on to say it was hard to explain why so good a government as Bennett's was defeated after a period of unusual prosperity.³ This coming from an Orangeman and Confederate was praise indeed. The praise was well deserved. The first year of the Bennett administration coincided with a boom in the fishing industry. The result was that the 1870 annual revenue was the largest ever in the colony's history.⁴ The Honourable A. Harvey, who had headed the Anti-Confederate petition of 1868, attributed the prosperity to Bennett. "... we must rejoice," he said, "at the pleasant picture of prosperity with regard to conditions and circumstances of the Colony as contrasted with the gloom and depression of three or four years ago"⁵.

Although the Governor's speech at the opening of the House of Assembly in 1873 indicated that the fishery had again shown a decline, there were other factors in the colony's economy that gave cause for optimism. Governor Stephen Hill listed as evidence of this the appointment of magistrates to the French Shore, the removal of

1. Public Ledger, St. John's, Feb. 3, 1871.
2. Morine, op. cit. Ch. 7b, p. 19.
3. Ibid. Ch. 10, p. 16.
4. Public Ledger, St. John's, Feb. 3, 1871.
5. Ibid.

restrictions affecting the territorial rights of Newfoundlanders, the rapid increase in agriculture, Alexander Murray's geological survey, the many grants in lumbering operations, the numerous licenses for permission to search for minerals, the immunity from crime in the colony, and the check on the spread of small-pox.¹

This glowing account of the colony by the government press at the beginning of the election year in 1873 did not go unchallenged by the opposition. F.B.T. Carter demanded an investigation into the accounts of the Board of Works and the expenditure voted for volunteer organizations.² Carter chose to direct his heavy barrage at charges of corruption in the Bennett administration.³ Even the Public Ledger switched its emphasis from that of religious bickering to corruption.

"The Ledger may talk of the 'iniquitous acts' of the present administration," wrote the Courier editor, "but the people of the country are sufficiently intelligent to appreciate the benefits derived by the country from the present government, and far too enlightened to allow themselves to be misled by the unscrupulous and malignant insinuations of the Ledger, one of the organs of those who not alone heartlessly oppressed them with the most insufferable burden of taxation in the darkest hour of trial and affliction, but would also, had circumstances favoured them, have rivetted upon their free born limbs, the galling chains of Canadian bondage".⁴

1. The Courier, St. John's, Feb. 8, 1873.
2. Ibid. Feb. 9, 1873.
3. Ibid. Feb. 17, 1873.
4. Ibid. June 18, 1873.

E. Orange Leaders Join New Political Party.

By the time the autumn election campaign began to warm up, the Orange Order was not found wanting. A new party was formed with the new Orange Grand Master, A.J.W. McNeily, along with William Valance Whiteway, John H. Warren, John T. Burton, the editor of the Telegraph, and J.O. Fraser, at its head. This new party adopted a programme and policy quite distinct from Carter's official opposition party. It was, in fact, organized while Carter and several of the leading members of the old opposition were out of the colony. The new party planned to use the Orange lodges as an agency through which to organize the Protestant vote in the outports¹. The attitude of the new party towards Confederation is difficult to ascertain. In the campaign, the new party candidates maintained they were Anti-Confederates, and certainly, when the new party coalesced again in 1873 with Carter's group to win the 1874 election, there was no attempt to push Confederation through, as the Bennett party had predicted.²

Bennett, in fact, set the tone for the election campaign by publishing his anti-Orange manifesto in September, 1873, in which he lashed out at the leaders of the new Orange party as "scheming Confederates"³. The extravagance of Mr. Bennett's letter must have been provoked by his exasperation at the vigorous campaign being pursued by the new party. His manifesto was published without consultation with or sanction of his own party.⁴ He dismissed the opposition charge that the government was a

1. Ibid. Nov. 29, 1873. See also Courier Oct. 18, 1873.

2. Ibid. Oct. 18, 1873.

3. The Insult to the Orangemen and Protestants of Newfoundland by the Government, and the Reply of the Orangemen. p.3.

4. NA: S 4/6. Bishop Power to Governor T. Glover, Feb. 16, 1878.

Roman Catholic one by pointed out that the Executive Council was composed of the Governor, himself, Thomas Glen, J.L. Noonan, and J.S. Clift, all Protestants, and J. Little and Major H. Renouf, Roman Catholics. To the charge that no Protestant had any chance of obtaining an appointment to office because all government patronage was bestowed on Roman Catholics, Bennett replied that the practice of the Government had been "as often as an office has been vacated by a Protestant, to fill that vacancy with a Protestant, and in like manner have Roman Catholic vacancies filled by Roman Catholics"¹.

The Premier went on to complain, "It is worse than absurd for Protestants to give credence to the statements of those Confederate allies, those reckless men, the projectors of those Orange Societies, who are doing their best to frighten the ignorant and produce personal collisions between the two great sections of the community, who are now living together in the most perfect harmony"². He pointed out that in the census of 1869 the Protestants numbered 85,486, while the Roman Catholics were only 61,050. Not only did the Protestants preponderate in numbers, Bennett declared, but there was the weight of wealth on the side of the Protestants, and should there be any civil disturbance, there was a Protestant government to put it down, and magistrates, the greater number of whom were Protestants, to maintain law and order. The three Justices of the Supreme Court were all Protestants. He went on to attack the parent Orange Institution in Ireland and other centres, attributing the fights in Belfast, Derry, New York, Boston, and in Canada, to the Orangemen.

1. The Insult to the Orangemen and Protestants of Newfoundland, and the Reply of the Orangemen, p. 3.

2. Ibid.

"Let me tell you," he declared, "the Orange Societies are the curse of Ireland and of every country where they exist." He called upon Newfoundlanders "to put down Orangeism with the same strong hand you would Fenianism, and give no countenance to those who advocate it, for they are the enemies of law and order everywhere."¹

As if this were not enough to enrage his opponents, Bennett made a final thrust designed as the coup de grace. "Already I am told that the Orange flag has been unfurled in one of your large settlements. I hope that it is the last sight that Newfoundland will see of it. Whether it will be so or not depends upon those who can exercise a salutary influence over the more ignorant of the population; but I would observe that it is the duty of the Magistrates, the police, and of every good citizen, to prevent such outrages taking place. All true British subjects will rally round the British Ensign, and discountenance the factious and aggressive Orange flag".²

Bennett's intelligence system must have been poor if he thought the Orange Order had been organized in only 'one large outpost'. By this time there were lodges in at least six Conception Bay outposts. The Morning Chronicle seemed more informed. In an editorial accusing F.B.T. Carter of assuming leadership of the new 'Orange party', the editor remarked, "You found from authentic and confidential sources how numerically strong the Orange body was ... In the districts of Trinity, Bonavista Bay, and Twillingate, your candidates would have had the largest

1. Ibid. p. 4.

2. Ibid. p. 5.

majority ever but for the Orange body, and some of the candidates were obliged to join them to defeat their competitors.¹"

The publication of Bennett's anti-Orange manifesto at the beginning of the 1873 election campaign was the first direct reference to Orangeism in Newfoundland by the press. Up to this time, the pro and anti-Orange newspapers had published stories of Orangeism in Ireland and on the mainland, but had refrained from referring to the local Order. The Provincial Grand Lodge of Newfoundland regarded Bennett's manifesto as a slur on the Order, which, of course, it was meant to be. In fact, he could not have done the Order a bigger favour. The Orangemen, now a publicly acknowledged group, gloried in their growing power and many, who might have held aloof, swarmed to the lodges.² The Grand Lodge had Bennett's manifesto reprinted at the office of the Public Ledger, entitling it "The Insult to the Orangemen and Protestants of Newfoundland by the Government, and the Reply of the Orangemen". They thus implied the attack was not confined to Orangemen, but was against Protestants generally. Extracts from the election addresses of three Bennett supporters to the voters of Bonavista were included in the pamphlet. The extracts reverberated³ Bennett's charge that the new party envisaged Confederation. "To put neighbour at variance with neighbour, to set men of one Church against men of another Church, to breed disturbances and faction fights throughout the land - these are the abominable means by which our opponents seek to delude you into Confederation".³

1. The Courier, St. John's, Nov. 29, 1873.

2. The Sentinel, Toronto, July 3, 1930.

3. The Insult to the Orangemen and Protestants of Newfoundland by the Government, and the Reply of the Orangemen. p. 5.

F. Orangemen Remain Silent on Confederation.

The reply of the Orangemen did not touch upon the essence of Mr. Bennett's charge - that they were the agents of Confederation. Neither denial nor acknowledgment is made of the issue. This silence, in itself, suggests that the Orange Order was either favourable to Confederation, or, perhaps, divided on the subject, and therefore avoided mention of it. On the other hand, the reply provided a defense of the Order. It accused the Bennett party of attacking the Orange Order for "vile political and party purposes ... by provoking against us the ill-will of our own co-religionists and the hatred of our Roman Catholic neighbours"¹. A personal attack was made on the Premier and the charges of Roman Catholic domination of the government repeated.

Every Roman Catholic Member of the Assembly is, and must be, an adherent of the party, and bound to support it at the peril of consequences too serious to be contemplated. Every Roman Catholic district in the country voted as a unit in favour of that party at the last election, and no differences of opinion or independence of action, even on the part of their clergy, was permitted in any case to create the slightest weakness or disunion amongst them as a body!! ... No better exemplification of the identity of Roman Catholic ascendancy with the Government policy could be asked for than the treatment which has been dealt to those of the Roman Catholic faith who exercised an independent opinion at the last election, and opposed the now ruling party. The most vindictive and malignant persecution has followed them with a consistency and perseverance for which it would be hard in modern days to find a parallel. 2

The Grand Lodge concluded its reply by calling upon Orangemen to unite with determined action "to hurl from their positions in the control of public affairs the men who have thus declared themselves the avowed enemies of those principles of

1. Ibid. p. 6.
2. Ibid. p. 8.

Protestantism and loyalty". As a postscript, the Grand Lodge added, "Brethren, let it not be said that the members of the Order in Newfoundland were ever so false to their principles as to support the slanderers of our Order and the enemies of our Religion. In the coming struggle between right and wrong, let but one sentiment animate the breasts of all our brethren; and let our enemies feel the consequences of the indignant and united action of the men whom they have insulted. Let our rallying cry be No Surrender, Down with the Enemies of Religion and Loyalty, and God Save the Queen".

The furor raised by the publication of Bennett's manifesto against the Orange Order, and the subsequent reply of the Orangemen, oddly enough did not result in any immediate denominational disturbances. The election campaign centred in the Protestant districts of Bonavista, Twillingate, and Trinity. The government party followed up Bennett's manifesto with another article stating, "We have indications of the mode of warfare to be carried out by that party who have rightly been named 'traitors' to their country and who are even now more eager than in '69 to sell Newfoundland to that insatiable gang of corruptionists, who misrule the Dominion and would fain in '73 bring us under a galling yoke of political bondage and fleece Newfoundlanders as mercilessly as they have been fleecing the shareholders of the Canadian Pacific ... By kindling again the torch of sectarian rancour, they burn up every feeling of good-will that happily prevails in the outports ... and get up the cry "Protestantism is in danger" ... because Bennett keeps such men as McNeily, Whiteway, Warren, and Fraser from power".

1. Ibid. p. 11.
2. Ibid.
3. The Courier, St. John's, Sept. 27, 1873.

During the election, Bennett's supporters claimed the Confederates were hiding in "Anti-Confederate clothing, the better to deceive and destroy them"¹. The reports of the electioneering on the part of the Bennett candidates showed they, too, were not beneath using arguments with a sectarian flavour to further their political ends. At Fermeuse, a Roman Catholic settlement south of St. John's, the candidate cited an instance of a Roman Catholic priest being imprisoned in New Brunswick for sixteen days because he refused to pay a school tax as he was not able to exercise any control over the teaching in the school.² But the major political propaganda of Bennett's party was to identify Carter and the new Orange party with Confederation. "Taxes upon taxes will be imposed and we shall be bound forever to the distant Dominion in which our traitors would securely rest in the enjoyment of their illegal offices and blood money"³.

A clue to the activities of the Newfoundland Orangemen during the campaign was given in the Courier. On October 18th, 1873, the editor wrote, "I notice Mr. Carter has again joined the Confederate party; the same party that not long since denounced him as a traitor, and McNeily and Co. ejected him from the party. I had no doubt he was rather glad at being ejected from such a gang as McNeily, Whiteway, Burton, Warren, Frazer, etc. They are, however, the new Confederate party"⁴.

The group referred to was the wing of Carter supporters who had broken away to form the new party. A.J.W. McNeily was

1. The Courier, St. John's, Oct. 1, 1873.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. Oct. 8, 1873.
4. Ibid. Oct. 18, 1873.

at this time Grand Master of the Orange Order in Newfoundland. According to their enemies, the new Confederate party was simply the executive of the Orange Order.¹ This was not strictly true, for there is no record that Whiteway or Frazer were members of the Order. However, there can be no doubt that McNeily represented the liaison between the political committee of the Orange Order and the Carter party.² The Courier reprimanded Carter for assuming leadership of this new political group. "Ah, Carter," the editor wrote, "you had much in your hands. There were two positions open to you: the apostleship of conciliation, peace, and equal rights, the other the nominal leadership of the Orange party. You have chosen the latter".³

G. Orange Influence During Election.

Some indication of the extent of Orange influence during the election was given by the Courier editor when he warned, "The principle of personal freedom appears to be taken away by the society; it exercises an organized coercion over its members, and they in turn possess an intimidating influence over their families and brother Protestants ... The Orangemen know it and glory in it and have in some places declared in public that all Protestants shall be under one banner".⁴ The editor went on, "We think its influence is now chiefly attributable to its novelty and temporary excitement, and to the fact that dangerous and designing politicians are using it for their own ends, and will drop it when those ends shall have been served; otherwise, it has little to feed on, for in

1. Ibid. Nov. 29, 1873.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Roman Catholic communities it is powerless, and in Protestant districts it will be its own destruction ... by the suppression of the freedom that will ultimately turn and assert itself". The editor concluded by admitting that Orangeism was "Powerful, extensive, and well organized".

The Courier, for purposes of its own, may have been ascribing to the Orange Order an influence which it did not really possess. If the Orangemen were as powerfully organized and disciplined as the above implied, the growth was within the four years of the Bennett administration. The article pointed out that the Orangemen had not been unanimous in their support of Confederation or of Mr. Carter's party in 1869. This may explain the new party's emphasis upon the Roman Catholic character of the Bennett administration as a means of luring from the Bennett party those Orangemen who had voted for him in 1869.

The Bennett supporters countered by giving the Orangemen a paternal warning. On November 29th, 1873, the Courier reprinted an article from the Morning Chronicle, describing the new party's designs to lure the Orangemen by cries of Protestantism.

The Editor of the Ledger [Orangeman F.W. Bowden] labors to establish that Mr. Carter, though the ostensible and virtual leader of the Orange party in this Colony ... has personally no participation in the principles of Orangeism ... By his ridiculous and hypocritical assertion that the Orange Association had come forward and roused the Protestants of this Colony to what he is pleased to call "The performance of their sacred duty", the Editor of the Ledger would ... cast a slur on the intelligence and independence of the Protestant portion of our community ... We can see no reason why the Orange or any other similar organization should presume to arrogate to itself, the championship or guardianship of the rights of any Christian denomination. 1

1. Ibid. Nov. 29, 1873.

The Morning Chronicle urged the Orangemen to hold aloof from the din and strife of party politics and not to be "degraded by political intriguers to the vile and contemptible purposes of engendering sectarian discord"¹.

That the Orangemen did not hold aloof from the din and strife of the election of 1873 was evident by the returns. The district of Bonavista, which had succumbed to the Anti-Confederates in 1869, now turned its back on these candidates, and returned the Grand Master of the Order, A.J.W. McNeily, along with his political cohort², John T. Burton. A second focal point of the election was the Protestant district of Trinity in which the Anti-Confederate Robert Alsop had won a seat in 1869. Two members of the new party, John H. Warren and William Valance Whiteway, were returned along with John Steer. Twillingate, which had voted in two Anti-Confederates in 1869, now retained both these candidates, while its third member was the new party's leader, F.B.T. Carter. The Harbour Grace election proved to be a peaceful one with the Roman Catholic Confederate candidate, Ambrose Shea, returned. The safe seats in Burin were given to the rising Orange politician, twenty-nine year old James Spearman Winter, and to C.R. Ayre. Winter was at this time Master of Royal Oak Lodge in St. John's.² He was to become the Provincial Grand Master of the Order in Newfoundland from 1878 until 1885, succeeding A.J.W. McNeily whose tenure of office was from 1874 until 1877. J.H. Watson, the young Carter candidate at Trinity district, was among those welcomed as a new member of Royal Oak Orange lodge on March 3rd, 1875.³

Even with this impressive showing in the election, the new party and the old opposition under Carter had not joined

1. Ibid.

2. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minutes Book, Jan. 14, 1874.

3. Ibid. Mar. 3, 1875.

forces soon enough to bring about a downfall of the Bennett administration which returned on a very slight majority. However, the government fell shortly after its return to office. Believing that his party could carry on without them, Bennett agreed to allow two members to accept office in the public service. The Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Power, put it more bluntly. "The Bennett administration might have continued to hold office were it not that vacancies on the magisterial bench in St. John's and Harbour Grace proved too great a temptation to some of his ¹ followers".

A third member of the Bennett party, Charles Duder, elected as an Anti-Confederate candidate for Twillingate, deserted his party, leaving Bennett with a minority government. The defeat of the newly-elected government meant another election in 1874. Once again sectarian cries were resorted to. The Roman Catholic Bishop claimed, "The so-called Confederates were returned in 1874 on the 'Religious Cry'. The Roman Catholic Bishop, Priests, Nuns, etc., were vilified. Amongst other things it was proclaimed in the north that "Bishop Power has baptised Bennett and that the latter had heard three Masses on Sundays ... In some instances ... the Electors thought they were voting against Bennett, the Pope, and all the Cardinals" ... These misrepresentations were ² circulated chiefly in the Orange Lodges".

Whether Bishop Power's information was correct or not cannot be verified. Certainly, the Orange Order took credit for the victory of Carter's party at the polls in 1874. In the Royal Oak Minute Book of 1874, there is a resolution of Royal Standard

1. NA: S 4/6. Bishop Power to Governor Glover, Jan. 24, 1878.

2. Ibid.

Lodge of Brigus, which declared:

That the hearty thanks of this Lodge are due and now tendered to Brothers F.W. Bowden and J.R. McNeily for the wise and judicious counsel and guidance to this lodge as to the proper conduct for and in the coming elections, and also for the manly and unflinching conduct throughout this section of the electoral district of Port de Grave during our canvass and on the day of polling, and fervently pray that a long life of usefulness in the cause of Orangeism may be accorded them ... We also congratulate our Brethren of St. John's and throughout the Island on the glorious victory the Orangemen of Newfoundland won on the 7th of November, 1874, for themselves and the Carter government - tending as it must, in the overthrow of priestly power in our land and in the extension of our beloved Order. 1

The unusual activity of Royal Oak Lodge in St. John's during the autumn of 1874 gives a hint of the role of the Orange lodges in the 1874 election. On October 2nd, the lodge received a communication from the Provincial Grand Master, to the effect that "a dispensation is hereby granted to all Worshipful Masters of Lodges ... of Newfoundland to receive propositions of Candidates and elect and initiate them at the same meeting whenever the Lodge shall deem it expedient for the good of the Order." 2

At the time the Provincial Grand Lodge issued the dispensation, Royal Oak Lodge had been meeting once a month in the British Society Hall. James S. Winter was its Master and among the officers were F. W. Bowden, editor of the Public Ledger. From January until September of 1874, Royal Oak appeared to have had no extraordinary business. The dispensation of October 2nd permitting new members to be proposed and initiated the same night precipitated a rush of business. Within the month, five emergency meetings

1. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minute Book, Dec. 2n, 1874.
2. Ibid. Oct. 7, 1874.

1

were held in order to initiate nineteen outport members. Except for John Crocker of Trinity, and Joseph Babstock of Salvage, Bonavista Bay, the place of residence of the outport candidates is not recorded, nor does the minute book of Royal Oak Lodge give an indication of the reason for the haste in initiating outport candidates. Most of the recorded business is confined to listing the candidates proposed, the receipt and payment of bills, and an occasional reference to a political matter.

Yet the fact that the Provincial Grand Lodge, of which A.J.W. McNeily was Grand Master, issued the special dispensation just a month before the election was to take place, together with the subsequent emergency meetings to initiate outport candidates, provide circumstantial evidence that this particular activity of Royal Oak Lodge was related in an intimate way with the political activities of the new party, headed by McNeily and Carter.

H. Carter's Defence of Orangeism.

Carter, three years later in defending the Orange Order against the insinuations of Bishop Power to Governor Glover, claimed:

Mr. Bennett raised the "cry" by a gratuitous attack on the Orangemen in a published manifesto when he and his party were known to have the powerful patronage of the Roman Catholic clergy, and I certainly attest that during the last two elections [1873 and 1874] at the north I never heard a word spoken disrespectfully of His Holiness, the Pope, the Cardinals, the Roman Catholic Bishop, Nuns, Priests, or other ecclesiastics, nor should I have countenanced any language to that purport., I confess that my surprise was intense when on returning to St. John's, I heard for the first time that it had been reported that I had used similar language. But it was mere fabrication of a mischievous slanderer, whom I afterwards discovered, as I never harboured such unworthy ideas, not to say, expressed them.

2

Carter went on to explain the more intimate political manoeuvres made at the time between the Governor, Sir Stephen

1. Ibid., Oct. 16, 21, 28, Nov. 11, 20, 1874.
2. NA: S 4/6. F.B.T. Carter to Governor Glover, Feb. 4, 1878.

Hill, and the Roman Catholic Bishop, for an amalgamation of parties.

In that year [1874] I was most anxious to avoid a general election, which was imminent, having a one majority in the House of Assembly. Some negotiations had taken place between the Governor, Sir Stephen Hill, and His Lordship [Bishop Power] for an amalgamation, with which I was made acquainted at the time. Believing that the right hand of fellowship had been held out and aware of the influence of His Lordship with his flock, I got the consent of my party to the proposition. But having discovered afterwards that His Lordship had withdrawn, I had, as late in the season as was practical for the holding of the Elections, to advise His Excellency to a dissolution of the House ... I presume our opponents had felt convinced that they would have the ascendancy, and hence their refusal to unite. The result, however, proved otherwise, and re-established the present government. 1

Carter's admission that he was most reluctant to face a general election in 1874 suggests that he may have had some reservations about coalescing with the new party headed by McNeily, Whiteway, Warren, Burton, and Frazer. His long political and personal association with the Roman Catholic Shea brothers, and the spirit of moderation and compromise he had shown when he became Premier in 1865, may have made him more favourable to a re-alliance with a Roman Catholic group than uniting with a faction which might prove difficult to control. Nevertheless, he did finally coalesce with the new party, described by its enemies as the "Orange party", and with it won the 1874 election.

