

## Introduction: ethnic associationalism and an English diaspora

In early 1953, a major storm hit parts of northern Europe, causing the North Sea to flood. Over 300 people died on land along the east coast of England, with a similar number also perishing at sea. The country's eastern coastline was devastated, properties were severely damaged, and thousands of people had to be evacuated from their homes.<sup>1</sup> At once, the tragedy activated powerful networks of English ethnic associationalism abroad. In New York, where the local St George's Society was gathering for its annual general meeting shortly after the flood, the response was immediate and well organized, with the Society's office becoming 'the centre for the assembling and packing of clothing for people in the devastated areas'. In total, the Society received 'about three tons' of clothes and other 'useful articles', airlifting them to England, specifically to the mayor of Lincoln and the Women's Voluntary Services in London, for distribution in the affected areas. The New York St George's Society was pleased to report that the dispatch of items to England proceeded 'with minimum delay and expense' thanks to the British Overseas Airways Corporation, which 'undertook to take large shipments free of charge'. In total, the Society estimated, about 2,000 families were supported.<sup>2</sup>

As the New York St George's Society reached across the Atlantic, scale and timeliness are highlighted in this directed and practical relief effort. Equally relevant is how the Society utilized a hundred-year-old tradition of English ethnic associational culture.<sup>3</sup> Since long before the American Revolution, Englishmen in the colonies had been helping their countrymen in distress. By the mid-nineteenth century, when mass migration propelled large numbers of English cross the Atlantic for a new life 'out west', English ethnic societies had also taken hold in Canada. These associations developed everywhere, with their spread intrinsically connected to the general settlement patterns of the English. Such was the proliferation and interest that, in 1881, one of the older organizations in the United States, the Sons of St George in Philadelphia,

had so many hundreds of members that its committee agreed that 'it was considered advisable to hold informal social meetings of members of the society for the express purpose of becoming better acquainted with each other'.<sup>4</sup>

Still, the elite nature of the St George's societies meant that they never secured mass participation. For this, we must turn to a much larger, initially distinctively lower-class type of English associational life – one built on mutualism and collective self-help – which flourished from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. In the United States this took the form of the Benevolent (sometimes called American) Order of the Sons of St George (OSStG); and in Canada it assumed the guise of the Sons of England Benevolent Society. These two associations became nationwide phenomena in their respective countries, and attracted thousands of members. Like other friendly societies, they adopted initiation rituals and ceremonial forms, and supported wider social and pastoral objectives. Both the OSStG and the Sons of England, as membership societies, dispensed not charity but mutual aid, paid for on a subscription basis.

These two types of English associations – the elite charities and the more working-class fraternities – pinpoint a common fault-line between those who gratefully accepted charity and those who sought robust independence from it through collective self-help. Culturally, the groups were similar. A love of England united them. Sometimes they would pray, play and feast together.

It is the purpose of this study to explore both elite and working-class English ethnic associationalism in North America from their first appearances in the 1730s until the 1950s, when their roles as friendly societies and charities declined in importance. We hope to show that the 'moment of Englishness', which Kumar notes in late nineteenth-century England, was first established and robust in the United States and Canada long before the motherland awoke to its reasoning.<sup>5</sup>

### **The nature of English associational culture**

While English associations characterized members' ethnic and national origins, they also typified what Alexis de Tocqueville viewed as a peculiarly American organizational culture. He marvelled at the extent of civic associationalism in nineteenth-century America, contrasting the richness and intensity of this participatory citizenship with the hierarchical nature of French and English life. Yet such communal connections were by no means alien to immigrants from the British Isles, since the English had, for centuries, formed diverse types of associations.<sup>6</sup> Civic organizations at home, however, did not have the same reach into the governance of members' lives. As de Tocqueville saw it, the considerable

distance between citizen-subjects and the agencies that governed their lives characterized the European social order.

Across the Atlantic, things were different: 'Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all minds are constantly joining together in groups.' Putting political and industrial formations to one side, de Tocqueville marvelled at the dizzying range of things that brought Americans together, 'some grave, some trivial': fêtes, seminaries, inn-building, the erection of houses of worship, the distribution of books, or agencies 'to send missionaries to the Antipodes'. Americans joined together on the principle that enjoying the fruits of society required active participation for the common good. 'Wherever there is a new undertaking, at the head of which you expect to see in France the government and in England some great lord, in the United States you are sure to find an association.'<sup>7</sup> The English certainly expanded their associational reach in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so that emigrants from England were hardly ignorant of the type of culture they would find in the United States. Still, de Tocqueville commented that 'the English were a long way from use of associations with anything like the same frequency or skill as the Americans'.<sup>8</sup>

While that may have been the case, the first societies in the United States, such as the Freemasons, planted in the colonies in the early eighteenth century, or the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, which came in the early nineteenth, were imported directly from the old country.<sup>9</sup> Americans applied the principles of associational culture very widely to all manner of tasks and challenges, but the Englishmen's secret and ritual-bound societies, their charities and mutual aid associations, which interest us here, owe much to their long-standing European antecedents.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, while de Tocqueville saw associative forms as part of the American condition, there was in fact convergence with, not divergence from, the old country. English immigrants utilized their existing fraternal bonds, not least the masons, to establish 'contacts between English and American [business] members' and to act as 'convenient conduits for skilled English immigrants'.<sup>11</sup>

Once fraternity members had left the old country, the shape and intent of the associations developed and sometimes changed.<sup>12</sup> For one thing, in the United States all ethnic groups found a hothouse for such communal enterprises and so new arrivals quickly became integrated into American ways of associating. Indeed, it is hard to think of an immigrant nationality whose mostly non-political national societies did not play civic as well as ethnic roles. The present study describes a series of English associational structures that conform to these developments in the North American city.

