A STUDY OF THE FACTORS THAT ASSISTED AND DIRECTED SCOTTISH EMIGRATION TO UPPER CANADA, 1815-1855

VOLUME I

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the beginning of large scale emigration between Scotland and the British colony of Upper Canada. In any migration there are a number of factors which act as obstacles to the migration flow and a number of agencies (factors) which operate to overcome these obstacles.

This study examines in turn those factors that assisted and directed Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855. Its focus is on a dynamic aspect of population - migration - and it examines in detail the spatial distribution of a variety of factors, influencing and directing the movements of large numbers of people.

Eight major factors are evaluated as to their influence over time on the character, volume and direction of this emigration. These eight factors are qualitatively ranked on the basis of the factors' role in overcoming various obstacles and the number of emigrants who were assisted and influenced.

The three factors in the first order are friends and relatives; periodicals, newspapers and books; and Scottish ports, shipping and emigration agents. These three factors were all of critical importance by acting as positive and continuing links in the migration process, through the provision of information, encouragement and an organizational structure.

The three factors in the second order - government; emigration societies and trade unions; and landlords were in some ways less significant in the overall emigration. These factors generally tended to act as positive links in the migration process during limited time periods and in specific areas. The two factors in the third order - land companies and land speculators in Upper Canada and churches were relatively the least significant. They often related to small groups and individual personalities and tended to be of more significance when the emigrants began to settle in their new environment.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of tremendous change and development both in Scotland and in Upper Canada. This study examines a significant yet often neglected aspect of this process of change.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is very difficult to adequately acknowledge the many people who provided varying amounts of assistance to the writer.

In particular, I wish to express my appreciation for the interest, help and encouragement of Dr. James B. Caird of the Geography Department, University of Glasgow. I am also indebted to the librarians and other staff of the University of Glasgow Library, the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, the National Library of Scotland, the Scottish Record Office and the Public Record Office, London.

My thanks are also due to Mrs. Elaine Yates, who typed the majority of this thesis and whose good nature has made the work much less onerous.

In addition, I acknowledge, with thanks, a Fellowship from the Canada Council (1967-69) which made it possible for me to undertake the present study.

Finally, mention must be made of my wife June who quite literally "kept the home fires burning" and our new friends in Glasgow and Scotland whose companionship made my family's life there both stimulating and enjoyable.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This introductory chapter presents a case for the study of migration by geographers and discusses briefly some of the complex aspects of migration, as well as outlining the approach which is used in the following study. The chapter concludes with a description of the general scene in Scotland and Upper Canada during the period under examination.

A number of geographers have attempted to show the significance of the study of population as one role for the geographer. Two professional articles stand out in this connection. In the spring of 1953, Glenn T. Trewartha's presidential address before the Association of American Geographers was entitled, "A Case for Population Geography." In this address (and subsequent article[1]) Trewartha discussed the general treatment of population in the development of geographical thought and suggested a number of reasons why this aspect of the field had been neglected. He then presented a case for the importance of population geography as a third and distinct element (as against the cultural earth and the physical earth) within the scope of discipline and then gave a systematic outline of content which was "intended to be generally applicable to the area analysis of population."[2] Trewartha's argument can perhaps best be summarized by the following quotation,

> "Population is the point of reference from which all the other elements are observed and from which they all, singly and collectively, derive significance and meaning. It is population which furnishes the focus."[3]

The second article referred to above was written by David J.M. Hooson entitled "The distribution of population as the essential geographical expression" and appeared in the Canadian Geographer in November, 1960.[4] Hooson begins with a brief examination of the various traditions in geography in particular the growth of the anthropocentric focus. He then proceeds to stress the importance of the distribution of population and the factors related to this distribution. In summary,

> "The distribution of population is the key to the whole geographical personality of a region ---- distribution is the vital concept distinguishing geography from other social sciences and from history."[5]

Numerous other geographers have written both articles and books covering the field of population geography, particularly beginning in the 1960's.[6]

One of the dynamic elements in population geography is migration.[7] This by no means claims that the study of migration is the sole prerogative of geographers and because of its many aspects many disciplines share a common interest - demography, economics, history, and sociology to name only a few. Indeed more interdisciplinary work in the field of migration is necessary if the processes are to be fully understood.[8]

Edward Ackerman has suggested that geography's research frontier is "the study of the evolution of space content on the earth's surface" and that "demographic movement is at the heart of these forces which influence the change in space content."[9] Thus migration should be

studied, not as an end in itself, but rather with its findings being used to assist us towards a better understanding of past and present changes on the earth's surface.[10] However, before this end can be achieved, a large number of detailed studies of various migrations (both in the historical as well as in the contemporary period) must be undertaken, in order to provide material for a more complete understanding of this complex process. What follows is one such study.

Although this study is not concerned with classifying various types of migrations, some mention should be made of some of the possible ways of categorizing the extreme variety of migrations.

> "Migration seems generally to be employed to refer to all movements in physical space - with the assumption more or less implicit that a change of residence or domicile is involved."[11]

The classification used by John Clarke in his book Population Geography divides the migration types under the headings of duration, organization and distance.[12]

TABLE 1.1

Classification of Migration Types.

DURATION	ORGANIZATION	DISTANCE
seasonal	spontaneous	internal
temporary	forced	external
periodic	impelled	inter-regional
permanent	free	international
	planned	continental
		intercontinental

William Peterson has developed a rather different classification based on the following headings - relation (man with either nature, the state or himself), migratory force, class of migration, and type of migration (conservative or innovating).[13]

Julius Isaac in his book Economics of Migration classified mass movements of people largely using the organizational criteria, as being either, invasion, conquest, colonization (exploitation or settlement colony) or migration (forced or free).[14] Migration can also be viewed as an outlet for the release of pressures (political, religious, economic, social) or in terms of the spread of various cultures, leading to cultural contact (conflict or assimilation).[15] Migration has also been examined and classified using migration models (usually statistical) based on various criteria, such as, population and distance, information flows, social distance, intervening opportunities, and migration differentials among different categories of people.[16]

Everett S. Lee has presented an interesting and straight forward framework for the study of migration.[17] He broadly defines migration as "a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence" and adds that

> "No matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination, and an intervening set of obstacles."[18]

He then presents four types of factors which are involved in the decision to migrate and in the migration process: factors associated with area of origin, factors associated with area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors. The factors associated with the areas of origin and destination can be both positive (tending to keep people within the area) and negative (tending to repel them) and the extent and direction of the migration depends upon the weighing in people's minds of these factors, in conjunction with the personal factors. Lee considers that the intervening obstacles consist of a varying number of elements, depending on the particular migration. In the case of international migrations these obstacles

consist primarily of distance, cost and availability of transportation, political barriers, organization, personal inertia and information about the area of destination. Other writers have also discussed these obstacles operating in the migration process.[19]

The basic premise of the present study is that in any migration, and particularly an international or inter-continental migration, the migrants (individually or in groups) must be assisted in overcoming these obstacles by a number of factors, both of a formal and informal nature. The majority of work done to date on migrations has tended to focus on their measurement, causes and consequences, rather than on the method or actual migration process. This study focuses on the various factors (agencies) which played a role in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855. It attempts to evaluate the influence of these various factors over time on the character, volume and direction of this emigration. Eight factors (agencies), will be examined in turn:-

1. Government.
2. Land speculators.
3. Emigration societies and Unions.
4. Books, newspapers and periodicals.
5. Churches.
6. Landlords.
7. Friends and relatives
8. Shipping companies and emigrant agents.