The new party retained its hold on the government for the next eleven years. Carried to power largely through the support of the Orange Order, its downfall was precipitated by the Orange-Roman Catholic clash at Harbour Grace in 1883.

CHAPTER IV

Orange Expansion: 1875 - 1884

A. Orangeism Appeals to the Young Men

The year 1875 opened auspiciously for the Orange Order of Newfoundland. The new House of Assembly boasted at least two Orangemen - Grand Master A.J.W. McNeily, who was the member for Bonavista, and James S. Winter, member for Burin. It was soon to have a third in the person of J.H. Watson, the member for Trinity. In addition, Orangemen could look with some expectation of favour from the other leaders of the government party who, Orangemen claimed, owed their position to the Order. There was also comfort for those Protestants who thought in terms of numerical ascendancy. The last census had shown a still larger proportion of Protestants over Roman Catholics in the colony.

Within the Orange Order itself, strides were being made to propagate the principles of Orangeism. The primary lodge of Newfoundland - Royal Oak - was the liaison lodge in the capital city with outport members. The minute book of the lodge for 1874 to 1884 show that each spring, when the outport fishermen journeyed to St. John's to join the annual sealing fleet, many of the fishermen made use of the trip to become initiated into the Orange Order by way of Royal Oak Lodge. In 1874, Royal Oak initiated candidates from Salvage, Bonavista Bay, and Middle Bight. In 1875, new members came from New Carlisle, New Richmond, Trinity, the South Shore of Bonavista Bay, Petty Harbour, Flat Island, Goose Bay, the French Shore, Grates Cove, Northern Bight, Indian Arm, Bay Roberts and Greenspond. The next year members were initiated from Musgrave Town, Pinchers Island, Pools Island, Lime Kiln, Fogo, Caplin Cove and King Cove. In 1878, Royal Oak

Lodge initiated new members from Catalina, Reeds Round Harbour, Exploits, Leading Tickle, Green Bay, Dear Harbour, and in 1880 new members came from Pokampath, Fox Harbour, Random, Northern Bight and Pouch Cove. These new members remained affiliated with the St. John's lodges until they were successful in indoctrinating enough of their neighbours to form a new lodge in their outport.

The Order appealed to young men. Almost all the new members of Royal Oak were in their teens or twenties. Very few men over forty were initiated as new members. For the most part, the candidates for membership were either members of the Church of England or Wesleyans. The first Baptist listed among the new members in the Royal Oak minute book was a farmer named Joseph Ross of Grove Farm, who joined the lodge in 1882. The first Presbyterian to be recorded as a member of Royal Oak Lodge was a twenty-nine year old shoemaker of St. John's named Alex Marshall. The occupation of the members showed that interest in the Order was strongest amongst the skilled workmen of the colony. Clerks, seamen, fishermen, jewelers, carpenters, drapers, sailmakers, shoemakers, cabinet-makers, watchmakers, coopers, and stewards were anxious to join the ranks of Orangeism. But membership was not confined to the skilled workers. Some schoolteachers, accountants, grocers, brewers, and medical practitioners were among those joining Royal Oak in the decade from 1874 to 1884.

An estimate of the total membership of the Orange Order at this time is difficult to arrive at. No figures have been preserved by the Order itself. The Courier, in its attack on F.B.T. Carter in 1873, claimed it was because Carter had found

1. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minute Book 1874 - 1884.

how numerically strong the Orange body was that he assumed the nominal leadership of the new party.¹ The article implied that Orangemen had, by this time, been organized in Trinity and Twillingate, as well as Bonavista Bay. There is a direct reference to a lodge at Bonavista as early as 1874.² The minute book of Royal Oak Lodge does not give the membership figures for 1874 or 1875, although it does show the number of new members for each year. In 1874, a total of thirty-nine new members were initiated; in 1875, there were 42, and in 1876 new members numbered twenty-four, a decided drop. The total membership for Royal Oak Lodge in 1876 was recorded as 300.³ However, the per capita tax paid to the Provincial Grand Lodge was for only 126 members, presumably those in good standing financially. A total of twenty-four members were suspended for non-payment of dues in 1876. The figure of 300 would include those outport members affiliated with Royal Oak Lodge until lodges were established in their own districts.

Absenteeism from meetings was beginning to be noticed by 1876. Those absent were to be fined twenty-five cents.⁴ The number of new members initiated in 1877 dropped to sixteen. The next year there were only eighteen new members added to the roll. The secretary, William J. Clouston, in his report for 1878, urged his fellow members "To resolve that they will be more attentive the coming year to make it Royal Oak once more".⁵ Clouston went on to remark that the primary lodge's contribution towards

1. The Courier, St. John's, Nov. 29, 1873.
2. LOA: Royal Oak Minute Book, Oct. 7, 1874.
3. Ibid. Dec. 6, 1876. Secretary's annual report.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

the building fund for an Orange hall in St. John's was "very small ... compared to our sister lodge in St. John's [Leeming] although it could not be expected from the few good standing members who keep our Lodge standing today to have assisted much more". The secretary concluded his report with the hope that "each member will endeavour to further the interests of our Lodge and strive to make it second to none".

B. Leeming Lodge Out-Numbers Royal Oak.

Thus, by 1878, Leeming Lodge had out-distanced Royal Oak in membership and importance. Among its members were Donald Morison, the twenty-nine-year old lawyer apprentice in James S. Winter's law office, who was to become Grand Master of the Order from 1888 to 1896. The report on the building fund for the new Orange hall indicated the disparity in wealth between the two city lodges. Forty members of Royal Oak contributed £59 while Leeming Lodge, as a whole, contributed £282, and an additional sum of £107.5⁰.0 was contributed by 111 individual members of Leeming Lodge.

The prestige of Gilbert and James Browning added greatly to Leeming Lodge, as did the membership of Michael T. Knight. Gilbert Browning was the owner of a large bakery establishment in St. John's, and had an interest in several other commercial projects. Michael T. Knight belonged to one of the oldest families in the colony. He had been customs

1. Ibid. Dec. 4, 1878.

2. Ibid. Report on the Building Fund.

3. H.Y. Mott. Newfoundland Men. Concord, Conn., 1895.

officer on the Labrador coast for eleven years, and later was secretary of the Board of Works. In 1885, he was elected member for Twillingate and served as financial secretary in the Thorburn administration from 1885 to 1889. Another member of Leeming Lodge was J.R. McNeily, a brother of the Grand Master.

C. Orange Enthusiasm in Capital Declines.

Not only was Royal Oak experiencing a slight decline at the end of the 1870's. Royal Alfred Lodge which had been organized in St. John's in 1869 collapsed.¹ Its members transferred to the two other city lodges. Among the transferees was Robert Winton, editor of the Daily News.² In 1879, the secretary of Royal Oak lodge referred to the manner in which the summons to meetings "are despised by a large number of our members". The lodge appointed two members to call personally on all those who were in arrears in the payment of their dues.³ The number of new members in 1879 was twenty-one, making a total membership of 155 for Royal Oak Lodge. In 1880, the membership roll dropped to 117 because the lodge decided to take firm action against the backsliding members. Fifty-six were suspended for non-payment of dues. The secretary again called upon members of the lodge "to assist in building up Royal Oak Lodge so firm that it may stand second to no other lodge in the country".⁴

However, this slight decline in the growth of lodges in St. John's was more than compensated for by the rapid growth

1. LOA: Royal Oak Minute Book, June 6, 1877.
2. Ibid. Jan. 3, 1876.
3. Ibid. Dec. 3, 1879.
4. Ibid. Dec. 1, 1880.

of Orangeism in the outports to the north and along the southwest coast. In St. John's itself the stimulus for the sudden growth of the Order was removed with the accession of political power by Carter's party, and the local lodges suffered a drop in enthusiasm. This is not surprising. The Protestant population of St. John's was 8,066, while the Roman Catholics numbered 15,719¹. The minority group, which was divided into several religious denominations, could hardly support three lodges, a Scarlet Chapter, and the Grand Lodge. In the outports it was otherwise. The smaller outports had no political or social institutions apart from the churches through which the people could make themselves heard. The Orange Order provided such an institution. Members of the various Protestant denominations could join in fellowship together, and get a sense of their political importance by passing resolutions to be forwarded to the House of Assembly. They could meet in² their Orange hall to form an audience for the St. John's Orangemen and politicians who paid them visits. This aspect of the Order was, by no means, the most important one in the outports. In an age when the "welfare state" was unknown and hard times all too frequent, the Orange Order filled a real need by assisting needy members. Funeral expenses were paid by the lodges, mortality fees were provided to widows,³ sick members were visited and received financial help,⁴ members who suffered serious loss through fires were aided out of a general fund of the lodges,⁵ and members in financial straits were often helped by their lodge.⁶ The city lodges also

1. NA: Nfld. Census 1874.
2. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minute Book Jan. 8, 1875.
3. Ibid. Jan. 8, 1879, and May 5, 1880.
4. Ibid. Jan. 8, 1875.
5. Ibid. Dec. 1, 1880, and Feb. 10, 1875.
6. Ibid. Jan. 3, 1883; Dec. 13, 1882, and Jan. 8, 1880.

showed fellowship towards their outport brethren by assisting in the building of the outport lodge halls. For instance, Royal Oak contributed twenty dollars towards the construction of the Brigus Orange hall in 1874.

D. Orangeism Sets Standards of Conduct.

The Orange Order insisted upon certain standards of behaviour from its members. In a pioneer atmosphere where physical conditions often tended to a loosening of good manners and moral behaviour, an institution which set certain standards for its members to live up to was fighting against the de-civilizing influences of the pioneer community. The Orange Order forbade its members "to chew or spit tobacco in the lodge room on pain of paying two and six pence for each offence"². Members were suspended also for riotous conduct. Such a one was William Sexton who was suspended for twelve months from Bonavista lodge³. Any member who ran foul of the law was expelled, as evidenced by the case of a past Master of Royal Oak who was found guilty in court on a charge of forgery⁴. Among the rules of the Order was one to the effect that "any person dishonouring the Institution by marrying a Roman Catholic shall be expelled"⁵. Royal Oak had occasion to provoke this rule twice against members in the decade from 1874 to 1884⁶.

1. Ibid. Mar. 4, 1874.

2. Ibid. April 7, 1875.

3. Ibid. June 7, 1874.

4. Ibid. June 7, 1882.

5. LOA: Laws and Ordinances, Loyal Orange Association. Dublin, May, 1860. p. 12.

6. LOA: Royal Oak Minute Book, Feb. 15, 1879, and April 5, 1876.

E. Opposition to Politics in Lodges.

Even in St. John's, the attraction of the Order for people in the humbler walks of life was the fellowship and aid it afforded to members. Rumblings of dis-satisfaction at using the lodges for political purposes were indicated by two resolutions of Royal Oak Lodge. The first such notice came on October 4, 1882, when Alan Knight and I.H. Lyle proposed a special meeting to consider the right of the Order interfering in political matters.¹ Again in 1883, Henry E. Greaves moved that special meetings be held each Tuesday in May to entertain outport brethren, and that "it is unadvisable to have anything to do with politics at these meetings".² From the wording of the proposal, it seems likely that fishermen coming to St. John's to join the fishing fleet had been entertained by their city brethren, and some disapproval had been voiced against interpolating political matters during the entertainment.

The anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne - the traditional day for Orange displays and parades, was celebrated in a somewhat unobtrusive manner by St. John's Orangemen for the first twenty years or so after the Order was introduced into the colony. No parades were held in the predominantly Roman Catholic city of St. John's. Instead, Royal Oak and Leeming Lodges held a joint meeting each July 12th. This was usually an occasion for speeches to the rank and file by the grandees of the Grand Lodge.³

However, the outport Orangemen were more intrepid when it came to parades. Three new outport lodges had been established

1. Ibid. Oct. 4, 1882.

2. Ibid. April 11, 1883.

3. Ibid. June 3, 1874, June 2, 1875, July 12, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884.

by 1876 - one at Kelligrews, one at Greenspond, and another at Middle Bight. It was the first mentioned - the Kelligrews Lodge - that was to bring the Orange Order under the somewhat unfavourable notice of the government at the beginning of 1878, significantly enough an election year.

F. The Kelligrews Orange Incident.

The incident occurred when the small Kelligrews Lodge, in company with Orangemen from Portugal Cove, arranged to parade to the Church of England at Long Pond on January 18th, 1878, to attend the service there, and afterwards to participate in a soiree at their lodge hall. When fourteen men from Portugal Cove arrived at Manuels Bridge enroute to join their Orange brethren at Kelligrews, they were met by a crowd of men armed with sticks, who warned them against proceeding to Kelligrews. After a brief skirmish, the Portugal Cove men retired and returned to their homes. However, four other Portugal Cove men, who had started out for Kelligrews in a wagon, reached their destination safely, and joined the Kelligrews Orangemen for the procession. Near the lodge, some fifty men of the Roman Catholic or 'Anti' party awaited with sticks. They informed the Orangemen "they could walk if they pleased, but not with the regalia; that they would die sooner than let them do so". The Kelligrews Orangemen were reported to have decided discretion was the better part of valour, and retired. Premier F.B.T. Carter, in his report to the Governor of the incident, claimed that all went quietly in Kelligrews until the four wagon-men and some fourteen others were

1. Ibid. Mar. 1, 1876; Nov. 1, 1876, and Mar. 7, 1877.
2. NA: S 4/6. F.B.T. Carter to Governor, Feb. 4, 1878.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

passing through Topsail, enroute home in the early morning. There they were attacked by a large body of the Roman Catholic party who came from a public house.

Carter's description of the Kelligrews affray had been prompted by a letter to Governor T. Glover by the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Power, who suggested that the government had neglected its duty in failing to prohibit the Orange procession "since it threatened to provoke a breach of the peace".

Dr. Power's report of the incident was to the effect that "It was only after the rumour got abroad that the 'Orange flag' and the accompanying regalia were to be paraded in the district, that the anti-Orangemen determined to resist what they considered an insult to their creed". Dr. Power said the Roman Catholic clergyman of the district, having heard of this determination, journeyed to St. John's to seek advice, and he remained in the city, as it was believed that the rumour was untrue. The Bishop then went on to say:

However, the rumours were not unfounded. Under the cover of night, the intended processionists gathered at Kelligrews from Portugal Cove and neighboring localities. The news having reached Holyrood, some 50 men marched towards Kelligrews to await the Antis. Of this number, only half arrived at the scene of action, but hundreds assembled at Conception Harbour, and prepared to advance at the word of command! Now as the "Orangemen" came and bearing the obnoxious flag, the Antis ordered them to lay aside their regalia, assuring them at the same time that if they did so, none would interfere with their festivities ... As the Orangemen at first refused to yield, the sashes were torn off in some half dozen cases ... At this juncture a certain gentleman known in St. John's arrived in town and at once assumed the leadership. He was quite amazed at the want of spirit shown by the processionists ... ordered the flag to be raised and putting on his regalia marched on. Very soon he was obliged to lay aside

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. Bishop Power to Governor, Jan. 22, 1878. See also letter Bishop Power to Governor, Jan. 24, 1878.

3. Ibid.

the insignia of his office, and later in the day ... his carriage was injured and he returned to town much dejected, having in the presence of several persons advised his men to dispose of the 'lodge' or turn it into a private dwelling house. 1

Bishop Power went on to inform Governor Glover that the night previous to the affray, an Orangeman entered the home of a Roman Catholic widow, with revolver in hand, saying that no Catholic would be spared along the shore the following day. The Bishop added, "This was a mere threat and intended to frighten the opposition".² He went on to express surprise that, "These poor simple people should be encouraged, for mere political purposes, to parade these obnoxious colours, and insult their Roman Catholic colonists".³ He warned, "This contest will form the text for further platforms and many misrepresentations will receive a specious colouring."⁴

Governor Glover's reaction to the Bishop's letter was to point out that neither the police nor the government had the authority to prohibit a peaceful parade of Orangemen. He also noted, "So far, I have not been able to discover that this meeting had any political significance or was connected with any political movement, but was merely the voluntary ... act of the members of the Association".⁵

The Roman Catholic Bishop remained skeptical. "Your Excellency has been pleased to say that you fail to discover any political significance in this meeting. Permit me to state a

1878. 1. NA: S 4/6. Bishop Power to Governor Glover, Jan.22,

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. NA: S 4/6. Governor to Bishop Power, Jan. 23, 1878.

5. NA: S 4/6. Bishop Power to Governor, Jan. 24, 1878.

few incidents". Bishop Power went on to comment on the election campaigns of 1873 and 1874, in which he claimed the Roman Catholics were vilified.¹ "The Irish and their descendants have had reasons to dread the ascendancy of the Orange Party. Hence Your Excellency will make allowance for their views. For two hundred years and upwards, this contest has been carried on, and it seems unwise and unchristian to introduce this element of discord into the new land".²

The Executive Council ordered that further information should be sought on the Kelligrews affray.³ The result was Premier Carter's lengthy report, referred to above, describing the incident and giving his own comments on the election campaigns of 1873 and 1874. Carter's introductory remarks in the report throw some light on the apparent lack of documentary evidence concerning sectarian discord in the colony. He wrote, "As none of the parties injured had lodged a complaint and the commotion had arisen from denominational sentiment, I thought it expedient to let the matter pass over (as it probably would have passed and been forgotten if His Lordship had not been pleased to address Your Excellency as he has done upon the information he has acquired)".⁴ The implication is that a lack of sectarian disorders cannot be assumed simply because there is no reference to them in the available records of the period. Other governments may have found it 'expedient' to ignore them as Carter had done.

In his report, Carter intimated that he had no personal connection with the Orange Order, but the tone of his letter

1. NA: S 4/6. Bishop Power to Governor, Feb. 16, 1878.
2. NA: S 4/6. Same to Same, Jan. 24, 1878.
3. NA: S 4/6. Executive Council Minutes. Jan. 24, 1878.
4. NA: S 4/6. Premier Carter to Governor Glover,

Feb. 4, 1878.

implied a certain sympathy. "His Lordship [Bishop Power] is in error," Carter wrote, "in assuming it was the province of the government officially to prohibit this procession with a view to preventing a breach of the peace, and no such authority resides in the government or any official, such a procession not being contrary to law"¹. Carter reiterated the Governor's belief that there was nothing of a political character about the Kelligrews Orange meeting. "How could such be the case?" he asked, "when it is considered that the meeting took place in a district where there is an overwhelming body of Roman Catholics returning two Roman Catholic members, unopposed by Protestant members, and the same may be said of Portugal Cove, part of the district of St. John's East, returning three Roman Catholic members"².

Bishop Power commended the Premier on his report, but remarked that Carter made no reference whatever to the activity of the "St. John's man who was in a great measure responsible for the fracas ... It was he who encouraged the Portugal Cove men to carry out the original programme, which was laid aside at the instance of some influential persons ... Moreover, it was his language to the Catholics at Kelligrews that provoked the bad feeling which subsequently was manifested at Topsail"³.

Governor Glover appeared to share Carter's sympathy with the Orangemen on this occasion. In his report to the Colonial Office, he wrote, "I may observe this religious animosity between

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. NA: S 4/6. Bishop Power to Governor Glover, Feb. 16,

Protestants and Roman Catholics had been reduced to smouldering embers until the manifesto published against the Orangemen by the late Premier ... (and it still causes unpleasantness) as was instanced by the riots in St. John's which took place in March, 1875, in which serious injuries were inflicted, and also by the late disturbances which form the subject of the present correspondence.¹"

G. The St. John's Skirmish.

The 1875 riots to which the Governor referred occurred when a quarrel broke out on a sealing vessel of which Charles Daw of Bay Roberts was captain. The quarrel became a free-for-all between St. John's men and outport fishermen. Several participants were injured badly, and the disturbance was quelled finally by mounted police, clergymen and citizens.² The Morning Chronicle attributed the quarrel to the Orangemen on one side and the Roman Catholics on the other. The Public Ledger denied this, claiming, "The cry of Orangemen was raised by some rowdies".³ Governor Glover seemed of the opinion that Orangeism had been connected with the 1875 riot. He observed, however, that the 1878 fracas at Kelligrews had arisen among the people of Conception Bay, and was unknown to the leaders of the Orange Order in St. John's, except "for the person designated by the Bishop as a St. John's man". The Governor reported that this man was married to a Portugal Cove woman. He also observed to the Colonial Secretary "That the priest at Topsail, after admonishing his flock to peace

1. NA: G 12/2. Governor Glover to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Feb. 25, 1878.

2. Public Ledger, St. John's, Mar. 11, 1875.

3. Ibid. Mar. 13, 1875.

and charity, came into St. John's for advice, and remained there, and consequently was not present to restrain the numbers that had been prepared to act against the Orange meeting¹".

H. Anti-Confederates Flirt with Republicanism.

Governor Glover's problems in the spring of 1878 were not confined to Orangemen. In St. John's, a faction of the Anti-Confederate party began to entertain the idea of a union with the United States in preference to confederation with Canada.² Among those who were giving this new proposal a sympathetic ear was the new Premier, William V. Whiteway, who had assumed the leadership of Carter's party upon Carter's appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court in 1878. The Governor believed that Mr. Whiteway had changed his opinion in this respect as a result of several trips to the outports in company with the Governor, during which the loyalty of the people to the representative of the Crown had been indicated by enthusiastic receptions.³ The Governor described Whiteway as "an able and energetic man dis-satisfied with the condition of Newfoundland". Glover went on to say, "He had been one of those who had endeavoured to bring about Confederation with Canada, but failing in this, and seeing no field upon which to display the talents he felt he possessed, beyond the limited arena of local politics - the struggles of which were limited to the attainment of the small spoils of party victories - he had allowed himself to become the exponent of unbecoming sentiments".⁴

1. NA: G 12/2. Governor Glover to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Feb. 25, 1878.
2. Ibid. Same to Same, May 2, 1878.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Believing that Whiteway had cast off such views, Governor Glover concluded his report to the Colonial Secretary with the suggestion that "some further mark of appreciation of H.M. Government be conferred on Mr. Whiteway". Within a few weeks, however, Governor Glover had cause to regret his suggestion. On May 30th, 1878, he hurriedly wrote the Colonial Secretary that should any further recognition of Premier Whiteway be contemplated, such recognition should be conferred apart from any reasons he had put forward in his previous despatches. He explained, "... since becoming Premier Mr. Whiteway's feeling of disloyalty to the Crown and his desire for disconnection with the mother country has become intensified, and so outspoken is he that I consider him a most dangerous person"¹. The Governor continued, "Under Mr. Whiteway's leadership, an amalgamation of parties is contemplated, that is, the Anti-Confederate party of 1864 with the present party of Confederates of that date, but the party opposed confederating with the Dominion because their feeling was to dissever themselves from the British connection, and not enter into a new bond of British union"².