Beito notices three fluid and overlapping, types of fraternal society in the United States: 'secret societies, sick and benefit societies, and life insurance societies'.<sup>13</sup> These correspond to the provision that the

English made available to their countrymen. Such societies emerged from ancient traditions, even though modern variations became less mystical and more practical.<sup>14</sup> Beito explains why people of the same class played the role of both beneficiaries and benefactors of funds. As he acutely puts it: 'today's recipient could be tomorrow's donor'.<sup>15</sup> In fact, this was a link-and-chain connection: the very thing that made relationships stronger. The limitations of state welfare in the nineteenth century also stimulated friendly societies – a development also facilitated, as Beito observes, by the stigma that ordinary people attached to receiving that welfare. There certainly were strong fault-lines between fraternal mutual aid and elite alms-giving, and immigrants thus shared strategies with millions of Americans and Canadians, who formed thousands of societies to provide collective protection. There was, however, a difference between the immigrant and the host. Generally, immigrants were likely to be more desperate than long-established and properly settled migrants, though they still bridled at charity when there was any prospect of an independent strategy. Within this wider context our study seeks answers to questions about the causes of mass mutualism among English immigrations in the United States and Canada, while also providing a test-bed for examining aspects of communal, civic and social interaction more broadly.

Immigrants – and, from an early point, African-Americans – were principal actors in the world of mutual aid, forming and joining fraternal societies in huge numbers.<sup>16</sup> Every imaginable ethnic and national group announced its order, fellowship or society to its new country. Associations with 'Polish', 'Czech', 'Greek', 'Irish', 'Scots', or 'Jewish' in their names were added to the plethora of non-ethnic fraternities, such the nationwide Modern Woodmen of America, or the regional Knights of the Maccabees.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, societies of American and Canadian provenance both aligned and blended with associations of European origins. For example, the Maccabees grew out of the Foresters in Ontario and spread mostly in neighbouring parts of the United States, such as Michigan.<sup>18</sup>

Those at most risk – recent arrivals, those lacking the security of well-established families and communities, people living in remote places and those whose European traditions involved guilds and fraternities – were quickest to form mutual aid societies. In England, those with a proclivity to joining fraternal orders demonstrated collectivism in response to Smilesian exhortations for self-help and thrift. 'Heaven helps those who help themselves', wrote Smiles at the head of his most famous book,<sup>19</sup> and countless societies followed just this stricture. Those joining together within formalized associational structures saw the advantages in unity: it shared risk, guaranteed benefits and came with a form of fraternity that was convivial and sociable, as well as simply financial.

Whether charities or mutual societies, ethnic associations always combined their commitment with strong functions of sociability. Most celebrated their national origins with a dinner on the national saint's day, reinforcing critical sites of national memory.<sup>20</sup> For mutual aid societies that exhibited some characteristics of secret societies, quasi-masonic rituals, passwords, the recitation of arcane-sounding text and the recognition of symbols and devices provided added adhesives for group identity. Not so for the charities: their determining identity was conviviality over dinner and fund-raising for English charities and monuments, not dressing up in aprons, collars and gloves. Yet if ritual separated, for example, the OSStG from the St George's societies, this was not true of religious services, which became increasingly popular foci for collective identification in the course of the nineteenth century. Both types of association also customarily invited members of other ethnic clubs to such dinners, a fact that is suggestive of the wider role of organizations in the social life of New World settlements. The English, then, were no different from other ethnic groups: they carried out the same types of ethnic activities, actively expressing their sense of Englishness through the formalized structures of associations.

### **Towards an English diaspora**

From charity to mutual aid, whether open or secret, ritual-bound or not, the persistent activity of English ethnic associations provided a critical building block in what we believe constituted a functional diaspora, the foundations of which required sustained work by active agents. In conceptualizing the English as a diaspora, Brubaker's three-point typology is instructive. The English were widely dispersed, as peoples must be to be considered as a diaspora. Indeed, few European peoples were, in that sense, more widely spread. English emigrants also retained an orientation towards homeland, whether through concern for immigrants or in their celebrations of St George or the monarchy. We recognize, here, that the English formed a specific type of transnational entity, an imperial diaspora,<sup>21</sup> in the sense that their identity existed at both national and imperial levels and intertwined each unit of belonging in a formidable machine of colonial and imperial control. For the English, connections were maintained with the homeland through communication with the London-based Royal Society of St George (RSSStG), which was set up in the 1890s in recognition of the work done in the diaspora to promote English culture and identity. Finally, the English actively fostered a distinctive identity, through their many clubs and societies, in their new places of settlement.<sup>22</sup>

With these considerations in mind, we argue here that there was an English diaspora. Such a view cuts against traditional scholarship,

which has cast the English as non-ethnic – though the most recent works have increasingly questioned the idea of this invisible ethnicity of the English.<sup>23</sup> But why, then, have the English been overlooked as an ethnic diaspora? Three factors are crucial. First, in the broadest sense, core elements of United States society, from elites in the antebellum South or the post-war eastern cities, were naturally, at least culturally, Anglophile. Where they might bridle at English foreign policy, they did not demur at the perceived excellence of English intellectual and cultural contributions. As such, English immigrants were submerged under a flood of imported and assimilated English culture, from the schoolroom or theatre to the printed word.<sup>24</sup> Secondly, and more prosaically for ordinary English workers, the privileging of assimilationist narratives has placed the English at the forefront of those who were said to disappear quickly into the melting pot of American life. Thirdly, the celebratory notes of hyphenated Americanism, which became popular in the early twentieth century, had no real place for the English American who was the product of the first two variables. These elements together imposed a triple indemnity on the English: since the culture they established in North America was based on their own, they are assumed to have blended in and disappeared. Thus, for ‘English American’ read ‘Anglo-American’. Equally, in Canada, a similar problem has been identified by scholars: ‘the lack of recognition given to English settlement is remarkable ... [t]heir profile seems to have suffered from a perception that they were founding people rather than an ethnic group’.<sup>25</sup> The same traits of cultural synonymy, assimilation and invisible hybridity also were present there.