For the present migration study, the source area is Scotland and the destination is Upper Canada.[20] The time period of 1815 to 1855 was chosen for several reasons. Prior to 1815 there had been relatively little settlement in Upper Canada and records as to the small number of emigrants arriving are virtually non-existent. The year 1815 saw the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars and the depressed economic conditions in Scotland at this time created a situation in which

emigration became one possible solution to both agricultural and industrial problems. The study terminates in 1855 following the beginning of the Crimean War. After this time, Scottish emigration to Upper Canada declined for a number of years, particularly as compared with the late 1840's and early 1850's, years of large scale Highland emigration.[21] The mid 1850's also saw the change in ocean transportation from wind (sail) to steam power. The increased demands by the military in Britain for troops during the Crimean War tended to decrease emigration from Scotland and commercial depression in 1857 in the Canadas made this destination less attractive. Also, the increasing number of government assisted passages to Australia and New Zealand, meant that a considerable number of emigrants were being directed elsewhere.[22]

Before examining in detail the factors (agencies) which assisted and directed these migrations, it is necessary to consider briefly the main economic and social factors operating in Scotland[23] and Upper Canada during the period under discussion.

In Scotland, a differentiation must be drawn between the Highlands and the Lowlands in terms of the factors and problems which were operative. In the Highlands after 1750, the old order was changing from an essentially feudal system based on a subsistence economy to one where money income was becoming increasingly important and in which the landlords did not necessarily have a family connection with or paternal interest in their tenants. The destruction of run-rig agriculture allowed lotting of the land and improved disease control contributed to a rapid increase in the population beyond the level the land could support, especially in bad years. The

introduction of sheep farming on the large estates also helped to worsen the lot of the average small tenant, by decreasing the available arable area. In the late eighteenth century and the first decade and a half of the nineteenth century the economy of the Highlands temporarily expanded based on fishing and the collection of kelp. This expansion, however, tended to disguise the basic economic problems of the area.

Thus, following 1815 with the fall of the kelp price, the uncertainty of the fishing and the growing dependence on outside products, all seen in the context of increasing population, crises were inevitable particularly in the north and west of the Highlands. Bad harvests, particularly of potatoes occurred in 1835 and 1836 and the disastrous failure of the potato crop in 1846 and 1847 resulted in widespread destitution and even famine. Further failures of this staple crop occurred in the Hebrides in 1851 and 1856. The situation can be explained in several ways by that "a series of circumstances led to the production of a great mass of people which soil and sea could not sustain in the contemporary state of technical advance"[24] or that the change represented "the total impact of the powerful individualism and economic rationalism of industrial civilization on the weaker, semi-communal traditionalism of the recalcitrant fringe."[25] Thus for large numbers of people in the Highlands of Scotland the only alternatives became migration either to the Lowlands of Scotland or to England or emigration to some remote part of the world.[26]

The economic and social situation in the Lowlands was generally much better than in the Highlands during the period, although problems

still existed. This was the period of developing industries: textiles, machine building, ship building and coal mining. Although these developments provided jobs, they had a negative aspect as well. The disease rate in the cities was high. For example, cholera struck Glasgow in 1832, 1849 and 1854. Living and working conditions were bad, which led to such things as the enactment of the Factory Acts, and Friedrich Engels' book on the working classes in England. Periodic depressions occurred in Scottish industrial areas in 1816-17, 1819-20, 1826-27 and 1830-32.[27] Particular groups were more adversely affected than others. The handloom weavers, for example, suffered from increased mechanization and competition from the influx of migrants into the Lowlands from the Highlands and from Ireland. Thus it was in the Glasgow, Paisley &Lanarkshire area, where these weavers were concentrated that the most severe problems often arose. However, on the whole in the Lowlands "many more people were being supported on a standard of living which was on average higher than ever before."[28]

In the early nineteenth century,Lowland agriculture was still continuing its reorganization from the process of enclosure. While farm production was increasing as a result of new techniques, the demand for farm labour remained fairly stable.[29] This provided a surplus of population either for internal migration or emigration overseas. The change in Scotland in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the story of

> "how Scotland was transformed from a country with a primitive agriculture interwoven with industry, first to one distinguished for its progressive farming and extensive textile industries, and, then, to a country whose main economic activities had their roots in the coal and iron fields."[30]

But this transformation was by no means always smooth, and emigration frequently appeared as a possible solution to some of Scotland's problems during this period.

As has been mentioned previously, every migration has a destination as well as an origin, and thus it is important to survey briefly the economic and social situation in Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855.[31] Prior to 1815 little progress had been made in Upper Canada toward settlement or development. In the early years of this period nearly all of the working population was involved in pioneer agriculture, operating largely within the framework of a barter economy. There were a number of small towns and villages but these were separated from each other by large areas of forest. Communications and transport facilities were poor or non-existent, while society and manners tended generally to be rather crude. There were few local industries and nearly all of the manufactured goods had to be imported, mainly from Britain.

However, Upper Canada was well endowed with natural resources. Good soil, favourable climate and extensive forests soon attracted both capital and labour to develop these assets. Timber and agricultural products, particularly wheat and flour, began to be exported in large quantities to Britain, and markets developed as well in the United States. The population of the colony increased rapidly from 95,000 in 1814, to 160,000 in 1825, to 432,000 in 1840 and 952,000 in 1851, largely as a result of large scale immigration.[32] The immigrants' contribution of their skills, labour and capital was a critical factor in the growth of the colony. Transportation facilities, first in the form of canals and then railways aided greatly in

the development process. Thus by the mid eighteen fifties, with the growth of small scale industries in the town, the initial pioneer stage was coming to an end and the period of consolidation lay ahead.

In the introduction to this study it is important to realize that an examination of migration from Scotland to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855 deals only with one small chapter in the story of Scottish migrations. Scots have migrated from Scotland for hundreds of years to such widely scattered places as England, Ireland, western Europe, North and South America, in fact, all over the world.[33] Each of these migrations had its own character, varying as to volume, time period, reasons for, mechanisms and success or failure. Indeed it could be argued that the important role played by the Scots migrants throughout history, in proportion to their numbers, cannot be matched by any other national group.

Before beginning an examination of the factors involved in assisting and directing the emigrations in question, some comment should be made as to the actual volume of emigrants from Scotland to Quebec (Figure 1.3) and the relative volume of Scots compared to other nationalities arriving at Quebec (Figure 1.2). It is also of interest to note the relative proportion of emigrants from the British Isles destined to various parts of the world, in order to form some perspective on the overall international migration movement at this time (Figure 1.1).

First, a general comment is necessary regarding the reliability and availability of emigration statistics for Scotland and the Canadas during the period 1815 to 1855. The statistics which are available,

almost wholly from governmental sources, can only be used to give a general indication of the relative volume at various times and cannot be relied upon as completely accurate, particularly in the earlier part of the period.[34] Government statistics for the number of emigrants arriving at the port of Quebec from Scotland are only available from 1829 and problems arise for several reasons. First, all the emigrants leaving Scottish ports were not Scots. Over the period the proportion of Irish of the total departing from the Clyde to North America varied from perhaps one third to one tenth. This proportion varied as well between those Irish destined from the Clyde to the United States, as opposed to Quebec.[35] This, however, can be partly balanced by Scots leaving from Liverpool for Quebec.[36] Secondly, not all of the Scots arriving at Quebec settled in the Canadas, although the proportion leaving for the United States was likely small.[37] This, however, is more than balanced by Scots emigrating to the Canadas by way of New York (usually via Liverpool).[38] Finally, the responsibility of collecting these statistics was placed on the government emigration agents in the colonies and in the British Isles. Overall, these men were underpaid and understaffed. All of the ports did not have government agents and all vessels did not come under their jurisdiction.[39]

Figure 1.1 is based on the ten year averages of emigration from the British Isles to various destinations.[40] The British North American colonies competed favourably with the United States until the early 1840's when the tide of emigration swung heavily to latter destination. The main reasons for this swing appear to have been the rapid expansion and diversification of the economy there and the

EMIGRATION FROM BRITISH ISLES, 1815-1860

(Ten-year averages).