If this was Whiteway's attitude in 1878, he certainly did not maintain it. To adhere to such a view would have cut him off entirely from the Orange wing of Carter's party. It may have been a temporary 'malaise' which the Governor took too seriously. The estimate of Whiteway as something of an opportunist may not have been entirely without foundation. A week after he assumed the leadership of the government, the Executive Council despatched with promptness the outstanding matter of the payment of a balance of Whiteway's claim for professional legal services as counsel for the colony before the Fisheries Commission at

1. Ibid. Same to same, May 30, 1878.

2. Ibid.

¹
Halifax. The amount paid was £1,500. Orangeman A.B. Morine, who was a supporter of Whiteway at that time, described him as a "Tory or Merchant's man at the outset, but became head of a coalition to support railway building, and eventually became leader of a liberal party organized in 1889"². Whiteway's claim to distinction was upheld by the Crown, despite Glover's⁵ disapproval. He was knighted on July 3rd, 1880.

The coalition which Governor Glover feared did not materialize until the 1882 election. Whiteway fought the general election of 1878 as head of Carter's old Conservative party and the new group of 1873. The Orange Order was represented in the new government by James S. Winter, who was returned to the House of Assembly for the third time, and was now Grand Master of the Order. Three other Orangemen were returned at the House of Assembly in the 1878 elections. The Past Grand Master, A.J.W. McNeily, represented Twillingate, J.H. Watson was elected for Trinity, and a new Orange member, A. Penney, was member for Bay de Verde.

Believing themselves secure in the Protestant ascendancy over the government, the Orangemen of the capital devoted most of their attention from 1876 to 1884, not to political matters, but to the more practical task of raising funds to build an Orange hall which would do them credit in St. John's. The project was begun in 1876 when a building fund committee was set up. The new Orange hall was ready for occupancy by May 1st, 1884⁴. It was officially opened on Victoria Day, May 24th, 1884, and given the name of Victoria Hall in honour of the reigning monarch.

1. NA: S 4/6. Executive Council Minutes, April, 1878. p.176.
2. Morine, op. cit. Ch. 7b. p. 28.
3. NA: S 4/6. Executive Council Minutes, July 3, 1880.
4. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minute Book, April 1, 1884.

The growing demand amongst the rank and file of Orangemen to free the Order from political affairs and to concentrate on the fraternal and welfare aspects of the Order might have prevailed had it not been for the unfortunate occurrence at Harbour Grace on St. Stephen's day of 1883. The Orange Order had shown it could flourish in the outports and maintain its own in the city without the disturbing element of politics tinged with sectarianism. However, the events at Harbour Grace in 1883 would not afford the Order its desire to develop along fraternal and charitable lines. As in 1873 and 1874, when electioneering campaigns, aided by a vituperative press, raised the cry that Protestantism was in danger, so again in 1884, the repercussions of the Harbour Grace affair shook the political life of the colony to such an extent that old parties were broken up, and the carefully nourished "principle of amalgamation" was thrown aside in favour of political parties divided once more along religious lines.

CHAPTER V.

The Harbour Grace Affray

A. Rumours of Impending Disturbances.

On St. Stephen's Day of 1883 a collision occurred at Harbour Grace between Orangemen and Roman Catholics. The clash shook the political life of the colony to such a degree that the government party of Sir William V. Whiteway was split and tumbled, and the new parties were scarcely able to command enough votes to form a government. Not only were the political parties torn asunder, but the aftermath of the collision caused such serious divisions within the leadership and ranks of the Orange Order that a determined effort was made to sever the Order from politics.

The Harbour Grace Orangemen, unlike their St. John's brethren, had been in the habit of parading each year during the Christmas holidays. They marched in full Orange regalia, complete with banners, flags and music. In 1882, a disturbance had occurred following the Orange parade in Harbour Grace, and as the day of the 1883 parade approached, there had been much talk about the Orange 'turnout'. Rumours were in circulation to the effect that "the next appearance of the Orangemen as a distinctive society in public would be the occasion of a severe scrimmage".

The Chief Constable of Harbour Grace was warned that the men from Riverhead were not going to let the Orange procession pass, but he had believed "nothing would come of it, as he had heard similar threats before in reference to the British Society".

1. Evening Telegram, St. John's, Dec. 29, 1883.

2. Ibid.

3. Testimony of Head Constable Doyle at preliminary hearing. Harbour Grace Standard, Jan. 12, 1884.

Sergeant George Winslow of the Constabulary, who accompanied the Orange procession, expected a collision but did not suspect that the parties had guns.¹

On the day appointed for the parade, the Orangemen attended service at the Methodist church in Harbour Grace. Afterwards, some 300 to 500 Orangemen² marched to Shipshead and thence to Pipetrack Lane where they were confronted by a large body of men from Riverhead. These men had assembled at Riverhead with a faded green flag as their banner, pickets as their weapons, and with some ammunition and guns. They then marched to Pipetrack Lane under their leader, Michael Coady, who declared "he had come there to die or turn the Society down the Lane"³.

Leading the Orangemen was Hugh W. Hawkins, their Marshal, who carried an imitation ceremonial sword. A third group composed of Orange sympathizers, some possessing arms, converged on Pipetrack Lane. As the three groups neared one another, Head Constable John Doyle called upon the Orangemen to halt. He began to advise both parties to act with prudence. While the Chief Constable was thus remonstrating, some one in the crowd struck him on the head with a picket and injured him to such an extent he had to be assisted to the rear. Scarcely had the Chief Constable been removed than a volley was fired, killing a young Orangeman, William Janes of Carbonear, and two Harbour Grace men, one a Roman Catholic named Patrick Callahan, who was

1. Testimony of Sergeant G. Winslow, Ibid.
2. Mr. Justice R. Pinsent's address to the jury at trial of Harbour Grace prisoners, Evening Telegram, St. John's, May. 7, 1888
3. Ibid.

among the Riverhead crowd, and the other an Orangeman named William French.¹

Orange Marshal Hugh Hawkins saw the guns pointed at him and stooped quickly, advising his partner to do the same, but the partner failed to hear the warning and he fell during the volley.² The firing lasted about three minutes. The toll was three ~~X~~ immediate fatalities, two men mortally wounded, and some fifteen to eighteen others wounded. In the disturbance that followed, two or three constables were beaten severely.³

Those were the facts of the Harbour Grace affray to which both sides agreed.⁴ In the troubled times that followed, neither judge, prosecutor nor jury could get beyond these facts. The essential details as to who fired the guns could not be ascertained. Witnesses for the Crown, all of whom were Orangemen or Orange sympathizers, claimed the firing was done by the Riverhead men. Witnesses for the nineteen Roman Catholics accused of the murder of the five men consistently maintained in court that the Riverhead men carried no guns, that all the shooting done on St. Stephen's Day was done by the Orangemen, but the Orangemen, being such poor shots, managed to slay four of their own party and only one Roman Catholic.⁵ Of the fifteen to eighteen others who were wounded, there is no evidence as to which party they belonged.

1. The Evening Telegram, St. John's, Dec. 29, 1884.
2. Testimony of Hugh Hawkins at the preliminary trial, Harbour Grace. Harbour Grace Standard, Jan. 12, 1884.
3. Mr. Justice R. Pinsent's address to jury. Evening Telegram, St. John's, May 7, 1884.
4. Ibid.
5. The complete testimony during the trials of the Harbour Grace prisoners accused of the shootings on Dec. 26, 1883, is carried in the Evening Mercury, St. John's, May to June, 1884, and November, 1884, to January, 1885.

Orange Marshal Hugh Hawkins's claim that the Orange processionists carried no guns was corroborated by Chief Constable¹ John Doyle and by Sergeant George Winslow of the Constabulary. However, the Chief Constable noticed guns amongst the Orange sympathizers who had come to Pipetrack Lane while the procession was halted. In any event, Orange sympathizers carried powder guns with which they fired "feu de joie" while the Orange parade was passing, as was the custom.² Sergeant Winslow testified he saw seven guns in all, five amongst the Riverhead party and two from the Orange side.

Immediately after the collision, Harbour Grace magistrate Thomas R. Bennett telegraphed the news to the Administrator of the Government, F.B.T. Carter, warning that "very disturbed feelings prevail".³ An emergency meeting of the Executive Council was called the following day in St. John's to consider the affray at Harbour Grace. Premier W. V. Whiteway informed the Council he had sent Inspector Carty of the St. John's Constabulary along with twenty-five police constables to Harbour Grace to assist in preserving order there.⁴ A preliminary hearing was ordered to be conducted by Magistrate T.B. Bennett, Inspector Carty, and James S. Winter, Grand Master of the Orange Order, in his capacity as Solicitor General.

In his report to the Colonial Office in England, Carter stated, "So far as I can learn a procession of Orangemen of [Harbour Grace] and neighbourhood was going on in a peaceable manner, unarmed, when the members were fired on by some Roman Catholics ... There was a Roman Catholic shot dead, but I am not

1. Testimony of Chief Constable J. Doyle and Sergeant G. Winslow at preliminary trial. Harbour Grace Standard, Jan. 12, 1884.
2. Testimony of Hugh Hawkins at preliminary trial. Ibid.
3. NA: S 4/7. Executive Council Minutes, Dec. 27, 1883.
4. Ibid.

sufficiently informed to state whether he was shot by one of the Orange Society or by one of his own party in mistake¹".

B. Whiteway's Administration Attacked.

The St. John's general public were kept abreast of the affair by the Evening Telegram, the mouthpiece of the opposition party headed by Allan Goodridge, and by the pro-Orange and pro-Whiteway newspaper, the Evening Mercury, edited by A. B. Morine. The Evening Telegram immediately attempted to fasten the blame for the fatal collision on the Whiteway government, and thus to take political advantage of the disaster². Its editors, Parsons, and the proprietor, William Herder, had been supporters of C. F. Bennett's anti-Confederate party, and they never forgave Carter and Whiteway for combining with the Orangemen in 1874 to defeat the Bennett government³. On January 3rd, 1884, the editor of the Telegram, snarled, "It could hardly be expected that Sir William Whiteway, the founder of Orangeism in Newfoundland, and Sir Ambrose Shea, the Premier's coadjutor, who was glad enough to throw himself into the arms of the Orangemen of Conception Bay in 1874, and who, to our certain knowledge, presented himself before them in the British Hall at Harbour Grace, and offered himself as 'their man, inside the Assembly and out' - we say, it could hardly be expected that Sir William Whiteway and Sir Ambrose Shea could now turn their backs upon the men to whom they are so much indebted .. and ungenerously refuse to recognize

1. NA: G 11/9. F.B.T.Carter to Earl of Derby, Jan.1, 1884.
2. Evening Telegram, St. John's, May 29, 1884. See also issue July 8, 1884.
3. Ibid.

the services they rendered in the defeat of the 'wicked and
 perverse Bennett administration'¹."

Again two days later, the Telegram ridiculed an article by Morine in the Evening Mercury. "He [Morine of the Mercury] asserts that Protestants need an Orange organization to uphold them, an assertion as false as it is insolent ... Who, I ask called the Society in question into operation in Newfoundland? Was it the ministers of the different Protestant Churches here, to uphold their religious opinions against those of their fellow-men of another creed. You know, Mr. Mercury, it was not ... Was it not done by your masters, Sir William Whiteway and Sir Ambrose Shea, and their political partizans for the express purpose of enabling them to control the elections of 1874, and defeat the Bennett administration?"²

As a demonstration of support to the Harbour Grace Orangemen, their brethren from Spaniard's Bay, Bay Roberts, Brigus, and Caplin Cove, held parades shortly after the Harbour Grace collision. These all passed off quietly except at Caplin Cove where another shooting occurred. Unlike the Harbour Grace affair, this shooting was one of pure enthusiasm for the Orange parade. William Webster was engaged in firing a "feu de joie" as the Orangemen passed his neighbourhood. While he was in the act of reloading, the charge exploded, killing him.³

At Harbour Grace, tension and rumours mounted. The pro-Orange Harbour Grace Standard noted on January 5th, 1884, that

1. Evening Telegram, St. John's, Dec. 29, 1883.
2. Ibid. Jan. 5, 1884.
3. Ibid. Jan. 8, 1884.

"some mischief-monger was spreading false impressions respecting the character of the sermon preached to the Orangemen of Harbour Grace on St. Stephen's Day at the Methodist Church". To disprove the false impression, the Standard published the full text of the minister's sermon which contained nothing that could be considered offensive.

Three days later, Head Constable John Doyle of Harbour Grace was arrested on charges of having shot Patrick Callahan, the one member of the Roman Catholic party who had been fatally shot during the affray.² The arrest of Head Constable Doyle, along with twenty-seven members of the Catholic party and six of the Orangemen, led the Administrator of Government, F.B.T. Carter, to inform the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Head Constable "was arrested for having fired from a revolver and killed one man from the Catholic party, whilst others have testified and he has asserted that he had no firearms".³ The accusation against the Chief Constable was believed by Orangemen to have been a conspiracy on the part of the witnesses for the Roman Catholic men accused of the shootings.⁴ At any rate, the accusation was not sustained and Doyle was reinstated in his⁵ job.

C. Conception Bay Disorders Continue.

The turmoil in the various Conception Bay outports seethed as reports of more arrests were made. In the various

1. Harbour Grace Standard, Harbour Grace, Jan. 5, 1884.
2. Evening Telegram, St. John's, Jan. 8, 1884.
3. NA: G 12/4. Carter to Earl of Derby, Jan. 14, 1884.
4. Resolution of a meeting of Protestants at Harbour Grace. See The Times, St. John's, Jan. 31, 1885.
5. The Times, St. John's, May 30, 1885.

Protestant churches, ministers alluded to the affair as "the most lamentable in the history of the colony"¹. At Blackhead in Conception Bay, the Orangemen paraded to the Methodist Church and shortly afterwards the magistrate was bombarded with complaints that "the Protestants were making raids on their Catholic neighbours and wrecking their property". The police were sent to investigate and according to an Orange sympathizer, the damage "amounted to no more than three or four shillings and was done by boys dressed up as on former occasions during Christmas time"².

The ripping off of palings from the Roman Catholic Chapel as well as the breaking of window frames and glass of the Roman Catholic school at Spaniard's Bay "when the darkness of night sheltered the perpetrators" was reported to the government by schoolmaster John Keats who asked for compensation.³ Separating the real wrongs from the fancied or faked wrongs was the daily business of the magistrates. For instance, Magistrate T.R. Bennett of Harbour Grace was confronted with a report that a Protestant named Kennedy of Bear's Cove had been shot at near the Irish Society Hall. Upon investigation, Bennett came to the conclusion that the complaintant, a young man of rowdy character, had fabricated the story and had made a bullet hole through the lapel of his coat to make the story more convincing.⁴

At Harbour Grace itself, business was at a standstill until after the funeral of the victims of the affray. Constable Israel McNeil described the state of the outport in graphic

1. Evening Telegram, St. John's, Dec. 31, 1883.
2. Ibid. Jan. 19, 1884.
3. NA: S 2/117. John Keats to Hon. E.D. Shea, Colonial Secretary, Jan. 11, 1884.
4. Ibid. Magistrate T.R. Bennett to same, Jan. 21, 1884.

terms. "Our main streets were constantly filled with large groups of excited men, many of them strangers from the shore and Heart's Content, all sorts of wild rumours having spread to those places. It was a time of great anxiety to myself and many others as there was danger of some hundreds of men going armed to Harbour Grace ... The constant and best efforts of clergymen and others were used to allay and subdue angry feelings¹".

Carter informed the Colonial Office in London, "Although no rupture is very imminent, yet there can be no doubt that there is a bitter feeling existing between the Orange party, organized in the principal settlements of the Colony, and some of the Roman Catholics". He went on to express the disappointment of the Executive Council at the Admiralty's decision not to "afford us the protective presence of a man of war, especially as the troops have been withdrawn from us". Carter described the dilemma of the government. "The Executive feel that in the event of a rupture, sufficient protection could not be afforded by our limited police force against numbers on both sides accustomed to the use of firearms ... Whatever temporary addition is made to the police force, it will scarcely be possible to make a selection in which there will not be more or less sympathy with one side or the other"².

All during the troubled summer and autumn of 1884, the government was peppered with requests for police, as the disturbed Conception Bay outports found it impossible to recruit men who could be depended upon to act impartially.

The St. John's Orangemen were keeping abreast of the developments at Harbour Grace. The Past Provincial Grand Master, A.J.W. McNeily, and Orangeman J.D. Martin gave lengthy reports

1. Ibid. Constable Israel McNeil to same, Jan. 22, 1884.
2. NA: G 12/4. Carter to Earl of Derby, Jan. 14, 1884.

of the affray to members of Royal Oak Lodge on January 2nd, 1884.¹
 A few days later, the lodge met to draw up letters of condolence
 to the Harbour Grace and Carbonear Orangemen,² and to hear a
 report from the Provincial Grand Secretary, lawyer Donald Morrison,
 who had been cruising along the north-eastern coast in the interests
 of the Orange Order.³

D. The Period of Militant Orangeism.

This was a period of militant Orangeism, not only in
 Newfoundland, but also on the mainland. Orange leaders from England
 and Scotland were touring the country in the interests of the Order
 and the St. John's Orangemen were included on their itinerary.
 In the spring of 1884, Royal Oak Lodge heard addresses from a
 Brother McDougal of Purple Heroes Lodge, Glasgow,⁴ and from
 Brother Clark of Derry Lodge, Liverpool.⁵ The visit of the Grand
 Secretary of the Newfoundland Order to outports along the north-
 east during the winter of 1883-1884 no doubt was part of the
 expansion programme of the Order. Along with providing the out-
 port Orangemen with information on the objects of Orangeism and
 stressing its Protestantism, the Grand Secretary, Donald Morison,
 also acquainted the outport brethren with the Grand Lodge's
 advocacy of temperance. This in itself was a good thing, but
 unfortunately it became tangled with the antagonism between
 the different religious groups. Roman Catholics were labelled
 "Rum's Agents", and the more virulent of the Protestant press
 attempted to prove that "in proportion to Roman Catholic ascendancy
 was the opposition to the Permissive Act".⁶ The Act provided

1. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minute Book, Jan. 2, 1884.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. Jan. 23, 1884.
5. Ibid. April 16, 1884.
6. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Feb. 6, 1885.

that the electors of any community, by a majority vote of two-thirds of their numbers, could prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors within the limits of their locality. The behaviour of Orangemen towards those who voted against the Act was described by a writer in the Times who complained, "... there is little to indicate that the welfare of the [Orange] Society is endangered, yet much could be said to show that any person crossing the views or endeavouring to thwart the injudicious acts of such a Society, subjects himself to great annoyance". The writer went on to explain, "We have had this society fathering the local option agitation, and the consequences have been that gentlemen who voted against the measure because it was unnecessarily coercive, have now to encounter 'corner-boy' demonstrations ... To vary the methods of annoyance, these cowardly champions of temperance, at night, sometimes form a line numbering seven or eight and take possession of the thoroughfare; all obnoxious to them have to run the gauntlet". The exasperated writer concluded, "If this rowdyism is to be the outcome of 'Orangeism', it is evident that the arm of the law will have to be strengthened by men who are not so loud in their professions of loyalty to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen".

The attempt to fasten the odium of liquor traffic and drunkenness on the Roman Catholics was unwarranted. Father Kryan Walsh of Harbour Grace, who had played a prominent role in the election disturbances there in 1861², was the founder of the first Temperance Society in Newfoundland³, and there were many Temperance lodges organized by Roman Catholics including the

1. Letter to Editor signed True Blue. The Times, St. John's, Jan. 14, 1885.

2. See abovep. 25.

3. The Patriot, St. John's, Sept. 12, 1868.

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St. John's Total Abstinence and Benefit Society. Unfortunately, the Temperance movement tended to divide along religious lines, instead of all groups joining together to work for the cause they had in common, and thus, temperance, too, became a source of friction.

E. The Influence of the Redemptorist Priests.

Although the Roman Catholics may not have deserved the abuse cast upon them regarding their temperance or lack thereof, there seems to be some evidence to support the Orangemen's contention that the visits of the Redemptorist mission priests from the United States between 1882 and 1885 was the source of renewed hostility between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the Conception Bay area.

Rumours were circulated concerning the preaching of the Redemptorists, which, whether true or not, were credited by many Protestants of Conception Bay, especially as the rumours were given the semblance of fact by being sworn to before Justices of the Peace. Five residents of Bay Roberts swore they attended a service in the Roman Catholic Chapel in the autumn of 1883 where they heard the priests say "... the Protestant religion was established by Queen Elizabeth who was an illegitimate child - that is a bastard". The Bay Roberts men commented that "this caused much anger and excitement among the Protestants of Bay Roberts". Another deposition sworn before a magistrate by five other Bay Roberts men stated that they had also attended a service in the Roman Catholic Chapel where they heard the Redemptorist priests preach to the effect, "...put a collar on a

1. NA: S 2/114. Petition of James Burke, June 17, 1882.

2. Sworn statement of five residents of Bay Roberts. See Evening Mercury, Jan. 26, 1885.

3. Ibid.

monkey's neck and he would make a first class Wesleyan preacher." The five men further stated that the priests asked, "What can you think of the Church of England when it sprang from a bastard? Luther himself was a bastard and when he reformed the true Roman Church, was himself the father of illegitimate children. From Elizabeth down, we may call the Protestants a set of whores and bastards".

These were fighting words indeed and the Conception Bay Orangemen were fighting men. The fact that rumours of this sort were repeated in the area against the Redemptorist priests could not but arouse the more militant Protestants to what they considered a 'defense of their principles'. This, together with the visit of the Grand Lodge Secretary, Donald Morison, who was urging the outport Protestants to greater unity and strength through the Orange Order, was sufficient to create an explosive atmosphere where an open demonstration by one faction or the other might easily result in serious disturbances.

Such a disturbance was, of course, the Harbour Grace affray in which five lives were lost and some eighteen wounded. The charge that the Harbour Grace affray "was the outcome of their [the Redemptorists] labour", which was made several times in the Evening Mercury, cannot be taken any more seriously than the charge that the affray was "caused by Premier Whiteway and his political adherents".

Still, the St. John's opposition press continued to accuse Premier Whiteway with the responsibility for the affray.

1. Sworn statement by five residents of Bay Roberts. See Evening Mercury, Jan. 26, 1885.

2. Ibid. Jan. 26, 1885, and Mar. 11, 1885.

In addition, they hinted that Whiteway's real ambition was to become governor of the colony and subsequently effect confederation with Canada.¹ When the Telegram charged Whiteway with "sowing seeds of dissension among a happy, prosperous and contented people", the Roman Catholic newspaper, the Newfoundlander, cautioned the public "against the danger of being too ready to accept as reliable the unfounded rumours so industriously circulated respecting the Harbour Grace affray"². This rebuke from the Roman Catholic press provoked the Telegram editor to lash out at the Newfoundlander editor, E. D. Shea, who was also Colonial Secretary. "The people of Newfoundland are compelled to pay him [E.D. Shea] £1,200 in all simply because he happens to be the brother of Sir Ambrose Shea and is willing to be utilized at all times as a literary scavenger"³.