In general, historians have reflected these conditions in a culture of oversight. In the United States, Marcus Lee Hansen once wrote that ‘the English who have contributed the most to American culture, have been studied the least by students of immigration’.<sup>26</sup> But Hansen died young and so did not rectify the weaknesses he observed. Bernard Bailyn consciously overlooked the English since they did not qualify as marginal in the first British Empire, while Carl Wittke chose to leave them out of his general account.<sup>27</sup> Oscar Handlin’s classic, *The Uprooted*, which strongly favours the more miserable circumstances of the Irish, made no mention of the English whatsoever, though it discussed the British against whom the Irish migrant was partly defined.<sup>28</sup> Overall, for these ethnic historians, the putative ethnic culture of the English is ignored or downplayed, being considered too diffuse or amorphous for consideration, with little credit given to their ethnic roots.<sup>29</sup> While scholars such as David Hackett Fischer (on the colonial period) recognize the sheer weight of English immigrants, ethnicity is not considered in the multiplicity of elements within the regional-cultural folkways that he identifies as part of English migration to the American colonies.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Malcolm Gaskill’s

seminal study shows how the early English settlers clung on to their identity, as the surrounding environmental and cultural pressures inevitably changed them.<sup>31</sup> The process was not simple, quick or without moments of hybridity.

In spite of the large overall number of English arrivals in the United States and their importance to the growing American industrial economy, scholars of immigration to America generally have not matched recognition of the numbers of English arriving with appreciation of their ethnicity. Charlotte Erickson saw these English as 'invisible immigrants', who either blended in rapidly or else forged an Anglo-American culture that removed the need for ethnic self-expression.<sup>32</sup> Alan Kraut makes no mention of British or English immigrants in his survey of immigrants in industrial America.<sup>33</sup> John Bodnar refers to them only in the context of their role in industrialization.<sup>34</sup> And all the while specialists on the history of ethnicity, such as Kathleen Neils Conzen, David Gerber and Ewa Morowska, have largely concurred with this approach, arguing that immigrants themselves defined in an attempt to negotiate with 'the dominant [i.e. Anglo-American] ethno-culture'<sup>35</sup> – something the English are thought not to have engaged with. The assumed silence of the English is taken to mean a lack of ethnic self-ascription.

Part of the problem lies not in America but at home, where there has been a drifting interplay between the terms 'English' and 'British' with a resulting indeterminacy of the value of the former. Both Adrian Hastings and Krishan Kumar argued that 'England' remained a synonym for 'Britain' throughout the development of modern Britishness.<sup>36</sup> While classic works, such as Linda Colley's, were expressly concerned to explore how the components within the isles were knitted together to form this 'Britishness', Gerald Newman, who dated English nationalism to the eighteenth century, switched from 'British' to 'English' with impunity, as so many scholars have done.<sup>37</sup> If we avoid drifting between these identities there was some justification for favouring 'British' as a collective noun. Since Britain was partly the product of English imperial expansion through the 'Celtic fringe' of Wales, Scotland and Ireland, there had to be some core associations for the Celtic peoples to be co-opted to and 'British' fitted the bill.<sup>38</sup> It is small wonder, however, that the English, who have been subsumed on their own island to an identity, British, which they largely created, were thought to have no durable identity when they went to the colonies among another people whom their forefathers had shaped in cultural terms.

There is, however, a different view – one that points to the visibility of the English and their normative experience of the elements of settlement, adjustment and hardship that made other immigrants into ethnic groups.<sup>39</sup> Recently, for example, the principal scholar of English immigration to the United States has cautioned care in adopting the

assimilationist anti-hyphenation approach for the English. Van Vugt writes that 'the cultural similarities between British immigrants and their American hosts must not be exaggerated, nor should their ease of assimilation be assumed'.<sup>40</sup> Van Vugt's warning points to an old, but less well integrated tradition in the scholarship which viewed the English as disillusioned returners – unlike the Irish or the Jews, they had something to return to if they failed in their new North American home, or did not like it. English disappointment at their American experiences was demonstrated by return migration and in the formation of trade unions to challenge American capitalism.<sup>41</sup> Even in Canada the English were far from immune to criticism, teasing and prejudice; they, too, could face enmity, opposition and some degree of prejudice.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, ordinary English unskilled agriculturalists, workers in pressed and dying handicrafts, political rebels and lesser commercialists often found United States capitalism no less severe than the system they had left behind. In fact, in some respects, it was considered worse. Struggles between capital and labour were more black and white in the United States, and violence was commonly resorted to on both sides. In the United States, unionization was fiercely resisted; in the United Kingdom, it was accommodated. In both countries, cartels could be formed to negate the power of workers, but nothing like the Pinkerton agency was resorted to by later Victorian industrial capitalism in the old country. Ethnic stratification also made accommodation with American capitalism difficult. While Britain had cheap Irish labour and landless rural migrants to break strikes and press down wages, the United States had many more such groups competing for survival.

Despite many early hardships and indignities, the New World undoubtedly eventually became a utopian class apart from life in the Irish countryside. In the United States, the English immigrant happened across a gradually more confident, and certainly much larger, group of Irish immigrants than they experienced at home. With long memories and growing political articulacy, the Irish filtered persistent Old World grievances through defiant forms of Irish nationalism, driven by a vigorous pro-independence press, in turn eliciting English hostility.<sup>43</sup> Whether in the workplace, around nationalism or in the face of anti-English hostility from Irish secret societies, there was at times severe conflict between the two nationalities in industrial and urban America. Furthermore, the Irish-American usage of the United States city as a springboard for attacks upon British rule in Ireland created further tensions.<sup>44</sup> In some ways, then, the tensions of Anglo-Irish relations had a further front between the English and the Irish in the United States city.

What this also highlights is that ethnicity was competitive; it was staged in synchronic sequence, one nation following the other in waves of migration; and while the Irish were largely poorer than the English

who went to the United States and Canada, and stayed that way into the twentieth century, they nevertheless exerted ethnic power, not least politically. Conflict between the two peoples thus reflected considerable cleavages of history, consciousness and experience. Moreover, imperial propagandists, such as J.R. Seeley, spoke of the Empire as 'English' (including the pre-revolutionary American components).<sup>45</sup> If the Empire was English, then only others could be ethnic within it. The remorseless, purportedly 'civilizing', spread of the English language, which progressed as territorial acquisition increased, added to hegemony of the English in the Empire and colonies.<sup>46</sup> The language became so widespread that its perpetrators appeared invisible. Many middle-class English migrants did not advance their own cause by maintaining only a transient, partial and sometimes conditional relationship with the Empire and the colonies. While the Scots, Irish or Germans built ethnic pillars within the British World, many Englishmen saw themselves as sojourners, not emigrants.<sup>47</sup> Young makes this point trenchantly in his account of the English as a 'disappeared' ethnicity.<sup>48</sup> But did the English simply disappear into the host population? Were they so invisible? We are unconvinced. Our research suggests important alternative images of the English.