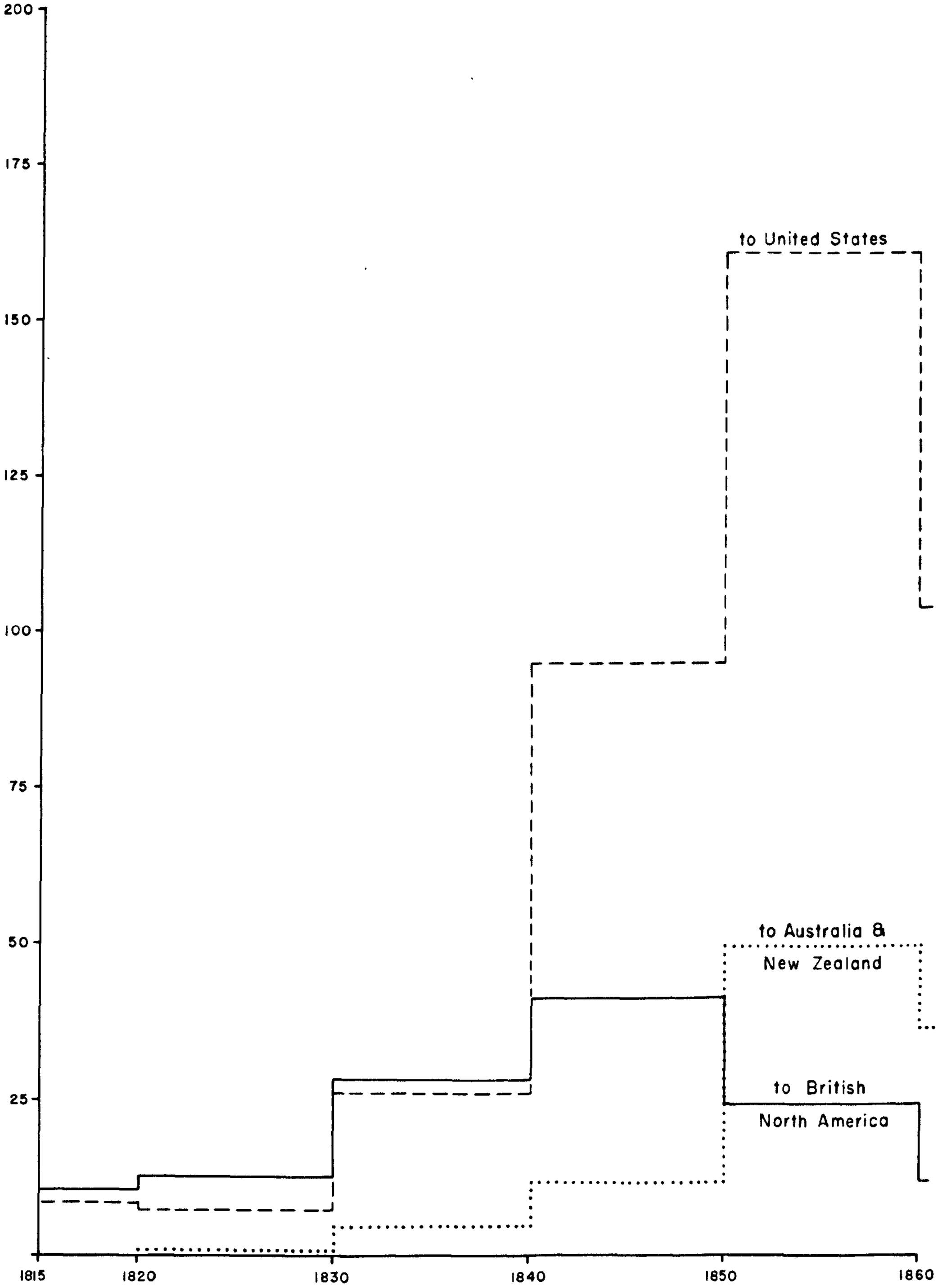

Figure 1.1

preference for the United States among Irish emigrants, who by this period constituted well over fifty per cent of all British emigrants to North America. Until the early 1850's Australia and New Zealand did not attract large numbers of British emigrants, largely due to the great distance and cost involved, although adverse publicity was a factor. However, with the discovery of gold in Australia and various government assisted emigration schemes, this area became more attractive than the British North American colonies.

Figure 1.2 is based on the ten year averages of number of arrivals at the port of Quebec from ports in various locations.[41] This figure shows that numerically the number from Scotland was the smallest, relative to other parts of the British Isles. On this basis the overall average of the arrivals at the port of Quebec from Scotland over the period 1830 to 1855 would be somewhat more than 3,000 annually. It should be noted as well, that the majority of those from Ireland did not remain in the Canadas but, only used the St. Lawrence route as the cheapest method of getting to the United States.[42]

Figure 1.3 shows the arrivals at the port of Quebec from Scotland for the period 1815 to 1860.[43] Previously in this chapter some comments were made as to the reliability of emigration statistics for the period under discussion. It should be re-emphasized here that these figures should only be used as a relative indication of the volume of Scottish emigration to the Canadas in any particular year. For the period before 1829 when government figures at Quebec became available, the present writer has made very rough estimates of the possible arrivals from Scotland.[44]

ARRIVALS AT PORT OF QUEBEC, 1830-1860

(Ten-year averages)