Not content with abusing the Whiteway government and the Roman Catholic press, the Telegram hit out at the pro-Orange Evening Mercury as well. "It is an outrageous proceeding," snarled the Telegram editor, "on the part of a few individuals connected with the Government to subsidize the disreputable Mercury from the public treasury and place it under the control of a pack of imported adventurers"⁴. The Telegram was, of course, referring to Alfred B. Morine, the young Nova Scotian who had appeared on the Newfoundland political field as an able ally of Whiteway, and whose editorials in the Mercury during the hectic year of 1884 were to receive the plaudits of the Orangemen.⁵ So outspoken was Morine's attitude on the Harbour Grace affray that the

1. Evening Telegram, St. John's, Jan. 28, 1884.
2. Ibid. Jan. 11, 1884.
3. Ibid. Jan. 15, 1884.
4. Ibid. Jan. 8, 1884.
5. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minute Book July 9, 1884.

the editor of the Newfoundlander reprimanded him, stating, "we would be lacking in our public duty, did we not record our unqualified protest against that portion of the editorial of the Mercury which ... most prematurely and indiscreetly seeks to fasten upon the Roman Catholics a criminal responsibility as yet unsustained by necessary data or evidence"¹.

The bickering of the St. John's press about the Harbour Grace incident was the least of the government's problems at the moment. The disturbed state of the Conception Bay outports was a much more pressing one. Petitions for compensation for damage received during the disturbances poured into the government.² Letters from the Chief Police Constable and magistrates showed too plainly that feelings of hostility still prevailed. The Protestant clergymen of Harbour Grace asked for a military or naval force as a guarantee of order³ while the Roman Catholics of Riverhead petitioned for a way office where they could collect their mail as "in the present disturbed state of the district, the inconvenience of travelling the three miles to Harbour Grace to get the mail amounts to actual danger"⁴.

The Orange Societies were not to be outdone. A petition signed by 594 inhabitants of Brigus, a small outport in Conception Bay, asked that the trials of the men involved in the Harbour Grace shooting be held at Harbour Grace rather than in St. John's.⁵ Similar petitions from the Orange lodges of Trinity, Heart's

1. The Newfoundlander, St. John's, Jan. 4, 1884.
2. NA: S 2/117. John Cleary to Colonial Secretary, Jan. 11, 1884; See also Israel McNeil to same, May 20, 1884.
3. NA: S 4/7. Petition of Protestant Clergymen, Harbour Grace, Jan. 29, 1884.
4. NA: S 2/117. Petition of Inhabitants of Rivershead to Government, Mar. 6, 1884.
5. NA: S 2/117. Petition of Donald Morison, Provincial Grand Secretary, Loyal Orange Association, to Colonial Secretary, Mar. 13, 1884.

Delight, and Heart's Content, were placed before the Executive Council by March 31st, 1884.¹

F. Orange Newspaper Proposed.

Meanwhile, the St. John's Orangemen had responded to the general excitement by calling an emergency meeting on February 13th, 1884, to consider the advisability of starting an Orange newspaper. A sum of £10 was voted by Royal Oak Lodge to publish a newspaper that "would be the organ of the Orange Society in the island".² The cost of the project was to be deferred by a tax of twenty-five cents on each member. The motion was unanimously carried, but later, some opposition to the newspaper developed within the lodge. At first, the project was postponed, and finally on April 9th, 1884, Frederick W. Bowden, editor of the Public Ledger, moved that the minutes of the emergency meeting held on February 13th concerning the money voted to start an Orange newspaper be expunged. The motion was carried and the project of an Orange newspaper dropped.³

At Harbour Grace, tension mounted as the time of the trials of the men charged in connection with the shooting approached. Carter commented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on April 26th, 1884, "...from the result of the trials a great deal will depend as regards the future peace of the Colony especially in the Conception Bay District".⁴ His words had a prophetic ring. To cope with the situation, the magistrates of Harbour Grace met together and considered the proposal of arming a volunteer

1. NA: S 4/7. Executive Council Minutes, May 15, 1884.
2. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minute Book, Feb. 13, 1884.
3. Ibid. April 9, 1884.
4. NA: G 11/9. Carter to Earl of Derby, April 26, 1884.

protective force with rifles. Thomas R. Bennett, one of the magistrates, wrote to the Colonial Secretary, "...in the present state of public feeling, I thought such a movement most injudicious ... There were no men trained nor sufficiently calm and unbiased to be entrusted with deadly weapons"¹. Instead, the magistrates decided to petition the government for thirty additional policemen.

The shadow cast by the notoriety in which the Orange Order found itself in the spring of 1884 somewhat dimmed the celebrations in connection with the opening of the new Orange hall in St. John's on April 30th, 1884. A week later, the trials of the nineteen Riverhead men charged with murder in connection with the Harbour Grace affair began in St. John's. A vessel of war, H.M.S. Tenedos, was anchored in the harbour as a security against trouble.

G. The Trials Begin.

The Crown was represented at the trials by the Premier, Sir William Whiteway, in his role as Attorney General, and by James S. Winter, Solicitor General, who was also Grand Master of the Orange Order in the colony. Among the five defense lawyers was John Kent, the former Roman Catholic Premier, who had been associated with Carter and Shea in the 1869 pro-Confederate party. Presiding over the trials were the three Justices of the Supreme Court, Sir F.B.T. Carter, Robert Pinsent, and Philip Little. Only the latter was Roman Catholic.

The Grand Jury was composed of both Protestants and Roman Catholics. It included John Warren, G. Bowering, J. Feehan, R. Templeton, William Halley, H. Goodridge, J. MacDougall, William Pumphrey, J. West, J. Calver, A. MacDonald, E.M. Archibald,

1. NA: S 2/117. T.R. Bennett to Colonial Secretary, Mar. 18, 1884.

T. Spry,¹ J. Lash, J. Baggan, T. Fitzgerald, J. Lindberg, and W. Campbell. The Petit Jury which heard the case was composed entirely of Roman Catholics.²

The trials dragged on for forty-seven days. Testimony submitted by the Crown was categorically contradicted by the defense witnesses and vice versa. At times, the proceedings verged on the farcical. When Crown witness, William Anthony, an Orangeman, was giving his testimony, he recalled how he saw Thomas Duggan amongst the Riverhead crowd on the day of the affray. The recollection so excited him that he walked over to Duggan who was seated among the prisoners in the courtroom, and gave him a smart slap on the side of the head. The witness was recalled to a sense of courtroom propriety. He continued his testimony to the effect, "I saw Patrick Walsh there. He had a gun in his hand." The Attorney-General told him to "...go down and point him out ... quietly"³.

Typical of the evidence the jury had to evaluate was the testimony of Edward Pippy, aged twenty-seven, of Riverhead. He claimed that some of the accused men came to the corner of his fence and tore off the pickets. When the witness's father remonstrated with the accused men, one of them retorted, "Hold your tongue, or I'll beat your brains out", Another said he would "turn back the Orange Society or murder". The witness, upon cross-examination, admitted he had joined the Orange Society⁴ after his original examination had been taken by the Crown. This admission, of course, was sufficient to cast doubt on the witness's integrity.

1. Evening Telegram, St. John's, May 7, 1884.
2. Evening Mercury, Jan. 27, 1885.
3. Evening Telegram, St. John's May 21, 1884.
4. Ibid. May 13, 1884.

On the defense side, the court was addled by 'Irish bulls'. Thomas Walsh of Riverhead, when asked why he had participated in the affray, explained, "I would not have stood on the road to prevent the Orangemen passing if they had come along quietly. They tore down the fence and threw stones at us, and we returned the compliment. It was the procession that rose the row, and but for that, we would have let them pass".

Premier Whiteway in his role as Attorney General cross-examined the defense witness, Patrick Russell. During the course of the examination, Whiteway asked, "What do you mean by sympathizers?" to which the witness replied, "The Orangemen, the Protestants". Whiteway pressed point, "Which do you mean? For I am a Protestant, and not an Orangeman, nor a sympathizer of Orangeman".

Whiteway's disavowal of Orangeism in court provoked comment in the Evening Telegram. "We notice that Mr. Attorney General Whiteway's own paper - the Evening Mercury - is making a special effort to extricate that gentleman and his associates in moral criminality from the unenviable position into which their unwholesome political conduct has at length landed them ... Our report of the statement made by Mr. Whiteway in Supreme Court to the effect that 'he was not an Orangeman nor a sympathizer of Orangemen' is perfectly correct".

The Evening Mercury claimed that Mr. Whiteway had not made such a statement in court. If the remark published in the Evening Telegram was a deliberate lie, the only explanation for it would be that the Telegram was attempting to discredit

1. Ibid. May 29, 1884.
2. Ibid. June 3, 1884.
3. Evening Mercury, St. John's, May 29, 1884.

Whiteway in the eyes of the Orangemen by circulating a lie to the effect that Whiteway had placed himself on record as "not being sympathetic to Orangeism".

~~Certainly~~ Certainly, the type of editorial resorted to by the Telegram would lead to the belief that fabrication was one of the measures frequently used in the press war. On June 6th, 1884, the Telegram, in flamboyant manner, announced, "The evidence we have already collected against that unprincipled quartette [Whiteway, Winter, and the Shea brothers] would be regarded in any other Christian country as sufficient to send them to penitentiary with hard labor ... We have at our disposal some intensely interesting notes of a speech delivered by Sir Ambrose to the Orangemen of Harbour Grace in 1873 ... Before we get through we shall make known to the world the infamous political character of the said intriguers, and prove them indirectly guilty of the bloodshed, bereavement and destitution resulting from the Harbour Grace affray ¹".

The Telegram continued its vague insinuations against Whiteway, but never produced the evidence it claimed it had against the Premier and his administration. Instead, the editor hammered out daily personal attacks. "We are not surprised to learn that Sir William Whiteway's guilty conscience has worn him to the bones, that Sir Ambrose Shea is haunted nightly by the ghosts of the victims of December 26th last, and that the Hon. James S. Winter is afraid of his very shadow ... so much so that he has scarcely opened his mouth since the beginning of the present case". The Telegram went on, "Having sown to the wind in 1873, they are now reaping the whirlwind... We know how industriously they plotted, schemed, misrepresented private and

1. The Evening Telegram, St. John's, June 6, 1884.

public characters, and scattered the seeds of religious discord for the purpose of enabling themselves to climb into public ¹ over the ruins of the Bennett Government - the best we ever had".

This was sheer bombast on the part of the Telegram editor. Even the most gullible of the Newfoundland population could hardly be expected to believe that the Roman Catholic Shea brothers would deliberately encourage religious discord among the Orangemen against their own co-religionists. The record of their entire public activities belies this, and certainly, in the political crisis that followed the conclusion of the trials, the Shea brothers took the most honourable course they could in siding with their co-religionists, and yet supporting the Whiteway administration in its routine measures. Nor can the accusation that the Orangemen were the perpetrators of religious discord be borne out by the activities of the lodges in the colony. The fact that the Roman Catholic Ambrose Shea was returned to the House of Assembly in four general elections by the predominantly Protestant population of Harbour Grace indicates that the Orangemen were supporting Shea. This can hardly be interpreted as an instance of religious bigotry. And even though Shea felt compelled to desert Whiteway's government and thus precipitate the political crisis in the spring of 1885, the Orangemen still regarded him in such a light as to contribute ² towards his state funeral in 1905. To twist these marks of Orange favour towards a Roman Catholic as indications of religious bigotry took a bit of double-talking, even for the Telegram.

1. Ibid. June 9, 1884.

2. LOA: Leeming Lodge Minute Book, Aug. 24, 1905.

H. Accused Men Are Acquitted.

At the end of June, the trials ended with a verdict of 'not guilty' for the nineteen accused men. The Evening Telegram took the line that the result of the trials showed "we must have an entirely new party of men who can be trusted by the constituencies they represent ... If we had anything to do with the formation of such a party we should select either Walter Baine Grieve, the Hon. Robert Thorburn, or the Hon. Stephen Rendell¹". The men selected had been members of the mercantile wing of Carter's old conservative party.

The Orangemen in St. John's maintained a discreet silence during the May and June sessions of the Supreme Court. They opened their new Orange hall without undue ostentation. They addressed condolences to the Queen on the death of the Duke of Albany. They listened to a report on the Harbour Grace affair by Brother Stirling of Rising Star Lodge, Harbour Grace, and they held an emergency meeting to entertain outport Orangemen. In the midst of the excitement over the Harbour Grace shooting trials, the Orangemen continued their advocacy of temperance and took a militant stand on the Local Option Bill.²

On July 5th, 1884, a few days after the close of the Supreme Court sessions, Royal Oak Lodge met to bid farewell to Reverend W.W. Percival, minister of Gower Street Methodist Church. Mr. Percival had been one of the first clergymen in Newfoundland to take an active interest in the Order. In presenting him with a parting gift, the Orangemen declared, "It is a matter of pride to us that at a time like the present, when our Association is the object of malignity and menace, we can point to you as one

1. Evening Telegram, St. John's, July 3, 1884.

2. NA: S 2/117. T.R. Bennett to Colonial Secretary, Feb. 25, 1884.

who fearlessly asserts the purity of our principles, and openly identifies himself with the cause of Protestant loyalty¹".

In reply, Mr. Percival said, "I am conscious that by many persons these principles are greatly misunderstood and by others wilfully misrepresented. We are not ashamed of them ... in giving prominence to them, we aim to instill in the minds and hearts of our people, religion and Christian charity, and to maintain the supremacy of law and order and constitutional freedom. We wish to interfere with the rights and privileges of no man, but at the same time, we are determined that no man shall interfere with ours"². Mr. Percival was thus speaking for the Order in emphasizing to the Orange members the defensive character of the Orange Order.

During the summer of 1884, apprehensions were voiced that more disturbances would follow at Harbour Grace upon the return of the fishing fleet from Labrador in the autumn. The Governor wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, "The trials of the prisoners indicted for the murders committed during the riot at Harbour Grace ... will be resumed in November. Whatever may be the result, whether acquittal, conviction, or withdrawal of the prosecution on the part of the Crown; the presence of some force will be necessary to prevent bloodshed"³. Glover suggested that fifty seamen of the Royal Navy and one or two Gatlin guns should be sufficient to overawe either or both of the opposing parties.

On July 22nd, 1884, the Executive Council decided to apply to the Imperial Government for a war ship to be at the disposal of the colonial government through the winter.⁴ The

1. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minute Book, July 5, 1884.

2. Ibid. July 7, 1884.

3. NA: G 12/4. Governor Glover to Earl of Derby, Sept. 9, 1884.

4. NA: S 4/7. Executive Council Minutes. Aug. 22 1884.

Council agreed with the Harbour Grace magistrates' appraisal of the situation ... "That the unfortunate state of things in Harbour Grace is not confined to that locality, but has extended in greater or less degree to other districts of the Colony".¹

The St. John's Orangemen had their own method of coping with the disturbed state of Harbour Grace. They voted a tax of forty cents per member "for the aid of the Relief and Defence Fund of Harbour Grace".² No description of the fund is available, but from its title, it is clear that the Harbour Grace Orangemen were organizing along a semi-military line.

I. New Trials Ordered.

The second series of trials of the men involved in the Harbour Grace affray began in November of 1884 and dragged on until the end of January, with the same results as the first trials in the spring. As the trials wore on, it became evident that nothing could be established to warrant convictions. As fast as evidence was presented by the Crown or the defense, contrary evidence was sworn to by the opposite side.³

Shortly after the trials began, the Grand Lodge issued a secret circular urging Orangemen to be beware of "the disunion that is being fostered and encouraged amongst Protestants by unscrupulous newspapers published in St. John's... Our desire is to impress upon you the grave necessity that exists for all true Protestants to bury sectional and denominational differences for the sake of the great cause we have so much at heart".⁴

1. Ibid.
2. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minute Book, Sept. 3, 1884.
3. Evening Mercury, St. John's, May and June, 1884, and November, 1884, January, 1885. See accounts of trials.
4. Evening Telegram, St. John's, Dec. 4, 1884.

The Grand Lodge circular went on to inform Orangemen that a section of the St. John's Protestants, "with whom we are assured no Orangeman is associated", contemplated a union with the Roman Catholics. The signers of the Orange circular, James Browning, the Deputy Grand Master, and William H. Pippy, warned Orangemen that the Evening Telegram was trying to bring about divisions amongst "Churchmen and Methodists". The circular concluded by stating, "If the Evening Telegram and its associates succeed in their base objects, the result will be to give the Roman Catholics a new lease on political power. When that is brought about then farewell to 'Civil and Religious Liberty. Farewell to Toleration.'"

The editor of the Telegram obtained a copy of the secret circular and published it on December 4th, 1884, together with an editorial to the effect that "Sir William Whiteway, Sir Ambrose Shea, and Mr. R.J. Kent ... are at the head of this new movement and expect, through their agents in the Grand Lodge, to again mislead the outport Orangemen and thus induce them to once more rally round the present political wire-pullers and enable them to extend their term of misrule and misappropriation of the people's money¹".

The Telegram asserted that the Orange circular had been written in Shea's office. The basis for the claim was that William Pippy, who signed the circular, was a clerk in Shea's office and "this same Mr. Pippy is being made use of by the wily 'agent' as an instrument through which clandestine communications can be kept up between Sir Ambrose and certain prominent members of the Orange Association²".

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

As the anniversary of the Harbour Grace affray neared, the magistrates at Harbour Grace became anxious over the determination of the Orange Society to parade again. T. R. Bennett wrote, "We hope the day may pass without trouble, but we are aware that both sides are well-armed, and we notice that guns (old military rifles newly-bored) are purchased daily at the shop of Michael Jones and openly carried to River Head¹". The magistrate asked that H.M.S. Tenedos be stationed at Harbour Grace from December 20th until after the 6th of January.

However, Governor Glover was able to report to the Earl of Derby on December 30th, 1884, "...St. Stephen's Day, the anniversary of last year's riots at Harbour Grace, has passed off most satisfactorily and without any disturbance at all ... Knowing that the Orange party intended to march again... I took the precaution of sending H.M.S. Tenedos to that place, and also the Inspector of Police with all the available Constables here which raised the police force to about 50 men ... The Orange party turned out in procession, about 800 strong, and took their usual route through town; the Roman Catholic party also collected, numbering about 400 ... but there was no attempt to interfere with the Orange party.²"

According to the St. John's Times, the parade took place under the vigilance of some 100 marines of H.M.S. Tenedos³ standing by in case of trouble. The Orangemen also took the precaution of placing at the head of the procession the officers of the Order and the more experienced Orangemen. About

1. NA: S 2/124. T.R. Bennett to Hon. E.D. Shea, Dec. 11, 1884.
2. NA: G 12/4. Governor Glover to Earl of Derby, Dec. 30, 1884.
3. The Times, St. John's, Jan. 3, 1885.

a quarter of an hour after the Orange parade passed the scene of the previous year's shooting, a second procession appeared, bearing a green flag and a Union Jack. It halted near Pipetrack Lane and gave three hearty cheers for the 'Prisoners'¹.

J. New Disorders At Bay Roberts.

The Captain of the Tenedos reported, "...strong, though latent sectarian feelings prevailing at Harbour Grace and the danger of an outbreak in the event of processions contemplated by the Irish and Orange Societies"². Yet it was not at Harbour Grace that the new disturbances broke out. The center of the new denominational disturbances was Bay Roberts, a smaller outpost in Conception Bay about thirty³ miles along the coast from Harbour Grace. The trouble at Bay Roberts began in November of 1844⁴ just as the second series of trials started. It was sparked by the arrival of two Redemptorist missionary priests from Massachusetts. According to the priests, Reverend Patrick McGivern and Reverend Frank Delargey, they had no sooner taken up residence at Bay Roberts, than they were "subjected to the grossest abuse, persecution, and intimidation by a crowd of Orangemen assembled daily and nightly in the streets"³. The priests charged that "... one precocious ruffian drew a large knife on Father Delargey ... On another occasion, a more than usually truculent gang of Orangemen threatened to hurl us over the neighbouring embankment ... We were obliged to suspend our mission. We left Bay Roberts amid the demoniac yells and hooting and execrations of the assembled

1. Ibid.
2. NA: S 4/7. Executive Council Minutes. Jan. 24, 1885.
3. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 24, 1885.

6 miles

1
Orange mob".

Thus, while all passed off with due decorum in Harbour Grace on the day of the Orange parade, in Bay Roberts it was a far different story. The Orangemen there held their annual Christmas holiday parade on January 2nd, 1885. According to the Evening Mercury, the parade numbered about 600 along with a large number of sympathizers, and passed off quietly. But the Bay Roberts magistrates telegraphed the Government to the effect that "the Orange procession has been insulted here today. Advise you have all possible means of protection here for Sunday and Monday. Advise send St. John's police and Tenedos". The Evening Telegram, in its usual role of harbinger of ill tidings, informed the St. John's reading public on January 5th, 1885, "... trouble exists in Bay Roberts between the Orangemen and the Redemptorist missionary priests. Orange flags were stretched across the streets; the police specials are patrolling".

Seemingly the Redemptorist priests who had been obliged to cancel their mission at Bay Roberts in November, returned there at the invitation of Bishop R. Macdonald, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Harbour Grace. Their return had provoked the Bay Roberts Orangemen into a display of Orange sentiment. The main street was hung with Orange arches and flags under which the Roman Catholics were obliged to pass on the way to their Chapel on Sunday. The priests reported that the streets were thronged with men in working garb who yelled imprecations and threats at them. Bishop Macdonald flatly refused to walk under the Orange arches, and he telegraphed Governor Glover in St. John's saying he was prevented from saying Mass, and that the missionaries, as citizens

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. Jan. 2, 1885.

3. NA: S 4/7/ Executive Council Minutes, Jan. 4, 1885.

4. Evening Telegram, St. John's, Jan. 5, 1885.

of the United States, were "claiming the protection of the Stars
 and Stripes"¹. The tempest in the teapot assumed international
 proportions when the American Consul in St. John's presented
 the Governor with a telegram from Reverend Frank Walsh of
 Brigus, calling upon the Consul to provide protection for the
 Redemptorist priests.²

The Governor and the Executive Council acted promptly.
H.M.S. Tenedos and ten St. John's police constables were ordered
 immediately to Bay Roberts.³ The arrival of the warship was
 sufficient to induce the Orangemen to remove the flags. In fact,
 the Master of the Bay Roberts lodge removed the offending Orange
 arch amid the cheers of Orangemen, who then paraded through the
 streets of the town, accompanied by the British Society band
 from Harbour Grace.⁴ Later in the afternoon, a mass meeting
 of 1,000 Protestants was held and a resolution passed to the
 effect that "...Whereas reports have been forwarded by private
 parties misrepresenting the conduct of the inhabitants of Bay
 Roberts, and whereas the Government have taken action in the
 face of repeated assurances from Her Majesty's Justices of the
 Peace in Bay Roberts that the public peace would not be broken,
 resolved that this meeting protest against the want of confidence
 in our magistrates, thus exhibited by the Government and demand
 official investigation to disprove any allegations from whatever
 source reflecting on our character as law-abiding citizens"⁵.