### **Ethnic associations as a measure of diaspora**

While we accept the proposition of Erickson and others that some forms of organized Englishness – notably the St George's societies – were elite entities, we refute the resulting conclusion that this alienated such organizations from the English migrant population generally, making the associations weak and unrepresentative of the wider immigrant experience. Instead, we suggest that those elites were probably less aloof from their poorer countrymen than they would have been in the old country. We shall see in the relationship between elite and working class, in both the United States and Canada, a patrician connection of responsibility whereby acts of charity were utilized to benefit the wider English immigrant body rather than just that elite. In any case this charity was wide-ranging, handing out alms, tickets for food and lodgings or beds in hospitals, to name only a few of the provisions made. Labour historians bridle at such signs of hierarchical connection, but they were no less real for all that they drift away from the idea of an essentially class-bound agency among immigrants whose ethnic collectivism has often been read as a surrogate of class-consciousness. The English demonstrated class-consciousness in a broad-based and pioneering way: they were, after all, the progenitors of the American trade union movement in the factories of the mill districts of Massachusetts. Having sought out utopia and having found nascent capitalism, they confronted it. This does not mean

that those who had the awareness to seek a passage home, or a few cents from the stewards of the local St George's society, were any less English. The question of whether such requests for alms at the house of their countrymen superiors were purely schematic or shaped by an ethnic awareness does not make those acts of connection any less relevant. The simple fact that an English widow turned to an English society for help means she knew its function well enough.

We contend that ethnic associations provide both a valid and a uniquely rich measurement of the English as a diaspora. Their formation – whether they were English, Scottish, Irish, German or derived from any other ethnic group – first occurred, naturally enough, in the ports of arrival and disembarkation. Charleston, Philadelphia and New York, three of America's only five urban settlements of more than 5,000 people in the 1770s, developed the earliest English associations. Boston also was registered in lists of English associational activity in the second half of the eighteenth century, while Baltimore was said to have a St George's organization in the 1790s. But these two cities were relatively quiet in comparison with New York and Philadelphia in the eighteenth century. Canadian cities followed suit in establishing English associational foundations only from the 1830s<sup>49</sup> – a trend in tune with the later urbanization and expansion of centres there, as well as the protracted arrival of larger numbers of English migrants. Often with little money to their names, without familial support and lacking intelligence about the labour and housing markets, the new arrivals making it to North America frequently needed help. It was here that middle-class men of the same nativity could see the travails of their countrymen, had those travails pointed out to them and so formed societies aiming to help and regulate not only relief for those already there but also, to some extent, the immigrant flows.

Below the bald overview statistics was another set of numbers that provides insights into the efforts made by English (and other) ethnic societies to care for their poor. The cities in question shared the experience of massive urban growth and economic development, but also the emergence of horribly overcrowded tenements, which in turn 'appalled middle-class observers and stimulated the settlement house and other reform movements'.<sup>50</sup> New York, as the principal point of entry for the famine Irish, was unique;<sup>51</sup> even so, we can expect that each port faced a proportion of pressure from those who arrived with little, or nothing, to their name and who required assistance. The New York emigration commissions reported that 2.7 million immigrants arriving between 1847 and 1860 received some form of relief; 129,644 received care at the Emigrant's Refuge and Hospital or the Marine Hospital; 333,136 received help with accommodation; and 129,148 were given employment. While the authorities were unable systematically to count the assets of those arriving, it was reckoned, from a partially successful count, that each

immigrant carried an average of \$68.<sup>52</sup> Civic authorities chivvied the better-off established immigrants to help their countrymen before the huge increases in numbers arriving precipitated by the famine and also by unemployment and hunger in Britain during the 1840s. The pressures of these middle decades coincided with a spate of ethnic associational developments: Albion societies and St George's societies, from Baltimore and inland to Illinois and Wisconsin, and northwards into Canada, where such pressures were also being felt. Small wonder that, with such numbers flowing in, and so many poor folk in the human traffic, that the English became further established in these ports and their environs. The growth in English ethnic associational culture, therefore, is no surprise.

Religious and national formations also provided cities with some of the earliest and strongest instances of ethnic associationalism. Certainly, the most significant organizational benevolence among English elite and middle-class immigrants can be found there.<sup>53</sup> Places such as Charleston, Baltimore, New York and Philadelphia were the major focal points and would be until the middle decades of the nineteenth century, when the English, like all others in the United States, pushed west and formed large towns and cities along the way. Canadian towns and cities in Ontario and Quebec followed suit from the 1840s because they were so closely connected to their American neighbours. Here, too, class and sectarian discontent shaped organizational structures. The Irish in Canada were significant, but unlike in the United States, Protestants from Ulster outnumbered the Irish Catholic population, ensuring that they were unable to exert the same communal power as was seen to the south. Many of these features were both blurred and blended by significant migrations from north to south. Canadians (British North Americans) were a sizeable grouping in the United States throughout the nineteenth century, and became more so as the twentieth century dawned. These Canadians allied closely with British and American Protestants and contributed further power to the anti-Catholic, anti-Irish and nativist impulses that shaped a significant element of British and Anglo-American ethnic associational culture.