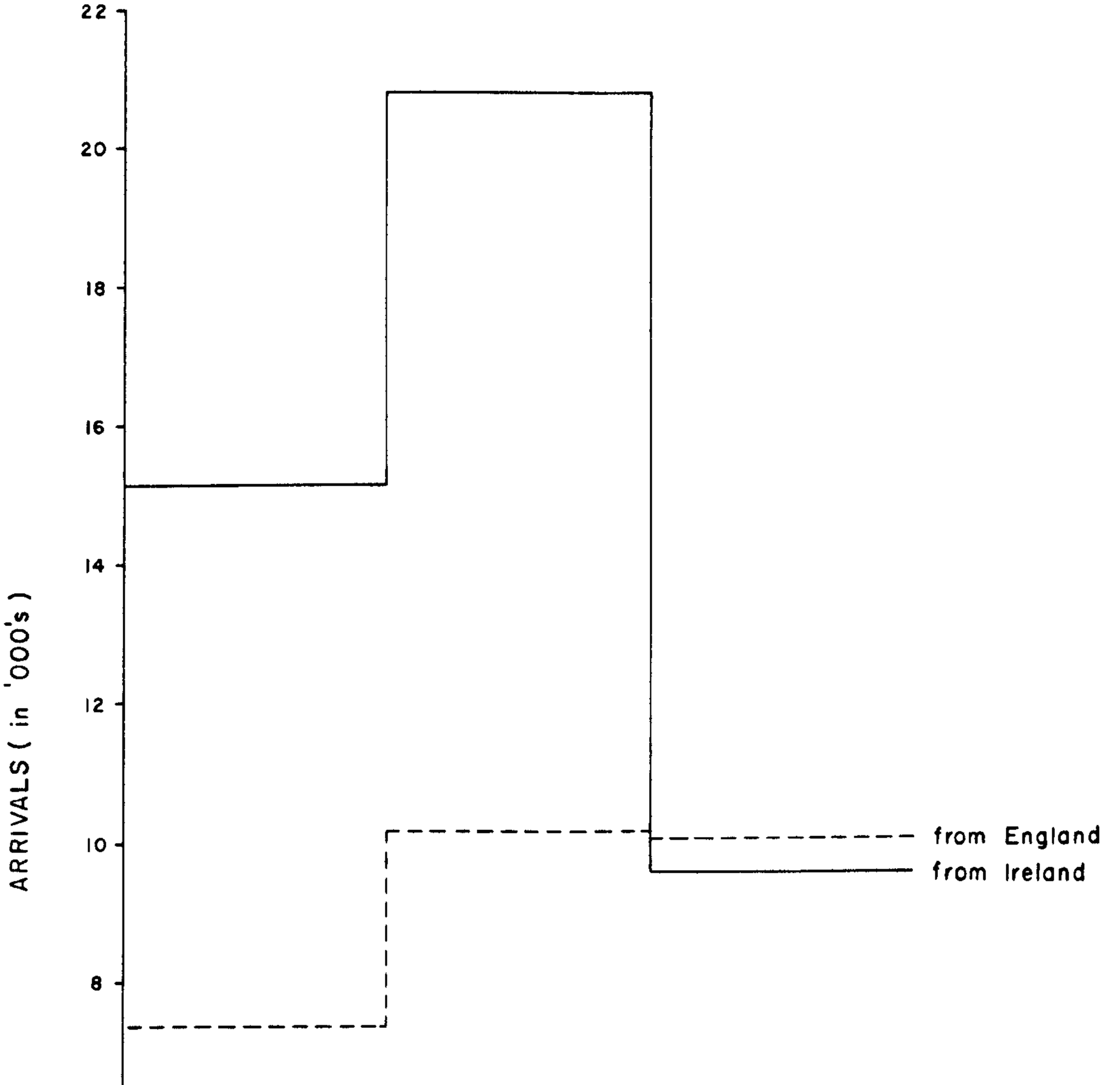

Figure 1.2

ARRIVALS AT PORT OF QUEBEC
FROM SCOTLAND, 1815-1860.

X = APPROXIMATION

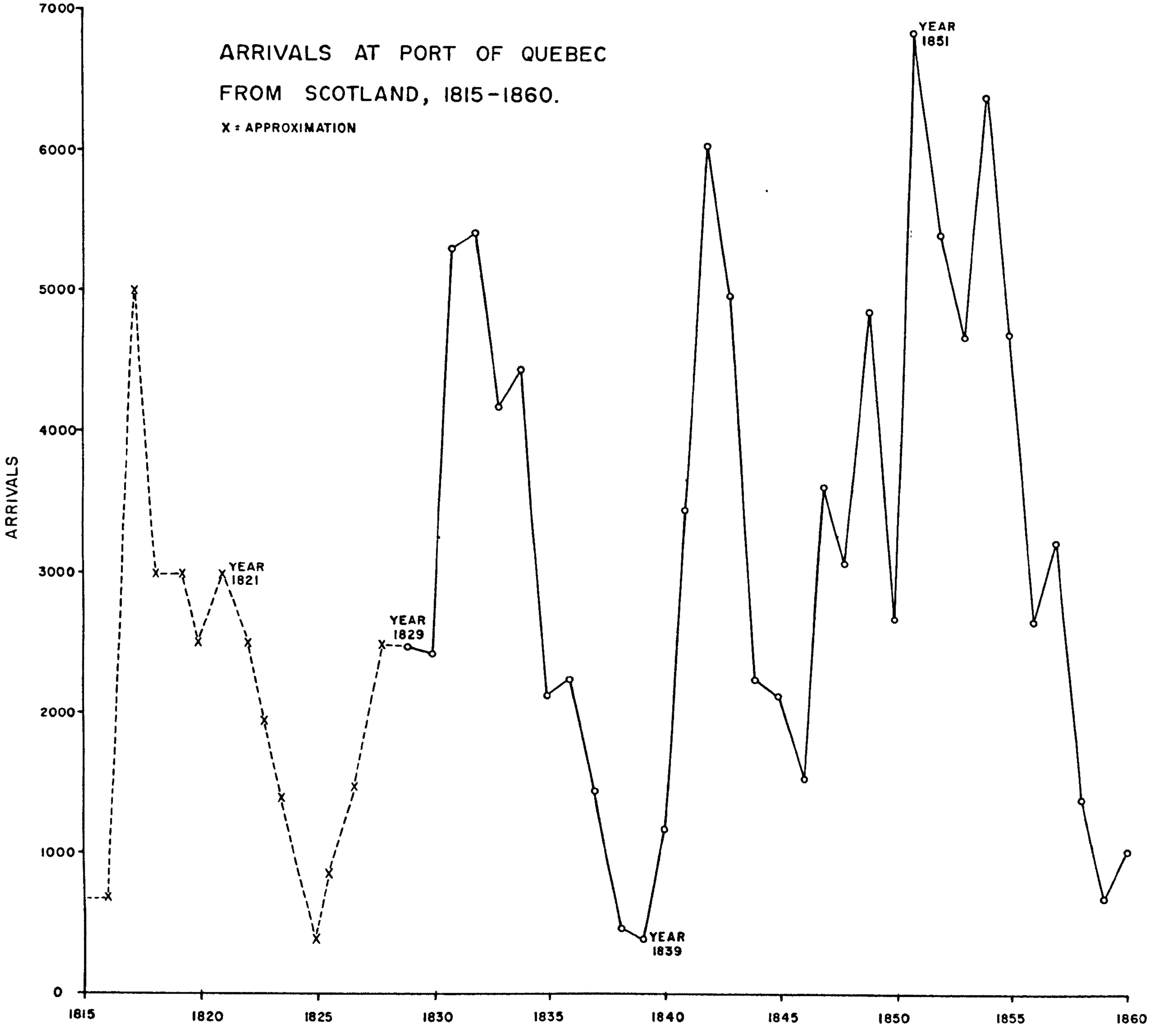

Figure 1.3

Figure 1.3 shows a pattern with considerable fluctuations, with several troughs (low emigration) and peaks (high emigration). The peak in the early 1830's and again in the years 1842-43 was the result of a deterioration in economic conditions in Scotland. The trough 1837-40 is largely the result of unstable political and economic conditions in Upper Canada which discouraged emigration. The trough 1844-46 resulted from improved conditions in Scotland. The gradual increase in emigration in the late 1840's, rising to a peak in the period 1851-54 was largely the result of unfavourable economic conditions in Scotland, particularly the potato famines in the Highlands.[45]

This introductory chapter has concluded with a number of comments on the economic and social situations in both Scotland (source area) and Upper Canada (destination) which serve as a general background for the present study. The three figures (graphs) also help to place these emigrations in some perspective relative to other emigrations during this period and to give some idea of the changes over this period in arrivals at Quebec. The following chapters will examine in turn eight factors (agencies) as a means of explaining and understanding the emigration process between Scotland and Upper Canada over the period 1815 to 1855.

1. Government.
2. Land speculators.
3. Emigration societies & Unions.
4. Books, newspapers & periodicals
5. Churches.
6. Landlords.
7. Friends & relatives.
8. Shipping companies & emigrant agents.

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7. Population growth is a function of natural replacement (births over deaths) and migration.

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"In fact, an interdisciplinary cooperation in the field of migration is indispensable. If demography, economy, sociology, history, psychology, may give us an insight concerning the origin and the development of the phenomenon of migration, statistics, ecology and human geography may complete the analysis of the same phenomenon."

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"The more one studies migration, the more he is struck by its complexity."

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"I feel that the main contribution of the geographer is his concern with space and spatial interrelations."