1. NA: S 4/7. Executive Council Minutes, Jan. 4, 1885.
 See also Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 13, 1885.

2. NA: S 4/7. Executive Council Minutes, Jan. 4, 1885.

3. Ibid.

4. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 6, 1885. See also
 letter signed by Isaac Mercer, Master Victoria Lodge, Bay Roberts,
 published in Evening Mercury, Jan. 24, 1885.

5. Ibid. Jan. 5, 1885.

The pro-Orange Evening Mercury declared that the "good people of Bay Roberts have been badly misled by some political trickster who prepared a trap into which they walked with eagerness"¹. The Mercury was treading on difficult ground. The disturbances at Bay Roberts placed the editor, A.B. Morine, in a delicate position. As the champion of both Orangemen and the Whiteway government, Morine could not defend both in this particular incident. He therefore acted as the mouthpiece of the Whiteway administration which supplied him with copies of the actual telegrams sent to the government by the Bishop of Harbour Grace, as well as the telegrams from the magistrates of Bay Roberts and by the American Consul. The Evening Mercury published the telegrams on January 6th, 1885. They showed that, contrary to the belief of the Bay Roberts residents, it was the magistrates from Bay Roberts who had requested the Tenedos and the additional police.² "The action of the Government was in reply to the 'magistrates' request", the Mercury declared. In fact, Judge T. R. Bennett of Harbour Grace, who was sent to Bay Roberts to investigate the trouble, reported, "The magistrates at Bay Roberts do not have much faith in the law-abiding character of their fellow citizens"³. However, although the Bay Roberts magistrates had petitioned for extra police following the disturbance during the Orange parade, they also telegraphed the Government on January 4th that "Bishop Macdonald was not hindered in any way from holding Mass, and was repeatedly informed by us

1. Ibid. Jan. 6, 1885.

2. Ibid. See also NA: S 4/7. Executive Council Minutes, Jan. 4, 1885.

3. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 6, 1885.

through Delaney and others that he would not be interfered with in any way. We guaranteed this ... any report to the contrary from whatever source, is entirely untrue".

Carter's policy towards sectarian squabbles - "The less said, the sooner forgotten" - may have had its virtues. Certainly, the ill will provoked by the Harbour Grace tragedy, followed as it was by the Bay Roberts affair a year later, had little chance of abating as long as the St. John's press continued to center the public eye on the disturbances. Morine in the Evening Mercury took a moderate tone at first concerning the Bay Roberts disturbance. He reprimanded those who had hung the Orange arches across the street, describing it as "an insulting thing to do ... its very childishness was the best possible proof that it was not the work of respectable men". He asserted that the prominent Orangemen in Bay Roberts had protested against the act, and he commended the Roman Catholic people of Bay Roberts for their judicious behaviour in disregarding the insult. He concluded his editorial with the pious wish, "that no more Orange flags will be used for the purposes they have lately served in Bay Roberts, and if they be, that Bishop Macdonald will treat it with contempt".

Here the matter might have ended but for an article in the St. John's Advocate which provoked Morine to go to great lengths in publishing statements by the Redemptorist priests, by the Orange leaders in Bay Roberts, and perhaps going further than he had meant to in reviving the affair. The Advocate had asked

1. NA: S 4/7. Magistrates Dawe and Taylor to Attorney General, Jan. 4, 1885.
2. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 7, 1885.
3. Ibid.
4. The Advocate, St. John's, Jan. 10, 1885.

whether the influence of the local magistrates was so ineffectual in restraining "the worse than savage violence of the Orange mob, who but a few weeks previously attacked the temporary residence of the Fathers at Bay Roberts, demanding the proprietor, Mr. Freney, to eject them and eventually causing the Reverend gentlemen to seek safety in flight".

Morine's attempt to answer this charge proved something of an embarrassment to the Whiteway government whose supporter he purported to be. [Whiteway's party had been returned to power in 1882 as a coalition of the two old parties which had fought each other in the 1869 election on 'pro' and 'anti' confederation platforms. It could scarcely survive being identified with ultra Protestantism, as the anti-confederate wing of Whiteway's coalition party was mainly Roman Catholic.] Morine published lengthy reports by the Redemptorist priests in which they made serious accusations against the Orangemen. This was followed by letters signed by the Orange leaders of Bay Roberts who swore that the "Orange flags were not placed across the road, because of any action of the above mentioned lodge [Victoria of Bay Roberts], and we do not know who owned or hoisted them, and that they were taken down by virtue of a voluntary and unanimous vote in the lodge, for the preservation of peace".

Had the publication of correspondence ended there, Morine might have served the government and colony a good turn. But he also published sworn depositions of several Bay Roberts' residents who claimed they had heard the Redemptorist priests preach in the Roman Catholic Chapel in a vein that could not but arouse ultra Protestant feeling against them. Whether the charges against the priests were true or not, the fact that they

1. Ibid.

2. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 24, 1885.

3. See above p. 150-151.

were circulated in the Conception Bay area at the time, and in 1885 were printed in the St. John's press, could not but have baneful effects on the sectarian harmony in the colony. Morine concluded that the Harbour Grace tragedy was the outcome of the preaching of the Redemptorist priests.

Governor Glover was more cautious. He wrote the Earl of Derby in 1885, "I received information from Bay Roberts that in consequence of the practising of certain Roman Catholic priests at that place and the actions of the Orange Society, there was likelihood of a disturbance ... I requested Tenedos to visit the place ... nothing came of it".

From St. Stephen's Day of 1883 when five men were shot dead in the presence of hundreds at Harbour Grace until the beginning of 1885 when Orangemen and Roman Catholics in Bay Roberts threatened to come to blows, Newfoundland was in a turmoil. The trials of the nineteen men charged in connection with the Harbour Grace tragedy began in May of 1884 and continued until June when a verdict of not guilty was reached. A second series of trials were begun in November of 1884 and dragged on until late January of 1885 when a similar verdict was pronounced. Coincident with the Harbour Grace affair and the trials was the increased activity of the Orange Order in sending Grand Lodge officers to the northern outports in the interests of Orangeism and temperance. Along with the visiting Orange officials whose purpose was to indoctrinate the outport people with the principles of Orangeism, the outports of Conception Bay also received visits from the Redemptorist missionary priests of the United States who brought a different type of indoctrination. Added to this turbulent situation were the virulent writings of the St. John's newspaper

1. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 26, 1885.

2. NA: G 11/10. Governor Glover to Earl of Derby, Jan. 19,

editors who often displayed little interest in public goodwill and harmony. Against such a background, it becomes easier to understand how the Protestants were goaded into fury over what they termed "a failure of justice" at the Harbour Grace trials. While the pro-Orange press blamed the Redemptorist priests for the tragedy, the opposition press used the tragedy and its consequences to agitate against Premier Whiteway's government. The critics of the government attempted to prove that the whole affair had been the responsibility of the Whiteway administration which was accused of promoting the Orange Order. Ten years earlier the same press had accused F.B.T. Carter's government of promoting the Orange Order as an agency of Confederation.

Whiteway might have withstood the accusations of his political opponents, but when the Orangemen led a Protestant protest against the acquittal of the men charged in connection with the Harbour Grace shooting, Whiteway was unable to cope with the disintegration of his coalition forces.

CHAPTER VI

The Aftermath of the Harbour Grace Affray

A: A Rift in the Orange Ranks.

In the wake of the Harbour Grace affray came not only the downfall of the Whiteway administration, but also serious rifts in the leadership of the Orange Order. The breach in the ranks of the St. John's Orangemen became publicly apparent even before the end of the trials of the Harbour Grace prisoners in January of 1885. Frederick W. Bowden, the Orange editor of the Public Ledger, who had been instrumental in keeping the Orangemen from setting up a newspaper of their own,¹ was reprimanded by Provincial Grand Master James S. Winter. Bowden tried to have letters of explanation of his conduct published in the pro-Orange Evening Mercury and in the Evening Telegram. Morine of the Mercury refused to publish the letter and in an editorial took Bowden to task for attempting to publicize "disagreements, which should, in the best interest of the Association be kept from the outside world"². Morine's editorial gave some indication of the cause of the quarrel. "Look at his [Bowden's] conduct as an Orangeman. His Grand Master has been most violently assailed for his conduct in that office ... It was Mr. Bowden's duty, as it was the duty of every Orangeman, to support Mr. Winter and to uphold his cause in the face of all opposition. Instead of doing this, Mr. Bowden ... rushes into print to the assistance of Mr. Winter's enemies, with whom he has all along been suspected of working ... If the Orange Association and his lodge permit his membership it will be degrading to them"³.

Morine had become a member of the Orange Order early in

1. See above p. 154.
2. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 2, 1885.
3. Ibid.

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 1884, and was now in a position to speak for the Winter wing of Orangeism. The strife in the Orange ranks came about when a section of the Grand Lodge under Past Provincial Grand Master, A.J.W. McNeily, broke away from the support of the Winter-Whiteway government. This wing of the Grand Lodge which included Bowden was now berating Grand Master Winter for his continued support of the Whiteway government. In fact, the Orange Grand Lodge leaders had become so involved in the politics of the colony that any political disagreement among them meant the Orange Order itself became involved in the quarrel.

Morine exposed the row as a purely political one. "When the Harbour Main election contest was going on, Mr. Bowden canvassed on behalf of George Emerson, [a political opponent of Whiteway], and now we find him working beside McNeily, Emerson, Murray, and Parsons, in a vain endeavour to sweep Grand Master Winter from the track. As well might they attempt to keep back the waves of the Atlantic. The attacks made on Mr. Winter have served to quadruple his popularity, to make his cause the cause of the Protestant people, and if harm were to come to him, 20,000 Orangemen would know the reason why".

The figure of 20,000 Orangemen, quoted by Morine, was meant to impress his more gullible readers and had a touch of a threat about it. Certainly, Bowden, the former Grand Lodge Chaplain, and McNeily, the Past Grand Master, knew the Orange membership was nothing like 20,000. The official Orange membership for 1889 was only 3,830³. The figure for 1885 was undoubtedly something below this.

1. Evening Telegram, St. John's, July 9th, 1884.
2. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 2, 1885.
3. LOA: Journal of Proceedings, 1889. p. 14.

Morine's defense of the Orange Grand Master prompted a member of Leeming Lodge of St. John's to applaud. The Leeming member told Morine, "Your refusal to publish Mr. Bowden's letter and your gratuitous advice to him are strongly commended ... I might tell Mr. Bowden and his two or three friends that their object is too apparent ... Despite Mr. Bowden's long connection and experience as an Orangeman, his influence in our Order amounts to very very little. The Twillingate and Fogo election of '82 should teach him this, but some people never learn".

A week later, Morine again tried to intimidate the wing of Orangeism that was finding fault with the Grand Master. "Any interference with Mr. Winter," he wrote in the Mercury, "would be caused by the public clamour of his enemies, and the Orangemen, whom he represents in the Cabinet, would demand his restoration, and enforce it too."

In the midst of the quarrel amongst the Orange leaders, a side issue emerged. Morine and the proprietor of the Evening Mercury, Orangeman J.E.A. Furneaux, were named in a libel suit by John Morris, the agent of the Associated Press in Newfoundland, who had been forwarding to the United States newspapers reports of the trouble between the Orangemen and the Redemptorist priests at Bay Roberts. The lawyer retained by Morris in his suit against the two Orangemen was none other than Past Provincial Grand Master, A.J.W. McNeily, who was now heading the anti-Winter wing of Orangeism. Morine indignantly commented, "When we point out that Orangemen

1. Letter to the editor signed 'Leeming'. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 3, 1885.

2. Ibid. Jan. 15, 1885.

have been basely slandered, it is a McNeily whose endeavours are put forward to crush us. Inimitable pair, Orangeman McNeily ¹ hand in glove with the great slanderer of Orangemen."

This eruption in the ranks of the Orange leaders at the beginning of 1885 was only a portent of what was to come. Whereas the Harbour Grace trials resulted in a drawing together of the Roman Catholic forces politically, the period immediately following the trials was one of turmoil and upheaval for the Orangemen. Instead of closing ranks, the Orange leaders fell apart, Grand Master Winter preferring to support Whiteway for a time, while others such as McNeily and Bowden deserted the Whiteway party. Not content with their own desertion of the government ranks, they felt compelled to heap scorn on those of their members who did not join their desertion. The subsequent charges and counter-charges amongst Orangemen which were aired to the public in the St. John's press revealed that the Orange Order was being subjected to grave danger by the political strife of its leaders.

B. The Trials End.

From November of 1884 until late in January, 1885, the trials of the nineteen men of Riverhead, Harbour Grace, wore on. The same proceedings that had characterized the trials in the spring marked the second series of trials. The testimony of every witness for one side was contradicted by a witness on the opposite side. The defense witnesses swore, "All the injury done that day was caused by the guns that were on the Orange side. I don't know what caused the Orangemen to shoot each other"². The Orange witnesses swore the shooting was done by the Roman

1. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 15, 1885.

2. William Kelly's Testimony at Harbour Grace trials. See

Catholics.

In his address to the jury, Orange Grand Master James Winter, as Solicitor General, remarked, "The circumstances under which these men were killed were of a revolting character. The man, Janes, was shot with two loads, and the oakum found in his body. The man, French, was shot while standing there as an innocent spectator. Nicholas shot in the back after having turned to run away. The man, Bray, was killed in the heat of the affray, but afterwards his brains were beaten out in a most foul and brutal manner. Then there is the case of Callahan's death [the only Roman Catholic killed]. The Crown alleges from the excitement and frenzy of the moment, on the part of his own friends, he met with death at their hands".

John Kent, the Roman Catholic Speaker of the House of Assembly, who acted as defense lawyer for the nineteen accused men, claimed, "The Orangemen conceived the idea of attacking and murdering the Riverhead men; that they prepared themselves with guns and weapons and marched right up to the Riverhead men at whom they fired ... then in the heat and frenzy of excitement, they shot down their own side".

The three judges presiding at the trials, Chief Justice F.B.T. Carter, Judge Robert Pinsent, and Roman Catholic Judge Philip Little, in their addresses to the jury, all charged strongly against the prisoners.

1. Solicitor General's address to Jury, Ibid. Jan.23,1885.
2. Kent's address to Jury, Ibid.
3. Ibid. Jan. 27, 1885.

who had on previous occasions shown a certain sympathy for Orangemen, ¹ remarked to the jury, "The defense stated that if anyone was wounded, it was caused by guns on the Orange side ... There might possibly be circumstances in which friends shoot each other through mistake, but he could scarcely believe that they had the credulity to believe such a statement ... The witnesses for the defense were all apparently participating in what took place... There must be wilful, deliberate perjury on the part of the whole of the witnesses on one side or the other ... It is for the jury ² to say what reliance should be placed upon their testimony".

The conflicting evidence was such that the jury found it impossible to convict the prisoners. On January 22nd, 1885, the Evening Mercury reported the nineteen men had been acquitted of the murder charge. The acquittal of the prisoners prompted Orange Grand Master Winter to issue a manifesto condemning the verdict, and adopting the slogan that was to become the rallying cry of the new Reform Party - "No amalgamation with the Liberals - Roman Catholics" ³. No copy of this manifesto is available, but the enemies of Winter claimed it called upon Orangemen to be revenged and forbade them to trade with Roman Catholics ⁴. The manifesto, which Roman Catholics and enemies of Orangeism termed "The Decrees of Vengeance", provoked a mass meeting of Liberals in the Star of the Sea hall. The Honorable James McLoughlan, a member of the Legislative Council, presided at the meeting which was attended by Roman Catholic clergy and laity and by

1. See above p. 132-133.

2. Chief Justice's address to jury. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Feb. 6, 1885. See also Evening Mercury, Jan. 23, 1885.

3. The Times, St. John's, Sept. 7, 1887.

4. Ibid.

several Liberal Protestants.¹ Patrick Scott, the Roman Catholic member of the House of Assembly for St. John's East, led the denunciation of Winter, and the meeting² resolved that Winter was unfit to hold office in the cabinet. Out of this meeting came plans to start a Roman Catholic newspaper, the Colonist, which began publication in 1885 with Maurice Fenelon as editor. The meeting also demanded the immediate release of the Harbour Grace prisoners, to which Winter was compelled to acquiesce. It was this act that was to bring Winter into disrepute with the rank and file Orangemen who regarded his release³ of the prisoners as a betrayal.

The tone of Protestant feeling against the verdict of acquittal was indicated by A.B. Morine's editorial in the Evening Mercury. "We warned the Roman Catholic people that unless they helped to punish the Riverhead murderers, they, as a body, would be held responsible ... No earthly action will keep from the polls the issue that the Roman Catholic people have blindly brought about ... In such a contest the result will not be doubtful ... There are 115,000 Protestants and only 75,000 Roman Catholics in Newfoundland. Need we say more?"⁴

The outport protest against the verdict was immediate. Indignation meetings were held at Harbour Grace and Carbonear. The Harbour Grace meeting condemned the verdict as "an outrageous and unparalleled miscarriage of justice". The meeting resolved "There had been wholesale perjury by the witnesses and certain parties gave evidence for the defense who were as deeply implicated

1. Ibid. Dec. 14, 1887.

2. Ibid. Sept. 7, 1887. See also The Times, June 8, 1887, and May 14, 1887.

3. Ibid. May 14, 1887.

4. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 27, 1885.

as the parties on trial"¹. The meeting expressed its disapproval that nothing had been done about "David Lynch against whom the Grand Jury presented a True Bill for perjury"². Having stated their belief that "The present jury system has proved utterly powerless to secure conviction of the guilty, as far as the Protestant population are concerned," the meeting resolved, "That the existence of the present coalition administration is utterly indefensible, it having lost the confidence of the majority of the people," and they called for its immediate dissolution.

At Carbonear, the protest meeting was presided over by the Honorable John Rorke, who had been member of the House of Assembly for that district from 1865 until 1878. This meeting passed a resolution to the effect that "The Protestants of Carbonear view with horror, amazement, and indignation the outrageous miscarriage of justice last June". Orangeman Aubrey J. Crocker, who was shortly to replace James S. Winter as Grand Master of the Newfoundland Orangemen, proposed the resolution regarding the verdict which "acquitted the prisoners in the face of the most palpable evidence of the Crown and patent perjury on the part of the defense"³. The Carbonear meeting urged "The jury laws be altered and amended so that it will be possible to obtain impartial and unbiased juries."⁴

The Evening Mercury, in describing the protest meetings at Harbour Grace and Carbonear, put the matter more bluntly still, "... There is a conviction in the heart of every Protestant that

1. Resolution of a public meeting at Harbour Grace. See Evening Mercury, Jan. 27, 1885.

2. Ibid.

3. The Times, St. John's, Jan. 28, 1885.

4. Ibid.

justice will not be done in St. John's when sectarian feelings are involved. In plain words, the Protestant people of Newfoundland now know that if a Roman Catholic kills a Protestant under circumstances in the least involving sectarian issues, he will be acquitted by any Roman Catholic jury obtainable in St. John's."

Governor Glover was, with good reason, uneasy over the disturbed state of the colony. He reported the result of the trials to the Colonial Office in England, commenting, "The feeling between the Orange party and the Roman Catholics continues to run very high at Harbour Grace, and on the advice of my ministers, I have requested the Tenedos to remain there during the winter"².

This, then, was the situation in Newfoundland at the opening of the spring session of the House of Assembly. It is not to be wondered at that the session proved a hectic one, ending with the downfall of the government and a complete re-alignment of political parties.

C. The Penney Amendment.

Amidst great public excitement, the spring session of the House of Assembly opened on February 12th, 1885. Governor John Glover adverted "... to the continuance of that disturbed condition of feeling resulting from the calamitous events which took place at Harbour Grace over twelve months ago". He urged "... that all possible influence amongst ourselves should be directed to the allaying of ugly passions and the diffusion of a spirit of peace"³.

1. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Jan. 27, 1885.
2. NA: G 11/10. Governor Glover to Earl of Derby, Jan. 24, 1885.
3. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1885. p. 13.

The immediate reaction to the speech from the Throne was indicated by the member for Trinity, Joseph Boyd, who remarked, "In common with His Excellency we must all regret the terrible tragedy at Harbour Grace and the heated feelings which it has given rise to. More keen, perhaps, should be our regret that the guilty parties have not been brought to justice ... It is when the courts of justice fail to find out and punish the guilty that we have the most reason for apprehension".

The Reply to the Speech from the Throne touched cautiously on the Harbour Grace affair. It read in part:

In common with Your Excellency we are deeply grieved at the continuance of the disturbed feelings arising out of the deplorable events which occurred in Harbour Grace at the close of the year 1883. We reciprocate the anxiety evinced by Your Excellency that every effort be exerted and every influence used amongst ourselves to soothe and allay angry passions, and to inculcate and re-establish the harmony and good will which were, heretofore, a marked characteristic of our people. We thankfully appreciate the evidence of solicitude for our well-being and the preservation of peace exhibited by Her Majesty's Government in acceding to the request of the Executive that a ship of war be stationed in our waters during the present winter.

This language was far too moderate for the Orange members of the House. For a week the House remained in Committee of the Whole debating the Reply. On February 23rd, 1885, the furor burst. Alfrey Penney, the member for Carbonear, in a surprise move, proposed an amendment to the Reply. Penney, an Orangeman, spoke of "...those who have been taken red-handed in the awful crime of murder are declared to be innocent and unoffending men, thus ruthlessly sweeping away the only safeguard

1. Debates Nfld. H. of A. Evening Mercury, Feb. 13, 1885.
2. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1885. p. 20.

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society has against such base and atrocious deeds".

Penney then moved the following amendment;

In common with Your Excellency we are deeply grieved at the continuance of the disturbed feelings arising out of the unjustifiable outrage which occurred at Harbour Grace at the close of the year 1883. We are of the opinion that the continuance of these feelings may be attributed, in a great measure, to the disgraceful failure of justice at the recent trials of the parties concerned in the said outrage. We reciprocate the anxiety evinced by your Excellency, that every possible effort be exerted and every influence used amongst ourselves to soothe and allay angry passions, and to inculcate and re-establish the harmony and good will which were, heretofore, a marked characteristic of our people. But we feel that these exertions will not be crowned with success so long as the requirements of justice remain unsatisfied. We thankfully appreciate the evidence of solicitude for our well being and the preservation of peace exhibited by Her Majesty's Government in acceding to the request of His Excellency that a ship of war be stationed in our waters during the winter. 2

The amendment was seconded by Captain Dawe, the member for Harbour Grace, who declared, "...it is now some 14 or 15 months since in Harbour Grace in open day a number of my constituents were murdered in the sight of almost the whole population ... We must conclude that the machinery of the law has been found lamentably defective"³. Captain Dawe, an Orangeman, went on to complain, "I cannot upon scarcely any occasion leave my hotel without being insulted by what I might term the ragamiffins of the town"⁴.