Within this wider context, then, we are left wondering: while Irish, Scottish, Italian, African and many other diasporas now have their historians and major studies, even the most comprehensive general account of the development of diaspora studies makes no mention of the concept of an English diaspora. In large part this is a result of traditional scholarship casting the English as progenitors of an empire – hence as a group against which other groups defined themselves. But the English seemingly do not fit also because diasporas are frequently politicized – a focus intrinsically connected to the original Jewish experience of systematic victimization and the denial of a homeland.<sup>54</sup> For the most part, the best-known and most pervasive traditions of scholarly exploration and

writing in a diasporic framework – chiefly those associated with Jews, the Armenians or the Africans of the Atlantic slave trade – share conceptions of victimhood, oppression, forced exile and reluctant migration as their driving meta-narratives. These narratives resonate too for the Irish and Scots through the experience of famine and removal from land held over generations – though, in the case of the Scots in particular, these narratives can easily distort reality, with the notion of an ‘enforced diaspora’ clearly at odds with contemporary evidence.<sup>55</sup> Within this wider context amnesia about English ethnicity – ethnicity being the key measure commonly used to capture a diaspora – is complicated by the tendency to focus on groups which suffered from imperial oppression. In a world of ‘competitive victimhood’, colonists and imperialists are the benchmark against which diaspora has often been measured.<sup>56</sup> This has meant, as a consequence, that diaspora has largely been considered weaker – at times non-existent – for migrant groups who have not experienced a fundamental rapture from the homeland by war or oppression. As we have argued elsewhere,

If these experiences are key elements in the evocation of a diasporic consciousness, the English – oppressors rather than the oppressed, colonists not the colonized – do not fit the typology. In the modern period, England colonized more than any other nation; consequently, the English escape observation as progenitors of their own ethnic diaspora.<sup>57</sup>

We suggest an alternative conceptualization of diaspora, one that defines it as a conscious international community of people with shared ethnic-national roots and a heightened, potentially politicized, sense of common identity. By transcending the traditional meaning of diaspora (the dispersion of people across space), as well as the narrative of exile, this conception recognizes diaspora as actively maintained by its own members. As a result, diaspora is tangible through the migrants as historical agents, and the structures in which they operate. For our purpose, ethnic associationalism provides the key to such structure – a structure making possible the active use of fraternal networks and ethnicity – and one that, therefore, becomes a tool of enquiry into the nature of the relationship between homeland and diaspora, but also connections within the diaspora.

Records for many English associations are patchy at best, making us less certain of precise establishment dates for a significant number. That said, newspapers are a rich source of information concerning associational life; moreover, the digitization of newspapers enables us to sweep for news and knowledge of these societies as they spread, and how quickly, to other parts of the Anglo-world. Indeed, such knowledge would become important not only in encouraging Englishmen in other places to form their own such societies, but also to enable some degree of

co-ordination. Though transnational organization was not a feature until the second half of the nineteenth century, the press quickly caught activities, plundering news from sister papers from much earlier times. Thus, the activities of the St George's Society of Toronto were being reported only a few days later by the press in places as far afield as Bermuda.<sup>58</sup> New York's business was captured in the Australian press. A year later, the activities of the Quebec St George's Society were similarly recorded, also in Bermuda.<sup>59</sup> Visits from politicians provided opportune hooks for such news dissemination. In addition to this dissemination through newspapers, British parliamentary papers, from the late 1830s, contain several references to Canadian St George's societies, which suggest that successive governments were made aware of the organizations' charitable work with poor English immigrants.<sup>60</sup> Invisible the English diaspora was not.

## Themes

Our discussion opens with a general overview of English migration to North America, for this is the context of our study. It was from the earliest re-peopling of parts of North America that migration became critical to building Britain's Empire, driving forward territorial expansion and making colonies viable. We thus provide an assessment of the patterns and contexts of English migration across the Atlantic, commencing with a brief exploration of early colonial settlement and urbanization. In this we can see the types of patterns that were to become critical to the migrations and settlements of the long nineteenth century, which lie at the heart of our study. Importantly, it was these early settlements that established what we might call the English character of the colonial process more broadly, drawing fundamentally on English customs, law, religion and ideas for the founding of new settlements and the establishment of colonial society. The earlier emigrants carried with them cultural characteristics, habits and customs that were critical in shaping social and civic life and, thus, the notion of the English as foundational and invisible within American society. Hence, Chapter 1 examines English migration to the American colonies, the United States and Canada over the long run.

In the original thirteen colonies this base was challenged at different points – first, as a result of an increasingly diverse ethnic make-up in the colonies, and then, secondly, through that critical rupture – the American War of Independence – which altered the Anglo-world forever. Despite this rupture, however, North America was still a world of English cultural hegemony: a domination evident first and foremost in the very language spoken. Still, we problematize existing scholarship that concludes that this hegemony of language and immigrant culture gave English migrants

some kind of permanent and unchanging advantage over other migrant groups by default. Ordinary English migrants faced the same challenges and hardships as any other group; working-class immigrants in particular dealt with many common economic pressures regardless of their origins. Ultimately, in four centuries of English immigration to North America, relatively little distinguishes the immigrants as an ethnic group, and they had much in common with those of other backgrounds. The English settled in all colonies, counties and states; they were loaded towards the urban and industrial areas, but the focus upon the north-east – in both the colonial and early republican periods, as well as north of the border in what was to become Canada – gradually gave way to greater diffusion. And this diffusion was in line with the spread of ethnic associations.

Chapter 2 turns attention to these associations and explores the development of elite English associations in North America, focusing on St George's societies. These earliest English societies were more than gentlemen's dining or drinking clubs, and extended beyond the cultural life of the colonial tavern where they often met.<sup>61</sup> Societies served diverse roles that encompassed social, cultural, civic and also emotional aspects of immigrant community life. Critically, the idea of charity underpinned them and provided the basis for all activities, with the societies established for the purpose of aiding fellow English migrants who were in distress. This associational anchor of benevolence that was put in place in the eighteenth century continues to be a mainstay for the St George's societies that are still active in North America today. And it was one that spread with the St George's tradition – first to the largest centres of the original colonies and then, in the 1830s, to British North America. All this was in tune with the patterns of English migration, as well as its overall volume, with a plethora of new societies being founded in the mid-nineteenth century to cater for the mass arrival of new migrants. Hence, while the associations' leaders were composed of the migrant elite, the work of St George's societies, particularly that channelled through charity, had much wider resonances. Importantly, it also signifies the extent to which the English diaspora was indeed an active diaspora: that is, one denoted both by the geographical range of its adherents and by transnational communication between them. The latter was fostered by the North America St George's Union (NAStGU), founded in the 1870s for the purpose of bringing closer together the St George's societies of the United States and Canada.