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20. Some clarification of the meanings of the various names for political units used in the present study is necessary here.

British North American Colonies (pre 1867)	-	This consisted of the British colonies of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.
Upper Canada	-	This colony was established in 1791 and became known as Canada West in 1841 and finally became the Province of Ontario in 1867. The southern boundaries of this political unit remained basically the same over this period, while the northern and western boundaries varied.

Lower Canada - This colony was established in 1791 (having been previously part of the colony of Quebec) and became known as Canada East in 1841 and finally became the Province of Quebec in 1867.

The Canadas - This refers to both Upper and Lower Canada or Canada West and Canada East, which became one colony by the Act of Union in 1841.

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Thomas Johnston, The History of the Working Classes in Scotland Glasgow, 1921.

R.H. Campbell, Scotland Since 1707 - The Rise of an Industrial Society Oxford, 1965.

Henry Hamilton, The Industrial Revolution in Scotland, Oxford, 1932.

Henry Hamilton, An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century Oxford, 1963.

W.H. Marwick, Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland London, 1936.

Philip Gaskell, Morvern Transformed Cambridge, 1968.

24. F. Fraser Darling West Highland Survey Oxford, 1955 page 8.

25. Malcolm Gray The Highland Economy 1750-1850 Edinburgh and London 1957 page 246.

26. Emigration from Scotland was only a small part of much larger population movements, within both Scotland and the British Isles as a whole.

D.F. Macdonald Scotland's Shifting Population 1770-1850 Glasgow, 1937.

R.H. Osborne "The movements of population in Scotland 1851-1951". Scottish Studies vol. 2 (1958) p. 1-46.

Malcolm Gray op. cit., p. 64-6.

Arthur Redford Labour Migration in England Manchester, 1964.

27. New Statistical Account vol. 6 Lanarkshire pp. 121-22.

28. Alexander Wilson "The Chartist Movement in Scotland" unpublished D. Phil. Thesis Oxford University 1951 p. 36.

29. George Houston "A history of the Scottish farm workers 1800-1850" unpublished B. Litt. thesis Oxford 1954 page 94.

30. Henry Hamilton The Industrial Revolution in Scotland Oxford 1932 page V.

31. The following books provide an excellent coverage of the economic and social developments in the first half of the nineteenth century in Upper Canada.

S.D. Clark The Social Development of Canada Toronto, 1942.

Gerald M. Craig Upper Canada - The Formative Years 1784-1844 Toronto, 1966.

Norman Macdonald Canada, 1763-1841, Immigration and Settlement London, 1939.

Norman Macdonald Canada, Immigration and Colonization: 1841-1903 Toronto, 1966.

W.T. Easterbrook and Hugh G.J. Aitken Canadian Economic History Toronto, 1963.

Arthur R.M. Lower Colony to Nation - A History of Canada Toronto, 1946.

S.D. Clarke The Developing Canadian Community Toronto, 1962.

Jacob Spelt The Urban Development in South Central Ontario Assen, 1955.

W.A.D. Jackson "A geographical study of early settlements in Southern Ontario" unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1948.

32. Arthur R.M. Lower Canadians in the Making - A Social History of Canada Toronto, 1958 p. 190-1.

Census of Canada 1870-71 Volume four Censuses 1665-1871.

J.J. Talman "Life in the pioneer districts of Upper Canada 1815-1840" unpublished Ph.D. Thesis University of Toronto, 1930 p. 215.

33. George Pratt Insh Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-86 Glasgow, 1922.

John Hill Burton The Scot Abroad Edinburgh and London, 1881.

Ian C.C. Graham Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America 1707-1783 Ithaca, New York, 1956.

David S. Macmillan Scotland and Australia 1788-1850 Emigration, Commerce and Investment Oxford, 1967.

Gordon Donaldson The Scots Overseas London, 1966.

J.P. Maclean An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America prior to 1783 Glasgow, 1900.

G.G. Campbell The History of Nova Scotia Toronto, 1948.

Rev. Angus A. Johnston "A Scottish Bishop in New Scotland" Innes Review vol. vi p. 107-124.

D.M. Sinclair "Highland emigration to Nova Scotia" Dalhousie Review vol. 23 (1943-4) p. 207-20.

See also footnote 26 above.

34. The following publications contain various comments on the problems of obtaining reliable emigration figures during this period.

Ian C.C. Graham Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783 Ithaca, New York, 1956 p. 185-89.

William F. Adams Ireland and Irish Emigration New Haven, 1932 p. 410-28.

Roland Wilson "Migration movements in Canada, 1868-1925" Canadian Historical Review vol. xiii (1932) p. 157-182.

James Pickett "An evaluation of estimates of immigration into Canada in the late nineteenth century". Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science vol. 31 (1965) p. 499-508.

N.H. Carrier and J.R. Jeffery External Migration - A Study of the Available Statistics 1815-1950 HMSO: London, 1953 p. 137-140.

Helen I. Cowan op. cit., p. 287.

All persons arriving at the St. Lawrence by ship were theoretically enumerated at the port of Quebec. References to the activities and comments of A.C. Buchanan, the government agent can be found throughout the remainder of this study and a list of his reports is located in the bibliography. The large majority of Scots arriving at Quebec proceeded to Upper Canada. (see Buchanan's reports).

35. James E. Handley The Irish in Modern Scotland Oxford, 1947 p. 21-3.

M.A. Jones "The role of the United Kingdom in the trans-Atlantic emigrant trade, 1815-1875" unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 1955 p. 316.

Glasgow Herald May 31, 1852.

Thomas C. Orr advertised ships via Quebec and Montreal as a route for "Emigration to Canada and the Western States".

36. Glasgow Herald June 24, 1831 from Glasgow Chronicle.

This edition contained a comment on several hundred Highland emigrants at Greenock who were on their way to Canada via Liverpool.

Glasgow Herald June 11, 1852 from Dumfries Courier.

This edition contained a comment on a number of emigrants from the south-west of Scotland leaving for Canada and the United States via Liverpool.

37. M.A. Jones op. cit., p. 84, 111.

PP 1841 VI (182) Q 1563 Evidence of Dr. Thomas Rolph.

> "The Scotch do not [re-migrate]; they have a very great feeling of affection for a British province, when compared with the United States. The parties who have been so prone to migrate have been the Irish."

PP 1851 XIX (632) p. 565.

38. Glasgow Herald May 10, 1833.

> "On Tuesday the Dalmarnock sailed from Greenock to New York with passengers. - - - - principally destined to settle in the Canadas."

Glasgow Herald April 11, 1834.

> Mention of a number of Scots travelling via New York to Upper Canada.

Patrick Shirreff A Tour Through North America Edinburgh, 1835 p. 181.

> Mention of a group of emigrants from Argyllshire who travelled via New York to Port Stanley, Upper Canada.

PP 1841 VI (182) Q 1599.

> Mention of a group of Highlanders from Argyllshire (possibly Mull) who travelled via New York to Upper Canada.

Glasgow Herald May 30, June 17, 1842 and Aberdeen Journal January 26, 1842.

> These newspapers contained shipping advertisements placed by E. Walkinshaw, a passenger agent in Glasgow. He was involved with ships carrying Scottish emigrants to the United States from both the Clyde and Liverpool. He claimed that one of the best routes to Upper Canada was via New York or Boston.

Glasgow Herald June 10, 1842.

> Mention of the departure from the Clyde of three ships (two to New York one to Boston) carrying a total of almost 1,000 passengers who were "chiefly destined for Upper Canada."

Glasgow Herald June 5, 1848.

> Mention of the ship Madawaska departing from Glasgow for New York carrying "upwards of 200 passengers for the United States and Canada."