The editor of the Twillingate Sun, J.P. Thompson, supported Penney's amendment, stating, "In a civilized community

1. Debates Nfld. H. of A. 1885. Evening Mercury, Feb. 25, 1885.

2. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1885. p. 21.

3. Debates Nfld. H. of A., 1885. Evening Mercury, Feb. 25, 1885.

4. Ibid.

like this, one can hardly believe that so great a crime could have been committed with so much impunity¹".

The Whiteway administration was taken by surprise by Penney's amendment. Penney, although a member of Whiteway's party, had not consulted the Premier prior to the introduction of the amendment. Sir Ambrose Shea objected to the abrupt manner in which the amendment was proposed. He asked, "Are we to constitute ourselves a Court of Appeal and claim the right to review and control the decisions of the Courts of Justice?"²

Francis Winton, whose anti-Confederation activities had brought him into disfavour with the Orangemen, defended Penney's amendment, saying, "Justice was not done ... and I say further that every man of common sense, whether Protestant or Catholic, knows that justice has not been done. I say further that if I had been on that jury and on my oath, and if I had listened to the evidence, I should not have given such a verdict as was pronounced in the recent trials."³

Winton's speech in the House was interrupted by noise in the galleries, but he was no sooner seated than other Protestant members arose to support Penney's amendment. Dr. George Skelton, who, like Winton, was a member for Bonavista, said he would vote for the amendment, as "I feel I am only giving expression to the opinion of the majority of my constituents."⁴

Orange Grand Master James Winter said he agreed with Winton that the opinion of every member of the House should be

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Debates Nfld. H. of A. 1885. Evening Mercury,

Feb. 28, 1885.

4. Ibid. Mar. 2, 1885.

known. Winter, who was still a Cabinet member of the Whiteway government, supported fully Penney's amendment, even though he voted against it. "As to whether there has been a failure of justice or not at the recent trials," he said, "there can be one clear, intelligent and honest opinion, There is no room for a second ... A consensus of opinion condemns the verdict"¹.

The member for Burin, Orangemen J.E.P. Peters also voiced his approval of Penney's amendment. Only R.J. Parsons, the long-time member for St. John's East, put in a plea for moderation, asking, "Why should a certain class of people [the Roman Catholics] be insulted by the wording of an amendment submitted for acceptance?" He objected to any discussion of the decision of the law courts in the House of Assembly. "Protestants and Catholics are mixed up in this country so that they cannot live without the other, and a man who brings forward anything that will aggravate the excited feeling that now prevails in the public mind, is, I say, nothing but an enemy to our common country"². Parsons's speech was hailed with a burst of applause from the gallery.

Premier Whiteway was thus placed in a difficult position. The Penney amendment was unacceptable to the twelve Roman Catholic members of his government who formed the majority of his supporters in the House of Assembly. He therefore took the unprecedented course of proposing an amendment to the Reply which had been prepared by his own government. In proposing the new amendment, Premier Whiteway acknowledged "... that a crime of fearful magnitude had been committed on the 26th of December, 1883,...

1. Ibid. Feb. 28, 1885.
2. Ibid. Mar. 2, 1885.

and notwithstanding two long trials, the guilty persons were still unpunished¹". The Premier asked Penney to accept his amendment as a compromise, as it contained all that the Penney amendment did, yet did not have the offensive terms objected to by the Roman Catholic members of the government.

The Orange Grand Master approved of Premier Whiteway's compromise amendment "because it did not pronounce a hostile opinion upon the administration of justice"². But the Roman Catholic wing of Whiteway's administration saw "little difference in the amendment proposed by the Premier"³. P.J. Scott, the Roman Catholic member for St. John's West, protested against both amendments. He denied that the "jury was so forgetful of their duty to their God and their fellows as to perjure themselves ... I would be recreant to my trust if I allowed my constituents to be charged with the crime of perjury ... A number of people can be found who entertain the idea that there has been no failure of justice"⁴.

Sir Ambrose Shea, speaking of the Penney amendment, said, "The term 'unjustifiable' outrage is a palpable absurdity, as an outrage can never be justifiable". Shea went on to protest against the use of the term 'disgraceful' as applied to the proceedings of court. "I have a stronger reason for opposing its passing, on account of its bearing on the relations between this House and the Courts of Justice"⁵. Shea rightly pointed out the the Penney amendment, if passed, would recognize the

1. NFlid. Debates H. of A. Evening Mercury, Feb. 27, 1885.
2. Ibid. Feb. 28, 1885.
3. Receiver General W.J. Donnelly's speech. Ibid. Feb. 28, 1885.
4. Ibid. Mar. 2, 1885.
5. Ibid. Feb. 27, 1885.

principle in which the House of Assembly might assert the right to review and dominate the proceedings of the Supreme Court.¹

When the vote was taken on the Penney amendment, Shea and all his co-religionists as well as Orange Grand Master James Winter voted against it. The amendment was lost nineteen to eleven.² The official opposition party split on the vote. D.J. Greene, the nominal leader of the opposition, voted with the government, while A.F. Goodridge, the de facto leader, supported Penney. The amendment proposed by Premier Whiteway was then voted upon and carried, with most of the opposition members and Penney supporters voting for it.³

Sir Ambrose Shea moved that Whiteway's amendment be expunged from the Reply, but this was voted down twelve to eighteen. At this point, Shea dramatically announced, "I shall never again take a seat in the Assembly"⁴, but the next day, Sir Ambrose and his co-religionists were discovered seated on the opposition side of the House of Assembly, having deserted Whiteway's government party. Shea's desertion of the government ranks was followed promptly by the resignation of the Roman Catholic Speaker of the House, John Kent, who had been one of the defense lawyers in the Harbour Grace trials. Kent maintained with Shea that the amendment "...infringes most unwarrantably upon the privileges of the Supreme Court and assumes to pronounce judgment upon matters that have been adjudicated by that tribunal"⁵. The Receiver General, Donnelly, also a Roman Catholic, then resigned

1. Debates, Nfld. H. of A. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Feb. 27, 1885.

2. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1885. p. 22.

3. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Feb. 27, 1885.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. Feb. 28, 1885.

and joined the Roman Catholic group on the opposition benches.

The House of Assembly now had three distinct groups, the Protestant members of the Whiteway government, the official opposition led by Greene and Goodridge, and the new group composed of Roman Catholics who had left the Whiteway government. This latter group had composed the old Liberal party which had coalesced with Whiteway in 1882 to inaugurate a railway building programme. The only member of the old Liberal ranks who did not cross the floor of the House with Shea was Robert J. Parsons, the member¹ for St. John's East.

Premier Whiteway's government had consisted of eight² Protestants and twelve Roman Catholics. The desertion of his Roman Catholic colleagues meant he headed a minority government. The official opposition was composed of eleven Protestants. Thus no party was strong enough to form a stable government. Governor John Glover summed up the situation in a letter to the Earl of Derby on March 2, 1885. The latter was anxious to know whether the Whiteway government intended to legislate for the prohibition of processions in the colony. Glover replied:

The present position of the Government here is, I am led to believe, very weak. The state of feeling between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants is such that there is little or no cohesion between the members of these two groups in the Government... In my speech at the opening of the Legislature, I was unable to obtain from the Government any mention either of a Bill to increase the police force, or one to prohibit processions ... All these subjects are distasteful to the Government in their present unstable position. 3

A week later, Glover informed Derby that the Premier had given notice of a Bill for the prohibition of processions, but the matter had been dropped "as the Orangemen in his party

1. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Feb. 27, 1885.

2. NA: G 12/4. Governor Glover to Earl of Derby, Mar. 2, 1885

3. Ibid.

had refused their support"¹.

The former Receiver-General, W.J.S. Donnelly, who was described as "not second to any man in the ranks of the Roman Catholics"², informed the Assembly that his co-religionists had not become part of the regular opposition and would not offer any obstruction to the routine work of the Government.³

Orangeman A.B. Morine paid tribute to the stand taken by the Roman Catholics. "It cannot be denied that the Roman Catholic body has asserted both its dignity and its patriotism - its dignity, by voluntarily resigning a position of power, and rendering a coalition of Protestants possible; and its patriotism by promising to assist in passing the usual votes for public services"⁴.

In fact, the Roman Catholics could not have been more obliging to the ultra Protestant group. Their withdrawal from the Whiteway government paved the way for a reconciliation of the Protestants of Whiteway's party with the Protestants of the opposition. On March 3rd, 1885, the Evening Mercury reported a "bargain was made between the 'irreconcilables' of the commercial body and a majority of the political committee of the Orange Association. A meeting was held at which Messrs. Grieve, Goodridge, and others, representing the irreconcilables, and Messrs. McNeily, Morison, Bowden, and others the 'willing' portion of the Political Committee."⁵ The merger of the previously hostile Protestant groups to form what became known as the "Reform Party" was ridiculed by Morine, who at this time still supported Whiteway and the Orange Grand Master, James Winter,

1. NA: G 12/4. Glover to Earl of Derby, Mar. 10, 1885.

2. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Mar. 2, 1885.

3. Ibid. Mar. 3, 1885.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

who apparently had no part in the merger. Morine claimed the Reform Party's chief plank was "the commission of an act of ingratitude, revenge, and suicide No party which seeks to revenge itself upon one man can be successful in this country" Morine went on to warn his readers, "There are a class of men in this community notorious for their willingness to sacrifice all principles but that of personal revenge for fancied wrongs, and if the public find that such revenge is contemplated by the Reform Party, it will know the worthless men referred to have the controll-¹ing power in the party".

The Evening Telegram, the mouthpiece for the old opposition party of Greene and Goodridge, described the three parties in the House as "... the despicable government party under the leadership of Sir William Whiteway - the man who has done more to tear his (adopted) country and his kind destroy than any other single individual whom an ungenerous Fate has ever vomited upon these shores ... There is the Opposition led by Mr. A. F. Goodridge, and the third - the scattered remnants of the once powerful Liberal party, a party whose members have fallen so low"².

By the beginning of March, the political situation had reached a stalemate. The government party numbered thirteen, the regular opposition five, and the Roman Catholics numbered thirteen.³ The merger of the opposition with the Protestant wing of Whiteway's government meant an election was imminent.

1. Ibid.

2. Evening Telegram, St. John's, Mar. 3, 1885.

3. Evening Mercury, St. John's, Mar. 7, 1885. There is a slight discrepancy between these figures and those supplied to the Earl of Derby by Governor Glover. See above p. 188.

D. Orangeism Triumphant in 1885 Election.

The role of the Orangemen in the approaching election was to be paramount. In the eyes of the Protestants, they were the victims of injustice. Any party that hoped to constitute the government of the colony had to come to terms with them. This the Reform Party had done by amalgamating with the anti-Whiteway wing of the Orange Grand Lodge. Premier Whiteway, meanwhile, was being battered on all sides. Deserted by his Roman Catholic colleagues and faced with a formidable opposition composed of the old mercantile group and members of his own party who were abandoning him, Whiteway was also needled by the British government which wanted Whiteway to inaugurate a Bill for the prevention of processions, and thus preclude a repetition of the Harbour Grace tragedy.¹ To emphasize its desires in this respect, the British Colonial Office informed Whiteway that the Royal Navy could no longer spare a warship to remain in Newfoundland during the winter.² The withdrawal of the British warship was a serious blow to the already inadequate police forces in the disturbed outports. The Premier was thus forced to introduce the Bill despite the opposition from the Orangemen in the government, who regarded it as an attack on the Orange Order.³

The Bill passed the House of Assembly by a vote of sixteen to eight. Among those voting against it were A.F. Goodridge, J.E.P. Peters, Francis Winton, Alfred Penney, James Noonan, E. Garland, J. Bartlett and J.H. Thompson.⁴ This latest attack on

1. NA: S 4/7. Executive Council Minutes, April, 24, 1885.
2. Ibid.
3. See above p. 189.
4. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1885. p. 139.

the Orange Order provoked the resignations of Orange Grand Master James Winter from the government and of Francis Winton as Financial Secretary. The Premier was at last faced with no alternative but to ask the Governor to dissolve the House and call a general election. Winter now joined the Orange leaders who had amalgamated with the old opposition. The editor of the Times, William J. McCoubrey, took Winter to task for his betrayal of Whiteway. "What has Mr. Winter seen in Sir William at this particular time that he should leave him?... Is this a time for Protestants to be divided? It appears that a division is certain, and that is what the Roman Catholics have been waiting for so long. Then good-bye to Orange Lodges". McCoubrey went on to point out, "Orangeism is getting a good footing in Newfoundland, but believe me, Sir, if things are carried out now as they are leaning, in five years time, it will be a thing of the past, especially in St. John's"¹. The Times editor warned outport Orangemen to remain free from politics, and he especially warned Church of England and Methodist outport Orangemen to be wary of the Orange politicians from St. John's. McCoubrey predicted, "In November next the St. John's coterie will find that 'outport'² Orangemen are not like dumb driven cattle".

The Orange Grand Lodge discharged its first broadside of the election battle by issuing a manifesto on July 3rd, 1885, advising Orangemen to support the Reform Party.³ The manifesto claimed Sir William Whiteway had attacked the Order "just as

1. The Times, St. John's, July 11, 1885.
2. Ibid. Aug. 29, 1885.
3. Ibid. July 8, 1885.

Charles Fox Bennett had done in the 1873 election campaign.¹ Hundreds of the manifesto were despatched in the three coastal steamers for distribution to outport Orangemen, trying, as the Times editor put it, "to kill politically Sir William Whiteway at the expense of the LOA".² Following hard on the heels of the manifesto were Past Grand Master Richard T. Rankin, one of the founders of the Order in Newfoundland, and Donald Morison, the Orange Grand Secretary, who had been active on behalf of Orangeism in the outports of Conception Bay during the troubled winter of 1883-1884. Morison set off in the Plover to visit Twillingate and Moreton's Harbour Orangemen, while Rankin approached the Greenspond Orangemen, engaging in "fanaticism in behalf of a certain few who imagine they have the Loyal Orange Institution in their breeches pockets".³

The Times printed a letter to the editor signed 'Lux Bonavista' in which the writer claimed that outport Orangemen were opposed to the introduction of politics into private lodges, "in order to subserve the selfish ambition of certain would be leaders of the Association who generally manifest a lively interest in the Order near election times, but who for months afterwards leave the Order to take care of itself so far as concerns their attendance at regular Lodge meetings go".⁴

The writer, very likely the editor himself, went on to ask, "Why should a price be paid by certain individuals at St. John's for the Orange influence at the coming elections? We say

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. July 11, 1885.
3. Ibid. Aug. 1, 1885. See also issue of July 22, 1885.
4. Ibid. Aug. 29, 1885.

price, because we are aware that within a few months past, some of the wealthy members of the so-called Reform party gave liberal amounts towards the completion of the Orange Hall".

The Times writer protested against "this attempt to bring the Orange Order into ridicule and contempt - a course of political action calculated to divide the Protestant denominations, if the Church of England Orangemen go one way and the Methodists another. Such is not the desire of outport Methodist people, and those leading Orangemen of St. John's who are attempting to control them are not representative men of the Methodist Church"¹.

Despite this hint of hostility between outport and city Orangemen, the reconciled Orange leaders in St. John's were busily engaged in anti-Whiteway propaganda. A new manifesto was issued in late September attacking Whiteway. It was signed by Winter, McNeily, Rankin, James Browning, the Deputy Grand Master.² Winter, McNeily, and Rankin were also signatories to the official manifesto of the Reform Party issued on September 16th, 1885. This manifesto set the tone of the Reform Party campaign as "No Amalgamation with the Roman Catholics"³. It was signed by A.F. Goodridge, W.B. Grieve, James Goodfellow, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, J.J. Rogerson, C.R. Ayre,⁴ George A. Hutchings, E.J. Duder, Donald Morison, and J. McKenzie.

The only obstacle to complete agreement between the coalescing groups of Protestants was the choice of a new party leader. The dilemma was solved when Sir Robert Thorburn, a member of the Legislative Council for fifteen years, was prevailed

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid. Sept. 30, 1885.
3. Ibid. Sept. 16, 1885.
4. Ibid.

upon by leading men of both groups to assume the leadership of the new Reform party.¹ He was acceptable to both sides² as he had not been associated with the cry of "No Amalgamation". Thorburn had come to Newfoundland from Greenock, Scotland, in 1850, to enter the firm of Walter Grieve and Company of which his uncle was head. He had kept free from colonial politics and it was only upon the earnest solicitation of both parties that he resigned his seat as a member of the Legislative Council and agreed to take the leadership of the new party. When his party succeeded in the 1885 election, he served without salary or emolument.³

Once Thorburn accepted the leadership of the Reform party, the election campaign took on a militant aspect. Whiteway's old party, now decimated, put up a few candidates.⁴ All but four were swept from their seats. The Roman Catholics, now a distinct group under Shea, represented the real opposition. The Reform party, composed of the Orange group, the old mercantile opposition group, and the defecting wing of Whiteway's party, played on the popular Protestant feeling that had been aroused over the acquittal of the Harbour Grace prisoners.

Richard T. Rankin, the first Orange Provincial Grand Master, was sent on an electioneering campaign to Trinity Bay⁵ where he and W.B. Grieve stood as Reform candidates. Rankin relinquished his candidacy to give the new leader, Robert Thorburn, a safe seat. Donald Morison, the Orange Grand Secretary, set out

1. NA: G 12/4. F.B.T. Carter to Stanley, Jan. 5, 1885.
- Encl. Hon. R. Thorburn to Carter, Jan. 5, 1885.
2. Morine, *op. cit.* Ch. 7b. p. 38.
3. NA: G 12/4. Governor W. Des Voeux to Sir Henry Holland, July 21, 1887.
4. NA: G 12/4. Governor T. O'Brien to Lord Knutsford, Nov. 14, 1889.
5. The Times, St. John's, Sept. 23, 1885.

northward to campaign in the Reform party interest. A.J.W. McNeily, the Provincial Past Grand Master, was a candidate in the Bay de Verde district. Sir James Winter and C. Dawe were the Orange candidates for Harbour Grace, while G.A. Hutchings, another Orangeman, was candidate for Port de Grave. Alfred Penney, who had precipitated the election by his surprise amendment, was the Orange candidate for Carbonear, while Orangeman J.E.P. Peters and H. LeMessurier stood in Burin District.

The district of Bonavista presented something of a problem for the Reform party as they could not find a candidate who combined the three important qualifications necessary for the district - an Orangeman, a temperance man, and a Methodist¹. In the last few weeks prior to the election, Captain Abram Kean, an Orangeman from Bonavista, arrived in St. John's, and Winter's group "grasped him like a drowning man clutching a straw"². Captain Kean, who was later to become famous as the man who caught a million seals, possessed all three qualifications. Standing with Orangeman Kean as the second Reform candidate for Bonavista was none other than James L. Noonan, the man who had joined C.F. Bennett in his attack on the Orange Order during the 1869 anti-Confederation election campaign³. In fact, the Reform party included two others of Bennett's old party - Francis Winton and Stephen McKay, both of whom had denounced the introduction of Orangeism into Newfoundland⁴. Political affiliations and alignments took many devious turns in the course of most public careers in Newfoundland.

1. Abram Kean. Young and Old Ahead. London, 1935. p. 30.

2. Ibid.

3. The Insult to the Orangemen and Protestants of Newfoundland by the Government; and the Reply of the Orangemen.

4. Ibid.

Orangeman A.B. Morine, who had stedfastly supported the Whiteway-Winter administration, now objected to the new arrangements under the Reform party. He decided to run as an independent candidate in Bonavista against Orangeman Kean. Kean described the events of the contest. "I received a message from headquarters which said, 'You will meet Morine in Greenspond soon. Tell the people to reject him as a traitor, an enemy, and a spy'¹".

Not only in Bonavista District did Orangeman contest Orangeman, proving the Courier's prediction of 1873 'that Orangemen will differ in opinion' true. In Twillingate, Orangeman Jacob F. Thompson, the editor of the Twillingate Sun, refused to desert Sir William Whiteway's party and paid the price of his loyalty by being defeated by Orangeman Michael T. Knight. Thompson had canvassed his brother Orangemen cautioning ~~them~~ against what he termed "a few office seeking Orangemen who were attempting to dictate to the independent Orangemen of the outports"².

That the Orange propaganda fitted the occasion admirably was indicated by the result of the election. Sir James Winter rallied his supporters in Harbour Grace by the slogan "No amalgamation with the Roman Catholics". In Twillingate, Michael Knight played on the note, "We must maintain Protestant supremacy", while Alfred Penney warned his supporters in Carbonear, "The Constitution is in danger"³. In Harbour Grace, where it had been the practice to return two Protestants and one Roman Catholics, three Orangemen were returned - Sir James Winter, C. Dawe and J. Godden. In Bay de Verde, the Orange Past Provincial Grand Master, A.J.W. McNeily, was elected. In Bonavista, Orangeman

1. Kean. op. cit. p. 34.

2. The Times, St. John's, July 22, 1885.

3. Ibid. Sept. 7, 1887.

Captain Abram Kean was victorious. In Burin two Orangemen, J.E.P. Peters and H. LeMessurier, were returned. Carbonear returned its Orange hero, Alfred Penney. Port de Grave elected Orangeman G.A. Hutchings. Both Twillingate and Trinity had one Orangeman each among their representatives.

The Orange party thus numbered eleven in the new House of Assembly and provided half the members of Thorburn's Reform party of twenty-two members. Sir Ambrose Shea's party of fourteen Roman Catholics formed the opposition. Never before had the Orangemen such political power. Sir James S. Winter was named Attorney General, A.J.W. McNeily became Acting Solicitor General, and Michael T. Knight Acting Financial Secretary. Alfred Penney was appointed Surveyor General. With such apparent power, it might have been expected that the Orangemen could have displayed their strength by at least passing a bill to incorporate the Orange Order. This was not to be the case. The divisions which had become apparent in the Order during the election year were to break forth again with renewed vigour, splitting the Orange leaders and leaving the members of the Order confused as to the exact position of the Grand Lodge members in relation to the other political groups in the colony. Like any other vested interest that engaged in politics, the Orange party found that with political power went responsibilities to other sections of the community. The acceptance of those responsibilities often appeared incompatible with the narrower interests of the group that placed them in power.

CHAPTER VIII

Orangeism at its Height

A. Sheas' Appointment as Governor Protested.

The Orange party had no sooner been installed safely in the House of Assembly and the Executive Council than they were startled to learn that their erstwhile political 'thorn in the side', Sir Ambrose Shea, had been named governor of Newfoundland. Shortly after the election, Sir Ambrose had disappeared for some weeks and then re-appeared in the colony with the astounding news that the Imperial Government had been pleased to appoint him ¹governor.