Critical though the St George's societies were in establishing the tradition of English ethnic associationalism, a second tier developed in the final quarter of the nineteenth century that catered specifically for working-class migrants, when, as we noted at the outset, the OSStG and the Sons of England were founded in the United States and Canada respectively. Clearly, working-class Englishmen and women in the United

States and Canada required a different type of organization – one whose fees they could afford and that provided them with support, while also enabling them to express their Englishness proudly in a crowded world of competitive ethnicity. It was an Englishness with a different practical function – one where benefit replaced charity, and where collective self-help was favoured over receipt of hand-outs. Supported by values of class solidarity, but also prompted by ethnic tension, both the OSStG and the Sons of England thus provided insurance rather than charity. Chapter 3 traces their development with a particular focus on the context in which they were founded, and where they were set up. The OSStG, for instance, came about in part as a co-ordinated response to a heightened ethnic consciousness as a result of the rise of the infamous Molly Maguires. Conflict was by no means uncommon in urban life for the English and Irish, Protestants and Catholics, and many of the existing divisions reformulated themselves in the New World, driving ethnic wedges between workers who otherwise shared sectional and class interests. Despite these concerns – or perhaps as effectively as a result of them – the OSStG grew significantly, as did the Sons of England, soon drawing support away from the St George's societies.

Additionally, all associations were united in their patriotism to England, which remained a constant. And despite their different social composition and emphases, the elite and middle-class St George's societies still shared a number of characteristics with the more working-class organizations focused on providing collective self-help. Chapter 4 traces the inner workings and activities of the different organizations to explore these commonalities in terms of not only the internal organization and membership of the societies, but also the events and socio-cultural pursuits they promoted. Anglo-Saxon roots and loyalty to the monarchy were critical for the latter, and were customarily expressed at St George's Day dinners and parades, but also at more directed activities, such as coronations and jubilees. War also played a significant role, heightening the sense of loyalty to the crown and shared roots even in the republican United States.

Chapter 5 examines charity and mutualism in detail as the two critical pillars of English ethnic associationalism. It does so by analysing the charity dispensed by St George's societies throughout North America and the collective self-help offered by the Sons of England.<sup>62</sup> The chapter explores both the level of support provided over time and the regulatory framework adopted by the associations. This will also bring to the fore, for the St George's societies in particular, the level of associational networking between organizations concerned with the provision of charity, and how this gave them a wider civic role in diverse places of settlement. The analysis of the Sons of England returns to questions concerning class and ethnicity, as the Sons were set up expressly to prevent

English working-class immigrants having to rely on charity: the founding members moved to action when they observed the superior attitude of poor law guardians as they distributed their 'Christmas Cheer' to the hard-up English of the city. The concern was not with the manner or activities of the St George's Society. Indeed, the constitution of the Sons of England praised their good work among the poor and unfortunate. What those keen to set up a new organization found problematic was that the English of Toronto 'were then the only people out of all the nationalities who had to parade their wants and sufferings to the gaze of others and be made recipients of charity in a public manner'.<sup>63</sup> Hence, those who founded the Sons of England established a mutual organization in keeping with the ethos of collective self-help and economic confraternity. What the examination of the two pillars of English ethnic associationalism highlights is that it has distinct layers, and layers that changed over time. These must be recognized fully to capture the breadth and significance of English associational culture in North America.

We have already noted that associational enterprise was characteristic of all immigrant groups in the United States, Canada and the wider English-speaking world. Indeed, as we have seen, European society more generally was known for the widest forms of collectivism. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the English were not alone in establishing ethnic societies soon after their arrival overseas; neither were they usually the first or the most prolific. Consequently, the English ethnic associationalism we describe here was not unique; indeed, it was part of a world of associations. Providing a comparative context is therefore critical in order to fully understand the English diaspora. Chapter 6 offers this context, charting the evolution and purpose of ethnic clubs and societies established in North America by other migrant groups. In this comparative endeavour we focus particularly on two groups, the Scots and the Germans. The Scots provide the most pertinent comparator – as a fellow group of the British Isles – given their similar cultural background and migratory trajectories. Examining the Scots is also valuable, however, because they were the most active in the early phase of settlement, also anchoring their associationalism in philanthropy. St Andrew's societies, much as those of St George, had an elite dimension, but catered for a broader migrant cohort. Similarities in the work of the two organizations even led to concrete co-operation, for instance in New York, where, for a time, the St Andrew's and St George's societies shared an almoner. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, however, the Scots developed a second and distinct tier: an ethnic associational culture at the heart of which lay sport. This contributed to a significant proliferation in Scottish ethnic associational activity – though one that was trumped, in the early twentieth century, by the Scottish mutualist branches in both the United States and Canada (the Order of Scottish Clans and the Sons of Scotland

respectively). Developing non-British comparators through an examination of developments in the German immigrant community permits consideration of the impact of group size – Germans being a significantly larger group – but also of the role of language in immigrant adjustment. Moreover, examining the Germans also permits consideration of how external developments – in this case particularly the First and Second World Wars – were watersheds that united migrants from the British Isles, while casting out Germans.