Glasgow Herald April 14, 1851.

> Mention of the ship Sarah departing from Glasgow for New York carrying 232 passengers "who are about to settle either in Canada or the United States."

For general comments on the movement of people between the United States and Canada see:

Marcus Lee Hansen The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples New Haven, 1940.

> "The American customs regulations allowed the effects of settlers destined for Canada to pass through with the payment of duty." (p. 110).

For details of Scottish emigrants to Upper Canada via Liverpool see also Chapter nine of the present study.

The following Parliamentary Papers contain references to Scots emigrating to North America via Liverpool.

PP 1844 XXXV (181) p. 17, 20.

PP 1852 XXXIII (1474) p. 581.

PP 1854 XIII (163) Q 3157.

PP 1857 (Sess. I) X (14) p. 4.

39. For a more complete discussion of these government agents see Chapter two of the present study.

PP 1838 XL (388) p. 13 from Report on the Distribution of Emigration Agents at the principal Ports of the United Kingdom.

> "It is worth remarking, however, that the number of emigrants in the returns from Inverness must be much swollen by the number of detached stations and lochs comprised within the same custom-house; so that even were a call to arise for the services of an agent, it would be still a question whether such an officer would be able to exercise a really efficient control over so extensive a district."

5 and 6 Vict. c. 107; August 1842.

> The Passenger Act was extended to apply to foreign as well as British ships, but still did not apply to ships carrying fewer than thirty passengers or to cabin passengers.

For a more complete discussion of the difficulties involved in accurately determining the number of embarkations and of regulating the emigrant trade, see Chapter nine of the present study.

Lists of ship passengers embarking from Britain were not systematically collected until 1890. There are, however, a number of lists available for earlier periods. For example, see

Harold Lancour A Bibliography of Ship Passenger Lists 1538-1825. New York, 1963.

The brig Isabella left Troon, Scotland in April 1833 with 100 passengers for Quebec and Montreal (Glasgow Herald, April 19, 1833) yet it was not recorded in government emigration statistics (Cowan, op. cit., p. 291-3.)

40. Helen I. Cowan op. cit., p. 288.

N.H. Carrier and J.R. Jeffery External Migration - A Study of the Available Statistics 1815-1950 HMSO: London, 1953 p. 20-28, 95.

41. Helen I. Cowan op. cit., p. 289.

42. See footnotes 35 and 37 of the present chapter.

43. Helen I. Cowan op. cit., p. 289.

Valerie Ross op. cit., p. 124.

N.H. Carrier and J.R. Jeffery op. cit., p. 95.

44. ibid., footnote 43.

The very rough estimates used in Figure 1.3 are based on a number of considerations -

a) where numbers are known, for example, the government assisted emigrations in 1815, 1820 and 1821.

b) other references -

Glasgow Herald July 2, 1819 At least 750 emigrants from the west Highlands arrived at Quebec in 1819.

Lilian F. Gates Land Policies of Upper Canada Toronto, 1968 p. 89, 326.

Reference is made to 5,000 emigrants arriving at Quebec from Scotland in 1817. The present writer feels that this figure could be too large, relative to the period 1815-1819 and conditions in Scotland.

c) For the period 1825-1828 assuming that approximately sixty to seventy per cent of emigrants from Scotland to British North America embarked at Quebec. Pre 1825 this per cent was lower. See M.A. Jones op. cit., p. 70-71, 107.

d) For the period 1815-1824 assuming c) above and that arrivals at Quebec from the British Isles were roughly divided one half from Ireland and one-quarter each from Scotland and England.

45. Valerie Ross op. cit., p. 116.

> "In most emigration from Scotland the forces of extrusion must be adjudged the real determinants. Especially is this true of the Highlands where the attractions of the New World were alone insufficient to dislodge a people so deeply attached to their country as the Highlanders."

CHAPTER 2

GOVERNMENT

The role played by government (both British and colonial) as one agency in the migration process has been the one aspect of these migrations which has been very thoroughly examined.[1] Therefore, only the main points will be presented here, particularly those relating to Scotland. The period under discussion can be conveniently divided into two parts at the year 1827, on the basis of the nature of the governments' role in assisting and directing these emigrations.

a) 1815 to 1827

Prior to the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1815) the influence of the British government on emigration had been minimal, and generally a negative factor. The relatively small numbers of emigrants from the British Isles to the British North American colonies were generally not assisted or directed by the government.

> "These were the years [1765-1815] in which the face of England [Britain] was transformed by the new activities of the Industrial Revolution, and her trade and finance put on the basis which enabled her to come successfully through the commercial crisis of the Napoleonic Wars. In view of such circumstances, it is not surprising that the government should believe that loss of citizens meant loss of power and that there should be no movement of Englishmen [British] abroad. It was not until the results of war and the fruits of industrial and other great changes, seen in an increase of population, brought an undeniable demand for a new economic and political organization that a different attitude appeared towards the emigration of British subjects."[2]

This point of view was exemplified in the first British Passenger Act of 1803, which in form appeared as a humanitarian effort to protect the emigrant from abuses, but in fact was designed to discourage emigration, as a result of increased cost and stricter regulations. It was the Highland Agricultural Society of Scotland that initially proposed this Act, a point which will be discussed later in this study when the role of the Scottish landlords is examined. (Chapter seven).

Following 1815, the attitude of the British government changed and it became prepared to experiment with the idea of government assistance to emigration, as a means, both of solving problems at home as well as problems in the colonies. As early as 1813, Lord Bathurst, Secretary for War and the Colonies, had consulted officials in British North America regarding the possibility of directing to those colonies emigration from the Scottish Highlands, especially from Sutherland and Caithness. These particular areas were mentioned because of a growing demand for emigration in the north-east of Scotland, which was in turn likely related to changing patterns of land holdings (i.e. clearances) which were taking place at that time. The response was positive as the colonial officials were becoming increasingly worried about a growing American influence, particularly in Upper Canada. Preparations were also made at this time for the placement of disbanded soldiers on land in British North America.[3]

Thus in the spring of 1815, under the heading of "Liberal Encouragement by His Majesty's Government to Settlers", official notices appeared in the leading Scottish newspapers. The government

offer was very generous: a free passage and provisions during the voyage to Quebec; a free grant of one hundred acres of land to each family, and an additional one hundred acres to each son on reaching the age of twenty one years; free rations from the public stores for the first six or eight months; equipment at less than cost price and the provision of the services of a clergyman and a schoolmaster on a government salary. For his part the intending emigrant had to produce a testimonial of general good character from some respectable person in his neighbourhood,as well as information about the number in his family and their ages. The emigrant also had to give a deposit to the government of sixteen pounds for every male over sixteen years of age and two pounds for his wife, which would be returned in Canada at the end of two years after they were settled on their land.[4]

John Campbell, W.S., was the Government Commissioner in charge of this emigration (almost entirely confined to Scots) and he received applications and inquiries both in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Considerable efforts were made to publicize the government offer and the advertisement was inserted at least three times in all Scottish newspapers. Magistrates, clergy and schoolmasters were all asked to give publicity to the offer "as many of the persons most interested in this notice, have no access to newspapers."[5] It should be noted that the Government was very sensitive to the charge that they were encouraging emigration, and the newspaper advertisements made it clear that government assistance was directed,

> "not to an increase of emigration from this part of the United Kingdom, but to divert to the British provinces in North America, the surplus population which would otherwise proceed to the United States. Accordingly no solicitation whatever, has been made by this office to induce persons or families to go to Canada."[6]

As the details of the above offer show, this claim not to have solicited emigration appears to be a hollow one, and in fact this offer did encourage emigration by providing some assistance, organization and information about British North America.