The colony had been without a governor since June, 1885, when Sir John Glover died. Chief Justice F.B.T. Carter who had acted as Administrator of the colony during the crisis of the Harbour Grace affray in 1883, was appointed Administrator again. In October, Carter wrote to the Imperial Government asking that he be appointed governor. He explained that he had been urgently requested to make the application as "a certain and only apparent means of solving serious complications between political parties, and especially concerning Sir William Whiteway, who would take the Chief Justiceship if a vacancy occurred in that office on my appointment to the Governorship"². Before this letter could bear fruit, Sir Ambrose Shea had made his successful overtures to the Imperial Government personally. In England, the short-lived first administration of Lord Salisbury had been in office only a few months, and was tackling the ticklish business of the Irish Home Rule question under Parnell, to whose support the

1. NA: G 12/4. Carter to Sir F.A. Stanley, Jan. 5, 1886.
2. Ibid.

Conservatives owed their brief interlude of power.¹ When Sir Ambrose Shea turned up in London- a Roman Catholic Newfoundlander of Irish extraction, who favoured Newfoundland's federation with Canada- he apparently struck a popular note by suggesting he was the best man suited for the job of governor of the colony. Shea had a second persuasive argument. He was an antagonist of the American Fenians about whom he received confidential information, and for this reason, the Imperial Government may have found it expedient to court him.² It was even suggested that Shea might be useful as consul at New York "where his religion and Irish descent might render him useful in connection with the Fenian element of American society"³.

Shea's political opponents in Newfoundland were of a different opinion. When news of his appointment as governor was noised abroad, a furor ensued. The Premier, Mr. Thorburn, immediately despatched a cable to the Colonial Secretary in London to the effect that Sir Ambrose's appointment "will be most disastrous and very offensive to the majority of the people of this colony, he being the acknowledged head of a sectarian minority in the Legislature, recently defeated at the polls. Consequences serious!"⁴ Thorburn called a meeting of his party which passed resolutions protesting the appointment. Of the fifteen signing the resolutions, nine were Orangemen.

1. R.C.K. Ensor. England 1870-1914. Oxford, 1949. pp. 91-92.

2. See above p. 63.

3. NA: G 12/4. Governor Des Voeux to Hon. Earl Granville, June 7, 1886.

4. NA: G 12/4. Carter to Sir F.A. Stanley, Jan. 5, 1886. Enclosure Thorburn to Carter, Jan. 5, 1886.

Sir F.B.T. Carter, who first learned of the appointment from Sir Ambrose himself, wrote indignantly to the Colonial Secretary that he found it hard to understand the appointment of Sir Ambrose Shea who "has been in active politics for many years and in the last October elections was returned for St. John's East under the patronage of the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Power, and has become the leader of the fourteen Roman Catholics in Opposition". Carter went on to state, "Such an appointment of one from the hot-bed of local party politics is, I believe, unprecedented, and I most respectfully say, unintelligible to me".

Carter emphasized this latter point by reminding the Colonial Secretary that his own application for the appointment had been refused on the grounds that he had been premier some years ago. He warned the Colonial Secretary that there was still strong underlying bitterness from the Harbour Grace affair, and he felt the appointment of Sir Ambrose as governor would do nothing to moderate it.

The Chamber of Commerce, of which the Honorable A.W. Harvey was president, voiced similar objections. The Chamber's Secretary, James Goodfellow, in forwarding the resolutions to the Imperial Government, pointed out that the Chamber of Commerce had always held aloof from all local political and sectarian matters, but felt duty bound to protest against the appointment which "will tend to discord, mar the welfare of the people, and diminish the hearty respect and enthusiastic loyalty to the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty²."

1. Ibid.

2. NA: G 12/4. Carter to Stanley, Jan. 5, 1886. Enclosure Resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce, Jan. 5, 1886.

Sir Ambrose Shea was not to be outdone by the outburst. He asked his old confederate ally, Sir F.B.T. Carter, for copies of any communications being sent to the Colonial Office concerning him. To this, Carter coolly replied that "I was not aware that I was transmitting any with which he could claim to be furnished," and without further delay, Carter wrote the Colonial Office, "I solemnly believe ... a stranger would be more acceptable as Governor than a resident".

That was the end of the Imperial Government's first attempt to appoint a 'native son' to the post of governor in Newfoundland. Not until 1949 when the colony at last entered Confederation with Canada was a native Newfoundlander acceptable as governor.

Had circumstances been more propitious, Newfoundland may well have gained by the appointment of Sir Ambrose Shea. Of all the men in public life during the latter half of the 19th century, he towered above them all in steadfastness of principle, dignity, and moderation. It was unfortunate that the acquiescence of the Home Government to his appointment as governor came at a time when the colony was just recovering from a severe denominational conflict, and had at its helm men who, despite their personal feelings, could hardly publicly approve of his appointment.

While Shea was in England seeking confirmation of his appointment, Thorburn took the opportunity of approaching some members of Shea's party with a view to amalgamation. This move on the part of the Reform party which had come to power on the platform of "No Amalgamation with the Roman Catholics" provoked an uproar both within and without his party. Orangemen cried

1. NA: G 12/4. Carter to Colonial Secretary, Jan.7, 1886.
2. The Times, St. John's, July 28, 1886.

out they they been deceived as they saw three Roman Catholics invited to fill the offices of Colonial Secretary, Receiver-General, and Speaker.¹ Church of England adherents protested that they were represented on the Executive Council by only one member, while the Methodist body had three and the Roman Catholics three.² Sir F.B.T. Carter attempted to solve the denominational problem by writing to the Imperial Government for permission to increase the number of the Executive Council to eight, instead of seven, so as to "give a fair denominational representation according to population and circumstances".³

The amalgamation of Thorburn's party with some of Sir Ambrose Shea's party was accomplished while Shea was absent from the colony and without his consent,⁴ although political opponents of the Thorburn party and even some supporters believed⁵ the amalgamation had been agreed upon even prior to the election. The most vocal of those putting forth this claim was the noisy editor of the Times, William McCoubrey, who had been most vindictive towards the Thorburn administration, and particularly against Orange Grand Master James Winter.⁶ From within the Orange ranks,⁷ A.B. Morine regarded the amalgamation with indignation. Sir Ambrose himself looked askance at the unexpected behaviour of his supporters, and gave them such trouble that the Governor wrote the Home Government asking it to find some job for him

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. NA: G 12/4. Carter to Earl Granville, Mar. 15, 1886.

4. NA: G 12/4. Governor Des Voeux to Rt. Hon. Edward Stanhope, Sept. 29, 1886.

5. The Times, St. John's, May 14, June 8, July 20, Sept. 7, 1886.

6. Ibid.

7. Morine. op. cit. Ch. 7b. p. 38.

elsewhere "as the ministers wanted to be relieved for a time from his presence" ... he has great political influence here which they are apprehensive will be used against them - he being supposed to be inclined towards aggression owing to the recent amalgamation of religious parties having been brought about in his absence without his concurrence¹".

That the amalgamation had been secretly agreed upon prior to the election is extremely doubtful, despite McCoubrey's and Morine's insistence that it had been. McCoubrey took the stand that Winter had, on one hand, stirred the Orangemen up to sectarian animosity by his election manifestoes urging the Protestants to unite and to countenance no amalgamation with the Roman Catholics, and on the other, secretly plotting with the Roman Catholics to amalgamate as soon as the election was over.² If this had been the case, the secret agreement could hardly have existed without Shea's knowledge, and, in fact, McCoubrey and Morine claimed the agreement was actually made with Sir Ambrose Shea. This, of course, was untrue, as Governor Des Voeux's letter to Stanhope indicated.

B. The Orange Incorporation Bill.

There may be some doubt as to whether the amalgamation of Thorburn's party with a number of Roman Catholics was agreed upon before or after the election. That such an amalgamation took place in July is a fact. The amalgamation indicated that the sectarian animosity aroused by politicians for election purposes was easily dispensed with by politicians, even though it had a

1. NA: G 12/4. Governor Des Voeux to Rt. Hon. Edward Stanhope, Sept. 29, 1886.

2. The Times, St. John's, Dec. 14, 1887. June 8, 1887.

tendency to linger amongst the less sophisticated of the population. The political leaders who went to the hustings on the platform of "No Amalgamation" must have been aware that such a situation was unfeasible and undesirable in a colony where a goodly proportion of the population were Roman Catholics, and where a tradition had been established since 1865 that the two major denominations should be represented on the Executive Council. By using such a sectarian cry, the Orange leaders played a false game with their members who found it hard to believe that the same leaders could, within a few months, do a complete somersault by agreeing to the amalgamation. It was thus an easy step for Orange members to believe that treachery was present also when the Orange Incorporation Bill was rejected by the House of Assembly which owed its lease on power in a large measure to the Orange support it received during the election.

As early as 1883, Orangemen had discussed steps to have the Order incorporated in order to regularize their property holdings.¹ It was not until 1887, when the Assembly was packed with Protestant Orange supporters and the Executive Council boasted four Orangemen, that they decided to approach the House of Assembly.

Captain Abram Kean, the Orange member for Bonavista, presented the petition from the Orangemen asking that the Order be incorporated.² A Select Committee of the House of Assembly was appointed to consider the petition. It consisted of Captain Kean, E. Watson, J. Rolls, A. F. Goodridge, W.B. Grieve, J.J.

1. LOA: Royal Oak Lodge Minutes Book, Mar. 21, 1883.
2. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1887. p. 75.

1

Callahan and D.J. Greene. The latter two were Roman Catholics.

Sir William Whiteway, the former Premier, was retained by the Orangemen to plead their cause before the House of Assembly Select Committee. The retention of Whiteway as their solicitor indicated that the Orangemen, too, had short memories. Scarcely two years before they were accusing him of attacking their Order. They now were prepared to pay him twenty-five dollars for his legal counsel. They needed all the advice they could get. When the Select Committee reported back to the House, it was discovered that the members of the Committee had failed to agree. Captain Kean and J. Rolls moved that the Bill to incorporate the Order be read a second time.

A minority report was presented by D.J. Greene who asked that the Bill be deferred because some of the signatures on the petition were questionable and because the outport lodges did not show that they consented to the proposal that their property should be appropriated by the Loyal Orange Association of Newfoundland. The signatures in question were those of the new Orange Grand Master, Aubrey Crocker of Carbonear, and Isaac Mercer. In fact, no attempt was made by the Order to deny that the signatures were written, not by Crocker and Mercer, but by Donald Morison. Greene's report was seconded by Patrick J. Scott, the Roman Catholic member of the House of Assembly for St. John's West.

This meddling in Orange affairs by outsiders was resented

1. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1887. p. 78.
2. The Times, St. John's, May 4, 1887.
3. See above p. 193.
4. LOA: Journal of Proceedings, 1887. St. John's, Nfld.
5. Debates, Nfld. H. of A. 1887. Evening Mercury, May 10, 1887.
6. Ibid.

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by the Orangemen in the House of Assembly who quickly voiced their disapproval by voting against Greene's minority report. To emphasize further their power, the Orange party within the House rushed the Bill through its second reading on the same day it was placed on the order paper, even though there were several other Bills preceding it. Patrick Scott protested, "I am aware there were a number of Members absent who, if they had known a Bill to incorporate the Loyal Orange Order of Newfoundland was to have been brought on last evening, would have been in their places and voted against it."² T.J. Murphy, another Member for St. John's West, agreed with Scott. "The vote was taken while I was out of the House. Some of the St. John's Members, in order to do me injury have endeavoured to make a little capital out of my absence"³. In fact, Murphy claimed there were six Members absent who would have voted against the Bill. M.J. O'Mara, the Roman Catholic Member for St. John's East, and E.P. Morris, the Roman Catholic Member for St. John's West, both intimated that it was unreasonable for the Orangemen to expect the Legislature to incorporate the Order without first being informed of the objects and aims of the Association. "The Benevolent Irish Society rules are at all times open to inspection," O'Mara reminded them.⁴

Orangeman Morine, who had lost his election contest in Bonavista in 1885, but succeeded in a by-election, entered the House of Assembly debate on the Orange Bill. "It must be said that this Orange Association has been a political kite for years,

1. NA: Nfld. Journal H. of A. 1887., p. 198.
2. Debates, Nfld. Hou A. 1887. Evening Mercury, May 10, 1887.
3. Ibid. May 5, 1887.
4. Ibid. May 11, 1887.

but if you pass this Act of Incorporation it will be the means of preventing further agitation, and thus render it less easy for designing politicians to use the Association for political purposes". Morine went on to declare if any harm could come through the passage of this Orange Bill, I would commend the actions of those who oppose it, but I challenge any member here to show what injury can come to any Roman Catholic in the Island. On the other hand, harm will come if you keep alive this constant agitation and make martyrs of the petitioners".

Captain Kean told the House that when he discovered the signatures on the petition were not the bona fide signatures of Crocker and Mercer, he had communicated with the two men and they stated they were satisfied to have their names on the petition. Kean claimed the Bill of Incorporation had often been discussed in the outport lodges, and that the prevailing opinion was that the Bill should have been introduced a long time ago.

Morine attacked Winter, accusing him of purposely absenting himself from the House so as to avoid voting on the Orange Bill. Morine asserted, "... one of these men [Winter] has made political capital out of the Orange Institution for many years; and it is almost time that he was exposed to the country."

The Presbyterian wing of the House opposed the Bill, even though one of its chief promoters, Donald Morison, was a co-religionist. A.M. MacKay, the member for Burgeo and LaPoile, claimed that many of his Presbyterian colleagues shared his opinion that the Bill to incorporate the Orange Order should be

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

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"voted down every time it presents itself". Another powerful voice was added to the opponents of the Bill. Robert Bond, who had been named Speaker upon the resignation of John Kent in 1885, declared he had little sympathy with the Bill. "I am aware of the manner in which the agitation for this Bill was got up and the purposes for which it was put forward. I am well aware that its purpose has been to place some of us in a false position before the public", the Speaker asserted. Bond went on to question the relations between the Province Grand Lodge of the Orange Order and the 'new body' which petitioned for the Bill. "I speak in the interests of the private lodges which have not been consulted, and to which the matter is either unexplained or misrepresented"².

Morison quickly explained to the House that the Bill "was not got up by any friends of ours or friends of those in political alliance with us in any way, but has been promoted solely by those who were until recently, and some of whom up to the present moment, colleagues of the honourable gentlemen who sit opposite. Mr. Crocker and Mr. Mercer are prominent constituents of the Honourable Surveyor General [Alfred Penney] and the Attorney-General [James Winter] respectively, while Mr. Donald Morison, who is the person most connected with this Bill, is the law partner of the Honourable Attorney-General, and if he and the Attorney-General do not understand each other in politics, I am very much mistaken"³.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

When the Bill was finally voted upon, it was defeated by one vote. Winter was present and voted for the Bill, but he was accused of having ordered several of his supporters to be deliberately absent so that the Bill would be defeated.¹ Morine made great political hay out of the defeat of the Orange Bill. On every occasion, he insinuated it was Winter's fault. That his attack had its effect upon the rank and file of the Orange Order was indicated by a letter printed in the Times. The writer, who signed himself 'One of the Boys', after enumerating various alleged shortcomings of Winter as Orange Grand Master, concluded, "We recollect how you used to ... tell us how it was our lawful right to have the Orange Order incorporated and how your friend, McNeily, used to come up in his maudlin style, and with sinister looks used to insist upon what you called our rights, and we recollect how M.T. Knight and Penney and others of you pressed upon us how the Roman Catholics were 'eating out our very vitals', 'riding rough shod over us', 'bringing us under the bondage of Rome', and we also recollect how you, Winter, McNeily, Knight, Peters, Penney, and March, burked the² Orange Incorporation Bill a few days ago by treachery and fraud."

The Orangemen of Conception Bay were loud in their denunciations of the Assembly men who defeated the Bill. Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Isaac Mercer of Bay Roberts, led the uproar by publishing a letter in the Evening Mercury in which he sarcastically reprimanded A.M. MacKay for his attack on the Order. Mercer asked MacKay, "Who and what are you? Czar of Russia? Shah of Persia: Sultan of Turkey? Emperor of China? No. You are

1. The Times, St. John's. May 11, 1887. See also The Times, May 28, 1887.

2. Ibid.

an Alien, who has come and grown fat on corrupt Governments and the earnings of the sons of this blighted Newfoundland¹". The Deputy Grand Master went on to threaten MacKay and all who attacked the Orange Order. "No doubt you think you are on the pinnacle of fame. Sacred history tells us Haman thought the same, and had a gallows erected for his enemy, but on the gallows he erected was his own neck stretched, and so it shall be with you and all who employ means to overthrow the Orangemen of this country²".

The Conception Bay Orangemen did not mince words. Their more sophisticated brethren in St. John's were a little taken aback by the publication of such straightforward sentiments and they took the Deputy Grand Master to task for his indiscretion. The Grand Master, Aubrey Crocker, informed Mercer he should not have published the letter as though it had been sanctioned by the Grand Lodge. Mercer haughtily replied in a second public letter, "My only object to the public is to exonerate all Provincial Grand Officers in St. John's from merit or demerit, as Mr. Aubrey Crocker puts it, as they were neither part nor parcel to my reply to Mr. A.M. MacKay³".

With the defeat of the Orange Incorporation Bill by the most Orange House of Assembly the colony ever had, the Orange Order received a rude shock. Confidence in its leaders was severely shaken. The bickering, both in public and private, between outpost Orangemen and their St. John's brethren, as well as the divisions within the upper level of Orangemen seriously affected

1. Evening Mercury, St. John's, May 16, 1887.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. May 28, 1887.

the well-being of the Order. Add to this was the amalgamation effected between Thorburn's party and some members of the Liberal Roman Catholic group shortly after the Thorburn administration assumed office. These various factors gave the opposition press plenty of opportunity to feed the more gullible of the Orangemen with material designed to weaken confidence in their leaders. The Times was the most insidious in this respect. Editor McCoubrey, whose pro-Whiteway sympathies had been manifest since 1885, kept up a barrage of personal attacks on Winter, first warning Orangemen that Winter intended "to sell out Thorburn the same way he sold out Whiteway", and then accusing Winter of being the person "who gave the secrets of the Order to the leading Roman Catholics". McCoubrey claimed, "The Roman Catholic people of this country were kept just as well posted up on the internal workings of the Order as were the members themselves, and how could they ascertain the secrets connected with the Institution if they were not betrayed by some person or persons whose duty it was to look after such matters. Such facts could not have escaped the notice of J.S. Winter, the Grand Master of the LOA. The Roman Catholic upper ten are as well informed on the general business of the Order as Mr. J.S. Winter himself".

A member of Winter's own lodge, Royal Oak, asked publicly, "Who is it gives the secrets of the Association to Scott, O'Mara, Carty, Fenelon, and the persons who put Fenelon there? Some of the Orange leaders in the present Government are suspected".

1. The Times, St. John's, Sept. 7, 1887.
2. Ibid. July 16, 1887.
3. Letter to Editor signed Royal Oak. Ibid. July 20, 1887.

Thus although the Orange party had reached the pinnacle of power in 1885, by 1887 its role in government was weakened considerably by the suspicions which had been aroused within the Order over the defeat of the Incorporation Bill and the amalgamation between Thorburn's party and the Roman Catholics. Like any other political party, the Orangemen discovered that the assumption of power brings responsibilities to the whole community, including those who had hitherto been considered enemies, and like any responsible government officials, Orange politicians had to make concessions and compromises to groups within the community who were antagonistic to the Orange Order. The difficulty of explaining these concessions and compromises to the more militant rank and file members of the Orange Order, who thought only in terms of their immediate demands, soon became increasingly clear to the Orange leaders. It was against this background that overtures from Canada came for a second attempt at confederating the Colony of Newfoundland with the new Dominion of Canada.

C. The Second Attempt at Confederation.

If, as C. F. Bennett claimed in 1869, the Orange Society was founded in Newfoundland as an agency through which Confederation was to be accomplished, the time was now propitious for the Orangemen to fulfil their objective. The tone for the reception of the new overtures from the Dominion of Canada was set by Orangeman Eli Garland of Bay de Verde during the debate on the Crown Lands Amendment Bill. In objecting to the Bill, in 1885, Garland declared, "Confederation is the goal to which you [Premier Whiteway] have been looking during the past thirteen years, and should you succeed in depriving the country of her liberty, a seat in the chairs at Ottawa and a fine salary will

be the reward for your treachery. There are men in this country today who would, if they could do it by a fluke, put their colony into Confederation". If Garland's opinion was indicative of Orangemen generally, they were surely not too receptive to Confederation.

Two years later Sir Charles Tupper visited St. John's to discuss the latest invitation to Newfoundland to enter Confederation. He received no enthusiastic response when he told the Newfoundland government that the Imperial government was anxious for Confederation, and that Canada was willing to increase the offer of \$150,000 a year for Crown lands and to spend a large sum on the extension of railways and other public works.

Governor Henry Blake informed Governor General Sir H. Holland, "My ministers offered no observations upon the statement, and appeared to shrink from any expression of opinion whatever. From what I can glean of public opinion, it appears to me that there is a profound distrust of any statements coming from the Dominion".

Early in the new year of 1888, Governor Blake reported to Lord Knutsford that the Attorney-General James Winter, the Surveyor General, Alfred Penney, and the Colonial Secretary, Maurice Fenelon, were in favour of sending a delegation to Ottawa to arrange the terms of Confederation. Opposed to the proposal were the Receiver-General W.J.S. Donnelly, a Roman Catholic, and Allan Goodridge. The Premier, Mr. Thorburn, was regarded as

1. Debates, Nfld. H. of A. 1885. Evening Mercury, Mar. 26, 1885.

2. NA: G 12/4. Governor Henry Blake to Governor Sir H. Holland, Oct. 10, 1887.

3. Ibid.

inclined to take a middle of the road line. Governor Blake¹ observed, "... the question is already one of absorbing interest in the colony. The merchants of St. John's, who enjoy a practical monopoly of trade of the colony are almost to a man opposed to any change. The Banks, which exercise considerable influence over the merchants are opposed to Confederation as they² fear Canadian competition".

However, the Governor declared that great changes had taken place since the Confederation proposal had been rejected in 1869, and that powerful influences that were then adverse to Confederation were now believed to be favourable. Blake was referring to the Roman Catholic Bishops of St. John's and Harbour³ Grace. He also believed that the new Ballot Act would operate in favour of Confederation, as it would lessen the influence of the merchants among the outport constituencies. Despite these changed conditions, the Governor was under no illusions. "For these reasons," he wrote, "while I do not underrate the power of the opposition of the Banks and Merchants, I think it not improbable that the Colony may declare in favour of Confederation, but an exceptionally good fishing season may profoundly affect⁴ the views of the people".

The Confederation issue provoked a cleavage in the Executive Council. Mr. Goodridge, the member most opposed to the proposal, secured the Premier's support to the idea that the

1. NA: G 12/4. Governor Blake to Lord Knutsford, Mar. 23, 1888.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

the members of the Ottawa delegation should not leave before the middle of June. The Orange members of the Executive Council pressed the Premier to send the delegates to Ottawa in time to have the agreement ratified by the Canadian government before it prorogued and prior to putting the question to the Newfoundland people. Winter told the Governor his reason for haste was because he found "...that while a large majority of the Members of the House are personally in favour of Confederation, they do not wish to commit themselves at present until they see how public opinion tends when the terms are known¹".