By pointing out the importance of transnational connections and communication of English ethnic societies within North America, and, of course, the most fundamental remit of our study – that of mobility and the crossing of borders – we have already highlighted the importance of transnational connections. But these were by no means restricted to the United States and Canada: English associational connections were global. Consequently, we conclude our study in Chapter 7 by extending the geographical focus, placing our North American research in wider comparative context by examining the growth of English societies around the world. In particular we investigate the spread of St George's societies to locations beyond their first formation, investigating developments in Africa and Australasia, and the role of the RSStG, which, from the late nineteenth century, sought to facilitate the global spread or organized Englishness and English culture. While Australasian St George's societies developed at about the same time as those in the Mid-West of America, and thus reflected the internal colonization of both British and American worlds, they were not in any sense joined up. This did not occur until the Royal Society of St George was founded and provided the adhesive to bond all the Anglo-world's English societies. Celebrations of monarchy and Empire were critical in this globalization, providing a communal adhesive for English migrants wherever they were located. A similar anchor – albeit for a very different reason – was war. Not only did it heighten a sense of belonging among many, invigorating shared roots as the common denominator, but it was, critically, a belonging often framed by Britishness rather than Englishness, and one paramount among those keen to stress the shared cultural characteristic of the English, British, Americans, Canadians and other neo-Britons in Empire. Still Englishness was employed within that wider identity to help the 'motherland'. English associations around the world collected funds in support of the war effort, or to help the widows and orphans of soldiers who had made the ultimate sacrifice, during both world wars, and, more directly and actively, the Toronto St George's Society provided homes for children who had been sent over from England during the Second World War. All of these actions and communications criss-crossed the world, connecting the English abroad not only with the old homeland but also with each other. Associations, therefore, point not to an 'imagined community', but

to a practical and active transnational community, whose agency enabled real, not just psychic, connection.<sup>64</sup> It enabled an English diaspora.

## Notes

- 1 Extensive reporting on various aspects of the flood in *The Times*, 2 February 1953. For a contemporary analysis see J.A. Steers, 'The East Coast Floods, January 31–February 1, 1953', *Geographical Journal*, 119 (1954), pp. 163–66.
- 2 Notice from the Society's almoner and reports in St George's Society of New York, *Annual Report for 1952* (New York, 1953), p. 9. See also St George's Society of New York, *Annual Report for 1953* (New York, 1954), p. 43.
- 3 Tanja Bueltmann and Donald M. MacRaild, 'Globalizing St George: English Associations in the Anglo-World to the 1930s', *Journal of Global History*, 7:1 (2012), pp. 79–105.
- 4 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 March 1882.
- 5 Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 176.
- 6 Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000), passim.
- 7 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 2 vols (New York, 2004), vol. 2:2, p. 595.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 596.
- 9 Robert Freke Gould, *The History of Freemasonry*, 3 vols (London, 1882–87); Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire: Freemasonry and British Imperialism, 1717–1927* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007), and Jessica L. Harland-Jacobs, "'Hands across the Sea": The Masonic Network, British Imperialism, and the North Atlantic World', *Geographical Review*, 89 (1999), pp. 237–53; R.W. Moffrey, *A Century of Oddfellowship: Being a Brief Record of the Rise and Progress of the Manchester Unity ...* (Manchester, 1910), an anniversary volume which notes the global reach.
- 10 See Bernard Harris and Paul Bridgen (eds), *Charity and Mutual Aid in Europe and North America since 1800* (London, 2007), and the essays therein; see also P.H.J.H. Gosden, *The Friendly Societies in England, 1815–1875* (Manchester, 1961); Eric Hopkins, *Working-Class Self-Help in Nineteenth-Century England: Responses to Industrialization* (London, 1995); Simon Cordery, *British Friendly Societies, 1750–1914* (Basingstoke, 2003). For the early spread of mutual aid societies in England see Josef M. Barenreiter, *English Associations of Workingmen* (London, 1889).
- 11 W.E. Van Vugt, 'The Hidden English Diaspora in Nineteenth-Century America', in Tanja Bueltmann, David T. Gleeson, and Donald M. MacRaild (eds), *Locating the Hidden Diaspora, 1500–2010* (Liverpool, 2012); Roger Burt, 'Freemasonry and Business Networking during the Victorian Period', *Economic History Review*, 56 (November 2003), pp. 657–88.
- 12 Harris and Bridgen (eds), *Charity and Mutual Aid*.
- 13 David T. Beito, *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Society and Social Services, 1890–1967* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000), p. 1. Also see Mark

- C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven, CT, 1989); and Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton, NJ, 1989).
- 14 C.W. Heckethorn, *The Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries* 2 vols (London, 1897), vol. 1, introduction.
  - 15 Beito, *Mutual Aid*, p. 3.
  - 16 Ivan H. Light, *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese and Blacks* (Berkeley, CA, 1973) dates the development of black societies to the 1780s and black insurance enterprises to the 1810s; see ch. 8 (but detail at pp. 152–53). Also see Lisbeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–39* (New York, 1990).
  - 17 Este E. Buffum and Charles E. Whelan, *Modern Woodmen of America: A History ... of the Society from its Inception in 1883 to and Including 1926* (Rock Island, IL, 1927); Nathan S. Boynton, *History of the Knights of the Maccabees: Book of the Ancient Maccabees and Biographical Sketches of the Executive Officers of the Order, 1881 to 1898* (Port Huron, MI, 1892).
  - 18 B. Matthews and M. Cross, *Whispering Mountains: A History of Lewis, New York* (Honeoye Falls, NY, 2006), p. 58. Formed in 1878, it spread to the United States by the 1890s.
  - 19 S. Smiles, *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance* (London, 1886), p. 1. See also his *Thrift: A Book of Domestic Counsel* (London, 1875; London, 1908), p. 121. For a discussion in relation to self-help and mutual aid in Britain, see Donald M. MacRaild and David E. Martin, *Labour in British Society, 1830–1914* (Basingstoke, 2000), ch. 5, passim.
  - 20 Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26 (1989), pp. 7–24.
  - 21 Such a diaspora is conceptualized by Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (revised edn, London, 2008), ch. 4; also p. 164; more specifically, see John Lambert, 'South African or British? Or Dominion South Africans? The Evolution of an Identity in the 1910s and 1920s', *South African Journal of History*, 43:1 (2000), pp. 197–222.
  - 22 R. Brubaker, 'The "Diaspora" Diaspora', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28:1 (2005), pp. 1–19.
  - 23 See for instance Robert J.C. Young, 'The Disappearance of the English: Why is there no 'English Diaspora'?', in Tanja Buelmann, David T. Gleeson and Donald M. MacRaild (eds), *Locating the English Diaspora, 1500–2010* (Liverpool, 2012).
  - 24 The sheer depth of pre-Civil War English culture in America is revealingly discussed in Elisa Tamarkin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (Chicago, 2008).
  - 25 Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford, 2010), p. 14.
  - 26 Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History* (Cambridge, MA, 1940), p. 192. For examination of the dynamism of ethnic identity in the United States, see Timothy J. Meagher, *Inventing Irish America: Generation, Class and Ethnic Identity in a New England City, 1880–1928* (Notre Dame, IA, 2001).