Between April and late June 1815, 758 applicants, mainly farmers and labourers from the Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Knoydart, Glenelg and Callander districts arrived in Glasgow ready for departure. It was not until July that the Transport Board could spare four ships, and in the meantime fifty-nine applicants had withdrawn. From Quebec the emigrants were conveyed to Cornwall, on the St. Lawrence River where they spent the winter and in the spring of 1816 they were placed in the newly opened townships of Bathurst, Drummond and Beckwith west of the Rideau River which became known as the Perth settlement. Generally as far as the emigrants were concerned the experiment was a success, but the British government found the expense too great and decided not to renew the offer.[7]

In the spring of 1816 advertisements (placed by John Campbell) appeared in Scottish newspapers informing the public that the British government would no longer provide conveyance and assistance to settlers for British North America. It stated, however, that land could still be obtained in Canada, "according to their [settlers] means of bringing them into cultivation."[8] Copies of this advertisement were also sent to postmasters and ministers of

the Church of Scotland so that they could give further publicity to the change in government policy. By the end of 1817 the British government had decided on a plan for granting land to persons who had some capital and would undertake to bring out settlers with them.

> "Such grants will be made to those who can engage to take out and locate upon the Land granted, Ten Settlers at the least and the quantity of Land granted in each case will be in proportion of 100 Acres for every Settler proposed to be taken out."[9]

One hundred families (311 persons) mainly from Breadalbane, Scotland took advantage of this offer in 1819. Some of these emigrants settled at Perth, Upper Canada and others on Prince Edward Island.[10] This government land (emigration) policy was a version of the "leader and associates" system which had been tried with varying degrees of success since 1791. (See Chapter three).

The British government would have been content to have left emigration to personal initiative or to have had any expense borne by the colonial governments, had not economic conditions at home forced them into a more active role once again. During 1818 and 1819 the wages for handloom weavers in Scotland, who were concentrated in the Lowlands, had dropped sharply and discontent and reform agitation were growing. During the winter of 1819-20, weavers, particularly in the western lowlands of Scotland had come together in emigration societies and had petitioned the Colonial Office and members of Parliament for government assistance in emigrating to Canada.[11] The British government agreed to assist in the removal to Canada of one thousand of the indigent weavers and to

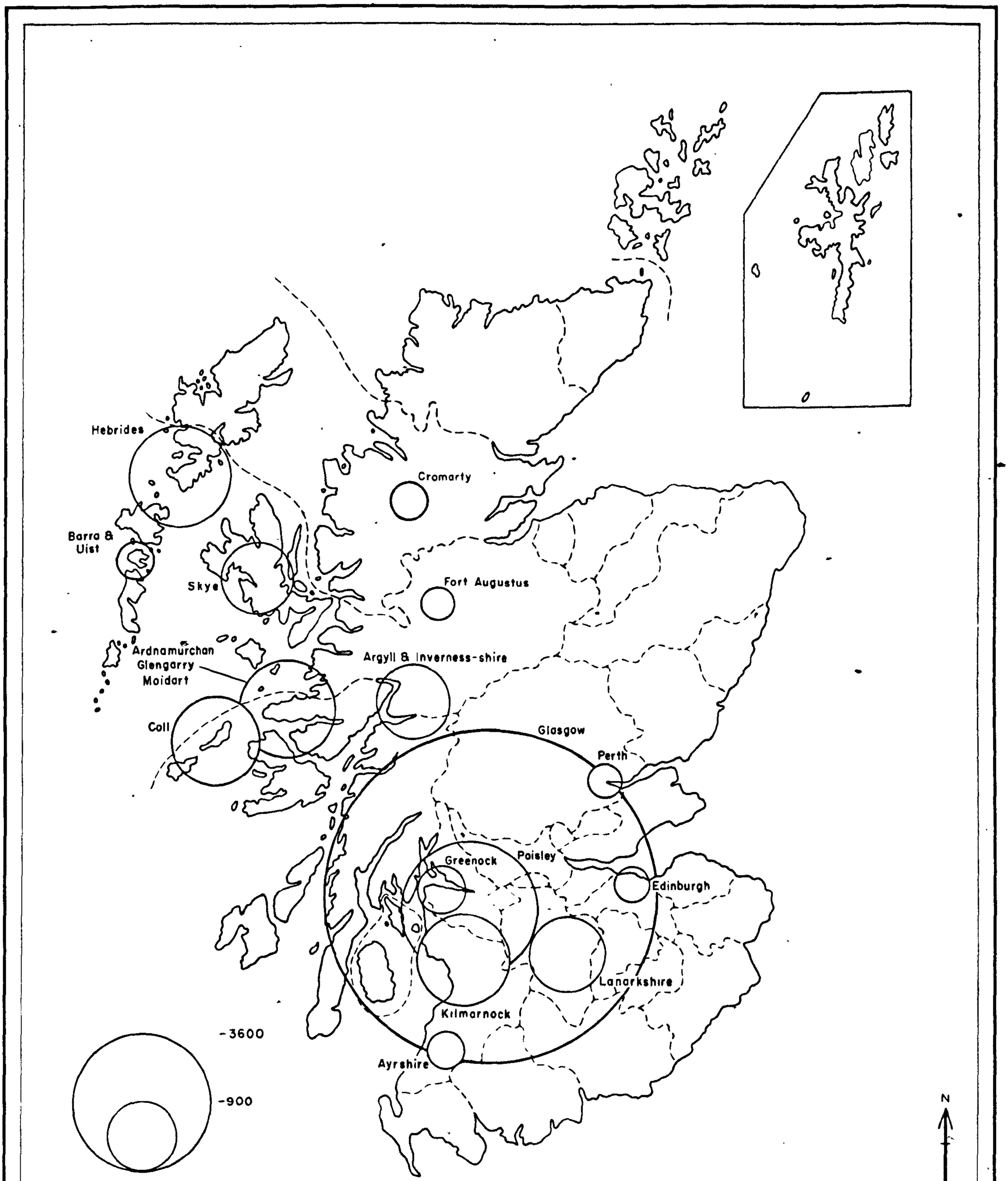
provide each family with 100 acres of land, seed corn and implements at cost price and a loan in three instalments of three, three and two pounds which was to be repaid at the end of ten years. The emigration societies had to provide their own transportation, the money for which was raised by public subscription and a loan from the government. Thus in June and July of 1820, nearly 1,000 emigrants embarked from the Clyde for Quebec.

However, the removal of this number from the labour force did not improve the lot of those weavers who remained, and again the government received petitions asking for assistance in emigrating. A committee of prominent local men was established and from approximately 6,000 applicants, 1,833 persons were selected and sailed from the Clyde in the summer of 1821 for Quebec, on the same terms as the group in 1820. Both of these groups were settled in the newly opened settlement of New Lanark on the Clyde River in Upper Canada in the townships of Lanark, Dalhousie, Ramsay and North Sherbrooke, but once again the government found the expense of the emigration much greater than the benefits which accrued. The expense to the government was approximately thirty two pounds per family of four persons on each 100 acre farm, and none of the loans to the emigrants were ever repaid.[12]

The government offered similar schemes to assist Irish emigration (total of approximately 2,500) to Upper Canada in 1823 and 1825. However, Helen Cowan does not view these government assisted schemes either as government experiments or as humanitarian efforts but rather considers that "it was found expedient to offer a means of partial relief to a district where severe political danger was

imminent."[13] There was considerable pressure on the British government from 1815 to the early 1830's both to provide financial assistance to particularly needy emigrants and to make land grants in the Canadas to potential emigrants from Scotland.[14] Figure 2.1 shows the number and distribution of petitions originating in Scotland received by the British government during 1825, 1826 and part of 1827.[15] While the large majority came from the western Lowlands, the north-west Highlands and Islands were also well represented. The government assistance to emigration in the several cases mentioned beginning in 1815 had been provided without Parliament having come to a decision as to whether such a policy should be a valid and continuing form of relief. It was therefore decided to establish a Parliamentary Select Committee to examine and report on the whole question of emigration.