Governor Blake informed the Colonial Secretary in London, "I have preserved an attitude of entire neutrality - as from my observations of the people, I am of the opinion that any pressure attempted by either the Governor or Her Majesty's Government on the question would be the most effective means of defeating it"².

An improvement in the fishery in 1888 brought about the anticipated rejection of Confederation again in Newfoundland. By September of 1888, Governor Blake informed Lord Knutsford, "The condition of affairs within the Colony has so changed as to modify my views on the probability of Confederation being accepted at present by this Colony. There has been a marked improvement in the fishery, especially in Labrador, while the price of fish has reached a very high figure³." The Governor went on to elaborate on the reception of the Confederation proposals. "The Roman Catholic priesthood have declared almost to a man against

4, 1888. 1. NA: G 12/4. Governor Blake to Lord Knutsford, April

2. Ibid.

3. NA: G 12/4. Same to Same, Sept. 14, 1888.

Confederation, and Sir William Whiteway, I am informed, yielded to the pressure of his party and declared himself an anti-Confederate. Against a combination of the Roman Catholic priesthood, the merchants, and Sir William Whiteway's party led by him, I do not believe that the issue, if put to the constituencies, would be in favour of Confederation, and a defeat would settle the question for years¹".

The delegates appointed to Ottawa postponed once more their departure. Sir William Whiteway, who had resumed political activity in 1887, joined forces with the anti-Confederates upon concluding that there was little enthusiasm for it throughout the country.² The government party of Robert Thorburn became associated with the idea of Confederation and this was one of the major reasons for its defeat in the 1889 election.³ Even though the party originally had the support of the Orange faction, its flirtation with Confederation was sufficient to split the uneasy marriage of 1885 between the old opposition and the Protestant members of Whiteway's party. Apparently, the issue of Confederation, although supported by Orange leaders in St. John's, was still anathema to outport fishermen, whether they were Orangeman or Roman Catholic. The decisive defeat of Thorburn's party in 1889 relegated Confederation to the distant future as far as Newfoundland was concerned.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions

When Orangeism came to Newfoundland in 1863 its immediate raison d'etre was far from apparent. The Protestant party of Hoyles had triumphed over the Liberal Roman Catholic party in the 1861 elections, and the Protestants were secure in a numerical majority, which, though small, gave indications of increasing, while the Roman Catholic population had shown a proportional decline. From the point of view of the religious ideology of Orangeism, the colony seemingly had no need of Orangeism, as the battle of ascendancy had already been fought and won by the Protestants without the aid of Orangeism. On the political side, though, Orangeism had much to offer. Its political tenets - that of maintaining the British connection and loyalty to the Crown were facets of Orangeism which could serve astute right wing Newfoundland politicians who feared the rumblings of republicanism, union with the United States, Fenianism, and other disturbing cries of the 60's.

Newfoundland Orangeism, being an offshoot of Canadian Orangeism, was bound to be somewhat coloured by the characteristics of the mainland organization which, in its earlier period, emphasized the political, rather than the religious, aspects of Irish Orangeism. Under Ogle Gowan, Canadian Orangeism served as a bulwark against the republican tendencies of Mackenzie and Papineau, and acted as an agency of imperialism against the continental forces drawing Canada towards the United States and away from Britain. It was Canadian Orangemen, spurred on by Ogle Gowan, who sought out the Irish Grand Lodge to take steps towards propaganda and expansion of the Orange Order in the colonies as a measure towards consolidating the Empire against the political separatist tendencies of the decade.

Newfoundland Orangeism was a manifestation of this policy of Canadian Orangeism. By the '60's, Canadian Orangemen began to feel that their relation to Britain depended upon a closer unity of the British North American provinces. The American Civil War and the threat of Fenianism were dramatic indications that British America must present a united front to the republic to the south. Within the provinces themselves movements such as the annexation agitation of the '40's provoked those who regarded Canada as 'British' North America to draw closer together.

Newfoundland, with its large Irish Roman Catholic population, appeared to Prince Edward Island Orangemen as a suitable field of proselytization, especially as the colony was governed by a man whom they regarded as no friend to Orangeism. Sir Alexander Bannerman, a Scotsman of Liberal proclivities, had treated the Prince Edward Island Orangemen with something akin to hostility while he was governor of that colony. However, Bannerman's Liberal reputation in Newfoundland fell under an eclipse when he suppressed the 1861 election riots with the aid of troops, and he found himself somewhat unwillingly allied to the Ultra Protestants. This volte-face was not apparent to Prince Edward Island Orangemen whose spokesman, Dr. Thomas Leeming, introduced the Order into Newfoundland. Leeming found a Confederate ally in Newfoundland in the person of D. Smallwood, who was also favourably disposed to Orangeism. Whatever the attitude of the other charter members of the first Orange lodge in Newfoundland, there was, thus, from the start a nucleus of Confederates within the Order.

The fact that the Orange Order enjoyed no immediate boom in the colony perhaps indicates that the Protestants felt secure for the time being. The victory of the Ultra Protestant party under Hoyles in 1861 had given the Protestants political ascendancy. Hoyles could thus afford to be generous to his defeated opponents. His offer of two seats on the Executive Council to members of the Opposition was an attempt at a denominational compromise. Its rejection left the Protestant party in complete control of the colony's administration until 1865 when Carter succeeded in persuading Shea and Kent to enter his Executive Council. The inclusion of the two leading Roman Catholic members of the Liberal party in the cabinet of the Conservative administration did not cause undue concern amongst Orangemen, for Kent and Shea were acknowledged Confederates. Succeeding generations tried to follow Carter's lead in having representatives of the two major religious denominations serve on the Executive Council.

It was not until the 1869 Anti-Confederation election campaign that the Orange Order suddenly expanded to the outports in Conception Bay and began to attract ambitious politicians such as James Winter, Alex McNeily and Michael T. Knight. The reasons for this were two-fold. First, the Bennett Anti-Confederation party had the solid support of the Roman Catholics, and secondly, the pro-Confederates felt the need for some sort of political organization through which they could work, particularly in the outports. The Orange Order, which could act as a unifying agency for Protestants of all persuasions, seemed just the type of society needed. Wesleyans and Church of England people, Presbyterians and Baptists, could all be drawn together in the Order. This was particularly desirable in some of the outports where

differences between members of the various Protestant communities tended to become as pronounced as those between Protestant and Roman Catholic.

Though some of the Orange leaders may have envisaged the Order as a vehicle through which Confederation was to be achieved, it took almost a hundred years to accomplish that end. Orangemen in 1869 were found among the Anti-Confederates, and even when the Carter government was returned in 1874 largely through the support of Orangemen, Carter realized there was not enough popular support for Confederation to warrant any attempt to push it through the House of Assembly. Rank and file Orangemen were divided in their attitude towards Confederation, and despite a battering barrage of propaganda from the predominantly Confederate press of St. John's, Orange leaders came to realize the proposal did not enjoy general approval, and they shied away from any discussion of the topic.

With the Protestant party in power from 1874 until 1884, Orangemen were free to develop their societies along charitable and fraternal lines. In the capital city of St. John's where Protestants were in a decided minority, Orange enthusiasm declined. In the outports, it was otherwise. Orange societies sprang up all along the coast north of St. John's and on the southern coast west of Placentia Bay. By 1884 Newfoundland had twenty-one lodges and by 1889 it boasted fifty-four. The sudden bursts of expansion of the Order coincided with attacks on the Orangemen. The first major stimulus given Orangeism was the attack made on the Order by Premier Charles Fox Bennett in his election manifesto of 1873. The Orangemen's reply to that was to assist Carter's party in defeating Bennett. The second followed the Harbour Grace shooting in 1883 and the subsequent acquittal of the nineteen men charged with the shooting.

Rumblings of discontent amongst the rank and file Orangemen at the interjection of politics into the private lodge meetings began to be heard as early as 1882. To many outport Orangemen, the main attraction of the Order was its role as a welfare agency and fraternal society. Helping the sick and needy Orangeman, providing mortality fees to widows of Orangemen, paying funeral expenses, and giving financial support to members who suffered serious loss in fires - these were the aspects of Orangeism that meant a great deal in the outports where hard times came all too frequently.

But even though some members objected to discussing politics in the lodges, it was the very fact that the Orange Order could boast of members in high government places that gave the Order its special attraction. The close alliance of Grand Lodge officers and St. John's politicians and dispensers of political patronage earned the Order a reputation for power. Without this 'meddling in politics' the Orange Order would not have possessed this reputation, and without this reputation, the Order would not have attracted so many members so quickly. Besides, the discussion of political matters in the outport lodges gave the people outside St. John's a chance to feel important, and in some instances, it provided a training in public speaking and political affairs for its members, some of whom later put the training to good use when they entered the House of Assembly as members.

Of course, meddling in politics had its drawbacks. Orangemen were bound to differ in politics, and when this happened, the Order suffered. This disadvantage became painfully apparent in 1885 when members of the Grand Lodge took opposite sides politically. The ensuing bitterness and confusion within the

Orange ranks was far from salutary for the Order as a whole.

Such was the situation that followed the Harbour Grace tragedy. That the tragedy developed out of a background of denominational disorders in an area where Protestants and Roman Catholics mixed in something like equal numbers has been shown. When to this already troubled area came the propaganda of militant Orangeism coupled with the missionary zeal of Redemptorist priests from the United States, it is not surprising that the resulting factional fights should lead to tragedy. The shooting of four Orangemen and one Roman Catholic on St. Stephen's Day, 1883, and the acquittal, after two long trials, of the nineteen Roman Catholics accused of the shooting aroused the more militant Protestants to what they called a "defense of their rights".

Unfortunately for the Orange Order, its leaders differed as to how to "defend their rights". Some felt that the existing government under Sir William Whiteway had somehow failed them in not securing a conviction of the prisoners. Others, such as Orange Grand Master James Winter, found it difficult to make a choice between loyalty to his party leader and loyalty to the Orangemen who put him in the House of Assembly. His hesitation caused confusion in the Orange ranks, especially as the defecting wing of Orangemen began publicly to denounce him.

It was the Penney Amendment upon which the Whiteway administration foundered. The amendment, moved by an Orangeman, suggested that the courts of justice had been found wanting in not convicting the Harbour Grace prisoners. The government party, in voting for a somewhat softened version of the Penney Amendment, alienated its Roman Catholic supporters. The release of the prisoners from custody and the attempt by Whiteway to bring in a

bill to prohibit public processions provoked the Orangemen to fury, and they, too, deserted Whiteway. The House of Assembly was thus split into three distinct groups, neither strong enough to form the government.

The 1885 election, which was precipitated by the withdrawal of Roman Catholics and Orangemen from Whiteway's administration, put the Orange party at the apex of its power. Orangemen joined the old opposition party of Protestants under Goodridge and Green to form what became known as the "Reform Party", a party which ostensibly was to fight for "justice" for the Protestants and to reject any idea of amalgamating with the Roman Catholics. This hybrid party of defecting Orangemen and old mercantile opposition members appealed to sectarian feelings during the campaign, and not without success. Eleven Orangemen were numbered among the members of the new House of Assembly. Out of these two were on the Executive Council and two held high government jobs.

With such apparent power, the Orange Order might have been expected to seek new trials in connection with the Harbour Grace shooting, and to amend the jury laws which they claimed were 'inadequate to secure justice for Protestants'. Nothing of this nature was attempted. By the time the elections were over, sectarian feelings had cooled and the 'Orange party' sought to curry favour with the rank and file by securing an act to incorporate the Orange Order so as to regularize its property holdings. This, too, proved a fiasco. The Orange leaders in the Reform party were divided on the expediency of the proposal Incorporation Act. Division meant failure. Again, the ordinary Orangeman found it difficult to understand why the government, their government, had failed them. The St. John's press gave

them no comfort. Editorials designed to throw doubt on the integrity of the Orange leaders had their desired effect. The Orange Incorporation Bill was defeated, and the Orangemen were confused as to the attitude of their leaders on the issue. Out of the confusion came once more the demand to expel politics from the Order.

If the Orangemen were unable to secure an act to incorporate their Order in a House of Assembly packed with Orangemen and Orange sympathizers, it was unlikely they could accomplish much as a power group in regards to the second attempt at Confederation in 1887, nor was there much indication that Orangemen were particularly interested in the proposal when it was broached by Sir Charles Tupper. Confederation could be entertained only as a drastic last resort in an economic crisis. A good fishing season was all that was needed to cut short any Confederation discussions, and the fishery proved a bountiful one in 1887.

Thus, although there were undoubtedly Confederates within the Orange leadership and ranks, the Orange Order in Newfoundland as a whole could not be inveigled into promoting the colony's union with Canada. The ordinary Orangeman, like his Roman Catholic neighbour, had developed a touch of insularity against proposals from the Dominion. The Order, as a vehicle for Confederation, was a failure in the 19th century. As an agency which could draw Protestants of various persuasions together and provide badly needed assistance in an age when no welfare state could be called upon, the Orange Order found its metier. Its force as a Protestant power group was never far beneath the surface and could come to the fore whenever the occasion called for a display of Protestant strength.

INTRODUCTION TO THE APPENDIX

The following lists showing the Members of the House of Assembly for 1855, 1859, 1861, 1869, and 1885, together with their religious denominations and party affiliations, have been compiled by the writer. Where possible, the identification as to religion and party has been made from direct reference in newspapers, government documents, or other original sources. In some cases, a direct reference was not available, and where the identification was made by an implied or indirect reference, an effort was made to cross-check the information. On the whole, the writer believes the various identifications are accurate, although there may be occasional instances where the source itself was misleading or incorrect. For example, some sources may refer to a Protestant as a Catholic simply because he represented a Roman Catholic district or was a member of the Liberal party. In the case of the more prominent Members of the House, a cross-check was possible, but in the case of the lesser known Members this was not always possible.

APPENDIX

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY 1855

District	Name	Religion	Party
Bay de Verde	J. Bemister	Prot.	Tory
Bonavista	R. Carter J.H. Warren M.W. Walbank	Prot. Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory Tory
Burgeo & LePoile	R. Prowse	Prot.	Tory
Burin	C. Benning P. Morris	R.C. R.C.	Liberal Liberal
Carbonear	E. Hanrahan	R.C.	Liberal
Ferryland	T. Glen E.D. Shea	Prot. R.C.	Liberal Liberal
Fortune Bay	H.W. Hoyles	Prot.	Tory
Harbour Grace	J. Hayward J.L. Prendergast	Prot. R.C.	Liberal Liberal
Harbour Main	T. Talbot T. Byrne	R.C. R.C.	Liberal Liberal
Placentia & St. Mary's	G.J. Hogsett J. Delaney J. Kelly	R.C. R.C. R.C.	Liberal Liberal Liberal
Port de Grave	R. Brown	Prot.	Tory
St. John's East	J. Kent R.J. Parsons Peter Winser	R.C. Prot. ?	Liberal Liberal Liberal
St. John's West	P.F. Little A. Shea John Fox	R.C. R.C. ?	Liberal Liberal Liberal
Trinity	F.B.T. Carter Stephen March J. Winter	Prot. Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory Tory
Twillingate & Fogo	W.H. Ellis T. Knight	Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY 1859

District	Name	Religion	Party
Bay de Verde	J. Bemister	Prot.	Tory
Bonavista	S. March J.H. Warren M.W. Walbank	Prot. Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory Tory
Burgeo & LaPoile	James Seaton	Prot.	Tory
Burin	A. Shea J.J. Rogerson	R.C. Prot.	Liberal ?
Carbonear	E. Hanrahan	R.C.	Liberal
Ferryland	T. Glen <i>E. Shea</i>	Prot.	Liberal
Harbour Grace	J. Hayward J.L. Prendergast	Prot. R.C.	Liberal Liberal
Harbour Main	Patrick Nowlan C. Furey	R.C. R.C.	Liberal Liberal
Placentia & St. Mary's	G.J. Hogsett J. Delaney J. English	R.C. R.C. ?	Liberal Liberal ?
Port de Grave	J. Leamon	Prot.	?
St. John's East	J. Kent J. Kavanagh R.J. Parsons	R.C. R.C. Prot.	Liberal Liberal Liberal
St. John's West	J. Casey T.S. Dwyer P.M. Barron	R.C. R.C. R.C.	Liberal Liberal Liberal
Trinity	F.B.T. Carter Stephen Rendell J. Winter	Prot. Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory Tory
Twillingate & Fogo	W.V. Whiteway T. Knight	Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory.
Fortune Bay	Captain Carter	Prot.	Tory
		16 Prot. 12 R.C. 1 ?	11 Tories 15 Liberals 2 ?

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY 1861

District	Name	Religion	Party
Bay de Verde	J. Bemister	Prot.	Tory
Bonavista	J.J. Warren S. March M.W. Walbank	Prot. Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory Tory
Burgeo & LaPoile	D.W. Prowse	Prot.	Tory
Burin	H.W. Hoyles E. Evans	Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory
Carbonear	E. Hanrahan	R.C.	Liberal
Ferryland	T. Glen E.D. Shea	Prot. R.C.	Liberal Liberal
Fortune Bay	Captain Carter	Prot.	Tory
Harbour Grace	J. Hayward H. Moore	Prot. R.C.	Liberal Ind. ?
Harbour Main	Patrick Nowlan T. Byrne	R.C. R.C.	Ind. ? Ind. ?
Placentia & St. Mary's	A. Shea R. McGrath W.G. Flood	R.C. R.C. ?	Liberal Liberal ?
Port de Grave	J. Leamon	Prot.	?
St. John's East	J. Kent J. Kavanagh R.J. Parsons	R.C. R.C. Prot.	Liberal Liberal Liberal
St. John's West	J. Casey T. Talbot Henry Renouf	R.C. R.C. R.C.;	Liberal Liberal Liberal
Twillingate	W.V. Whiteway T. Knight	Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory
Trinity	F.B.T. Carter S. Rendell John Winter	Prot. Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory Tory
		17 Prot. 12 R.C. 1 ?	13 Tories 12 Liberals 3 Ind. 2 ?

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OR ASSEMBLY 1865

District	Name	Religion	Party
Bay de Verde	J. Bemister	Prot.	Tory
Bonavista	J.T. Oakley J.H. Warren J.T. Burton	Prot. Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory Tory
Burgeo & LaPoile	D.W. Prowse	Prot.	Tory
Burin	E. Evans F.B.T. Carter	Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory
Carbonear	John Rorke	Prot.	?
Ferryland	T. Glen M. Kearney	Prot. R.C.	Liberal Liberal
Fortune Bay	T.R. Bennett	Prot.	?
Harbour Grace	J. Hayward W.S. Green	Prot. Prot.	Liberal ? Tory
Harbour Main	G.J. Hogsett C. Furey	R.C. R.C.	Liberal Liberal
Placentia & St. Mary's	A. Shea P.M. Barron T. O'Rielley	R.C. R.C. R.C.	? Tory Liberal Liberal
Port de Grave	J. Leamon	Prot.	?
St. John's East	J. Kent J. Kavanagh R.J. Parsons	R.C. R.C. Prot.	? Tory Liberal Liberal
St. John's West	J. Casey T. Talbot H. Renouf	R.C. R.C. R.C.	Liberal Liberal Liberal
Trinity	S. March S. Rendell F.J. Wyatt	Prot. Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory ?
Twillingate & Fogo	W.V. Whiteway T. Knight	Prot. Prot.	Tory Tory

19 Prot.

11 R.C.

14 Tories

12 Liberals

4 ?

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY 1869

District	Name	Religion	Party
Bay de Verde	J. Bemister	Prot.	Confederate
Bonavista	J.L. Noonan F. Winton W.M. Barnes	Prot. Prot. Prot.	Anti Confederat Anti Anti
Burgeo & LaPoile	P. Emerson	Prot.	Conf.
Burin	E. Evans F.B.T. Carter	Prot. Prot.	Conf. Conf.
Carbonear	John Rorke	Prot.	Conf.
Ferryland	T. Glen T. Batcock	Prot. R.C.	Anti. Anti.
Fortune Bay	T.R. Bennett	Prot.	Anti.
Harbour Grace	J. Munn W.S. Greene	Prot. Prot.	Conf. Conf.
Harbour Main	J.I. Little J. Kennedy	R.C. R.C.	Anti Anti
Placentia & St. Mary's	C.F. Bennett H. Renouf R.J. Parsons	Prot. R.C. Prot.	Anti Anti Anti
Port de Grave	J.B. Wood	Prot.	Anti
St. John's East	W.P. Walsh J.A. Jordan R.J. Parsons, Sr.	R.C. R.C. Prot.	Anti Anti Anti
St. John's West	T. Talbot H. Renouf (ran twice) P. Brennan	R.C. R.C. R.C.	Anti Anti Anti
Trinity	S. Rendell T.H. Ridley R. Alsop	Prot. Prot. ?	Conf. Conf. Anti
Twillingate & Fogo	S. MacKay C. Duder	Prot. Prot.	Anti Anti
		20 Prot. 9 R.C. 1 ?	9 Confederates 21 Antis

MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY 1885

District	Name	Religion	
Bay de Verde	S.R. March	Prot.	
	A.J. W. McNeily	Prot.	Orangeman
Bonavista	J.L. Noonan	Prot.	
	Abram Kean	Prot.	Orangeman
	E. White	Prot.	
Burgeo & LaPoile	A.M. McKay	Prot.	
Burin	J.E.P. Peters	Prot.	Orangeman
	H. LeMessurier	Prot.	
Ferryland	D.J. Greene	?	
	G. Shea	R.C.	
Fogo	J. Rolls	Prot.	Orangeman
Fortune Bay	R. Bond	Prot.	
Harbour Grace	J.S. Winter	Prot.	Orangeman
	C. Dawe	Prot.	Orangeman
	J. Godden	Prot.	Orangeman
Harbour Main	J. Veitch	R.C.	
	R. McDonnell	R.C.	
Placentia & St. Mary's	J.F. McGrath	R.C.	
	W.J.S. Donnelly	R.C.	
	G. Emerson	?	
Port de Grave	G.A. Hutchings	Prot.	Orangeman
Carbonear	A. Penney	Prot.	Orangeman
St. Barbe	A. Bradshaw	Prot.	
St. George	M.H. Carty	R.C.	
St. John's East	R.J. Kent	R.C.	
	A. Shea	R.C.	
	M.J. O'Mara	R.C.	
St. John's West	E.P. Morris	R.C.	
	P.J. Scott	R.C.	
	J.J. Callahan	R.C.	
Trinity	R. Thorburn	Prot.	
	W.B. Grieve	Prot.	
	E. Watson	Prot.	Orangeman
Twillingate	A.F. Goodridge	Prot.	
	S. McKay	Prot.	
	Michael T. Knight	Prot.	Orangeman

22 Prot. 11 Orangemen
 12 R.C.
 2 ?

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