- 27 Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan, 'Introduction', in Bernard Bailyn and Philip D. Morgan (eds), *Strangers in the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1991), pp. 10-11; Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (New York, 1939).
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- 29 C. Erickson, 'English', in S. Thernstrom, A. Orlov and O. Handlin (eds), *Harvard Encyclopaedia of American Ethnic Groups* (2nd edn Cambridge, MA, 1980), p. 320.
- 30 David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989).
- 31 Malcolm Gaskill, *Between Two Worlds: How the English Became Americans* (Oxford, 2014).
- 32 The term 'invisible immigrants' is Charlotte Erickson's: *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca, NY, 1992). Erickson includes the Scots in this study. For Anglo-American culture, see W.E. Van Vugt, *British Immigration to the United States, 1776-1914* (London, 2009).
- 33 Alan Kraut, *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1920* (2nd edn, Arlington Heights, IL, 2002).
- 34 John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington, IA, 1985), pp. 60-61, 66-67, 111, 151-52, 154-55 and 186-89.
- 35 Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta and Rudolph J. Vecoli, 'The Invention of Ethnicity: A View from the U.S.A', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12 (Fall 1992), pp. 5-7.
- 36 Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (New York, 1997), pp. 61-65; Kumar, *English National Identity*.
- 37 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992); Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History, 1740-1830* (London, 1987). Kumar, *English National Identity*, pp. 176-78, takes firm exception to Newman's blurring of terminologies and dating of English nationalism to the eighteenth century.
- 38 The classic is Michael J. Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (Berkeley, 1992).
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- 40 W.E. Van Vugt, 'British and British Americans (English, Scots, Scots Irish, and Welsh), to 1870', in Elliott R. Barkan (ed.), *Immigrants in American History: Arrival, Adaptation, and Integration*, 4 vols (Santa Barbara, CA, 2013), vol. 1:1, p. 241.
- 41 See Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Emigration and Disenchantment: Portraits of Englishmen Repatriated from the United States* (Norman, OK, 1965) and his *British Emigration to North America* (Norman, OK, 1956). See also Stephen Fender, *Sea Changes: British Emigration and American Literature* (Cambridge, 1992).

- 42 Dirk Hoerder, *Creating Societies: Immigrant Lives in Canada* (Kingston, 2000), pp. 24, 111–12. See also Amy J. Lloyd, ‘“The Englishmen here are much disliked”: Hostility towards English Immigrants in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto’, in Bueltmann, Gleeson and MacRaidl (eds), *Locating the English Diaspora*.
- 43 For the wider nationalist press, see William L. Joyce, *Editors and Ethnicity: A History of the Irish-American Press, 1848–1883* (New York, 1976).
- 44 David Sim, *A Union Forever: The Irish Question and US Foreign Relations in the Victorian Age* (Ithaca, NY, 2013); also see, on Fenians in America, Brian Jenkins, *The Fenian Problem: Insurgency and Terrorism in a Liberal State, 1858–1874* (Liverpool, 2009) and Niall Whelehan, *The Dynamiters: Irish Nationalism and Political Violence in the Wider World, 1867–1900* (Cambridge, 2012).
- 45 J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London, 1883; Chicago, 1971).
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- 47 Robert Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates* (Oxford, 2010), introduction and passim.
- 48 Young, ‘The Disappearance of the English’, p. 235.
- 49 For example, list of associations enlisted to the British NASTGU: *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 10 September 1877.
- 50 Carol E. Heim, ‘Structural Changes: Regional and Urban’, in Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 160.
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- 52 Bureau of Census, *Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, DC, 1864), ‘Introduction’, p. xxiii.
- 53 Douglas Bradburn, *The Citizenship Revolution: Politics and the Creation of the American Union* (Charlottesville, VA, 2009), pp. 210ff.
- 54 For an introductory typology, see Cohen, *Global Diasporas*; also Kevin Kenny, ‘Diaspora and Comparison: The Irish as a Case Study’, *Journal of American History*, 90:1 (2003), pp. 134–62.
- 55 Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland between the Wars: Opportunity or Exile?* (Manchester, 1998), p. 1.
- 56 Masi Noor, Rupert Brown and Gary Prentice, ‘Prospects for Intergroup Conciliation: Social Psychological Indicators of Intergroup Forgiveness and Reparation in Northern Ireland and Chile’, in Arie Nadler, Thomas E. Malloy and Jeffrey D. Fisher (eds), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Reconciliation: From Violent Conflict to Peaceful Co-Existence* (New York, 2008), pp. 97–115, draws specifically on Irish examples.

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- 57 Tanja Bueltmann, David T. Gleeson and Donald M. MacRaild, 'Introduction: Locating the English Diaspora: Problems, Perspectives and Approaches', in Bueltmann, Gleeson and MacRaild (eds), *Locating the English Diaspora*, p. 4.
- 58 *Royal Gazette*, 12 June 1838.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 13 November 1839.
- 60 For example 1839 (3-II) *Appendix (A.) to report on the affairs of British North America, from the Earl of Durham, Her Majesty's High Commissioner ...*, p. 48; 1840 [211] [221] [222] [250] *Canada: Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Canada*, part 1, p. 155.
- 61 Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*; Sharon Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore, 2002).
- 62 Unfortunately there is no discrete manuscript archive for the Order of the Sons of St George, hence the focus exclusively on the Sons of England for the exploration of ethnic mutualism.
- 63 John S. King, *The Early History of the Sons of England Benevolent Society* (Toronto, 1891), p. 11.
- 64 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).