This Emigration Committee began sitting in March 1826 and submitted its third and final report in June 1827.[16] The Committee was under the chairmanship of Robert Wilmot Horton, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonial Office, who was very much in favour of settling paupers in the British colonies at the expense of parish or local bodies and raising the necessary money by an annuity charged upon the parish rates. This was the period as well, when economists were attempting to develop and analyse theories of the supply of labour and T.R. Malthus' spectre of over-population was attracting considerable attention.[17] Overall, the Committee's findings were decidedly in favour of the introduction of some large-scale emigration scheme, with particular reference to Ireland, but the question remained as to who would pay the bill. As regards the



PETITIONS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT REQUESTING ASSISTED EMIGRATION TO CANADA FROM SCOTLAND, Jan. Ist. 1825 to May 29th. 1827.

Figure 2.1

manufacturing districts in Scotland where depression and discontent among the weavers was still evident, the London Committee of Manufacturers for the Relief of Distress offered to provide twenty-five thousand pounds if Parliament would vote a further fifty thousand pounds and the Emigration Committee ended its first hearings with the recommendation that the government provide this money.

Tentative arrangements were quickly made for a government assisted emigration of between 1200 and 2000 families from various parts of Britain.[18] However, before anything further was done, economic conditions improved and pressure on the government to take action decreased. The Committee's conclusion (June, 1827) on Scotland stated,

> "On the whole, Your Committee are of opinion, that although the Scotch Emigrants are in most instances very valuable settlers, and although there is a strong disposition among the people to emigrate, yet, as a national measure, more effectual relief may be afforded by a reconsideration of the laws /Poor Laws/ above alluded to, and by the diversion elsewhere of the influx of Irish paupers, than by any system of Emigration which might be applied to the removal of the Scotch population."[19]

Thus 1827 saw the failure of one of the last serious efforts to have the British government provide large-scale direct financial support for emigration to British North America.[20]

b) <u>1828-1855</u>.

After 1827, however, the British government continued to influence emigration to British North America by means of government agencies and regulations. The British government's reasons for not becoming involved in financially assisting emigration to the North American colonies were well presented in a memorandum written on the subject

by Lord Howick in March 1838. He made the following four points:

a) Government involvement was unnecessary because of the very large number of persons emigrating at the time without assistance.

b) If the government became involved, many of those who would otherwise have emigrated on their own, would stop their own exertions and merely wait for the government to assist them.

c) The government, if it became involved, would be responsible for any of the bad emigrants, and the number of unsatisfactory emigrants might tend to increase.

d) In the event of any distress or hardship met in the colonies, the emigrants would feel that they had a claim on the British government for further assistance.[21]

Howick's conclusion was that two main areas should be the responsibility of the government - the securing for the emigrants by means of proper regulation, low cost and well equipped vessels and secondly, adequate arrangements for their reception on arrival in the colonies by the provision of medical facilities and information as to the availability of land and employment.[22]

The Emigration Committee of 1826-7 had recommended the establishment of a Board of Emigration with agents located throughout the United Kingdom. After appointing a temporary commission (1831) and an Agent-General for Emigration (1836), the government finally created the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission in January 1840. Its duties included the spreading of information in Britain about the colonies, an organization for the sale of colonial lands, and the use of the proceeds from land sales to assist further

emigration. These last two functions did not apply to British North America, where the control of land sales and revenues had passed to the colonial Legislatures.[23]

The British government's role in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to the Canadas during this period can be examined from several aspects - the Passenger Acts, the appointment and activities of government Emigration Agents and government publications. Beginning in 1803 the British government passed a number of Passenger Acts which were designed to regulate British emigration to various parts of the world.[24] Some were enacted for humanitarian motives, others as a result of political expediency. The first such Act was passed in 1803 (see Chapter seven) and was designed to discourage emigration. A group of Acts appeared in the period 1816 to 1825 and were designed both to encourage British emigrants to settle in British North America and to assist British shipping to compete more profitably in the trans-Atlantic emigrant trade. The Act of 1827 was passed in an attempt to change the course of pauper Irish emigration to North America rather than to England and Scotland. It was in May 1828 that the responsibility for the regulation of emigration passed from the Customs and the Treasury to the Colonial Office. Following this, there were a series of Acts from 1828 to 1855 based largely on humanitarian motives, which attempted to remedy the many abuses of the emigrant trade and improve living conditions on the voyage.[25] (See Chapter nine).

One aspect of the government's role in assisting in emigration which has not as yet been mentioned was the appointment of emigration

agents to various ports in the United Kingdom, the first agent being appointed in Liverpool in 1833. Other agents were appointed in the spring of 1834 and their activities (along with the regulations of the Passenger Acts) soon resulted in a considerable improvement in the emigrant trade. These agents were half-pay naval officers and were appointed at a salary of two hundred and eight pounds and five shillings to the principal emigration ports - Bristol, Cork, Limerick, Dublin, Greenock and Leith. Agents were later added at Sligo in 1835, at London in 1837 and at Londonderry in 1838.[26]

Lieut. Samuel Hemmans was appointed as Agent for Emigrants at Greenock at the beginning of April 1834 and he received the following instructions from the Colonial Office.

> "You will correspond with any Magistrates, Clergymen, or Parish Officers, who may address you; and you will, if desired, receive remittances of money from them, for the purpose of paying the passage of Emigrants, recommended by them to your care. You will give gratuitous information as to the Sailing of Ships, - means of accommodation on board for Emigrants, - and other particulars which may be of importance in facilitating their Emigration. You will see that all engagements, entered into with Passengers, be duly performed; - and in the case of Vessels proceeding to the British Colonies, you will take care that the Provisions of the "Passengers Act" be complied with - .... and altho' not possessed of any power of enforcing legal penalties, for improper conduct, you will endeavour to check any objectionable practice by a remonstrance with the Shipmasters or Owners concerned and by reporting bad cases to this Department, in order that any Government allowance for Passengers may subsequently be refused to those parties, who may have sent to sea, Ships in an unseaworthy State. .... After you shall have become better acquainted with the Town of Greenock, you will probably be able to direct Emigrants to suitable Lodging Houses. .... and that you will make a quarterly Return to this Dept. of the number of Emigrants who may embark from Greenock."[27]

In July 1834 Lieut. James Forrest R.N. was appointed as the other agent in Scotland and travelled to Leith where he had an office in the Custom House. Lieut. Forrest was in communication with civic

authorities in various ports on the east coast of Scotland, particularly Aberdeen, "offering any services in his power", but it would appear that there was no demand for his services beyond Leith.[28] T.F. Elliot, the Agent General for Emigration in reporting on the distribution of agents in October 1837 stated that there were no places in Scotland besides Greenock and Leith that could justify the services of an agent.[29] In February 1844, the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners decided that because of the small amount of emigration from Leith it was no longer justified to have an agent there and that an agency should be opened at Plymouth instead. The Commissioners also decided that with the establishment of the railroad between Glasgow and Greenock, one officer could be responsible for both ports and should be stationed in Glasgow. The Magistrates and Councils of Edinburgh and Leith petitioned to have the agent remain at Leith but to no avail. As a result of these decisions, Lieut. Hemmans was sent to Plymouth and Lieut. Forrest was transferred to Glasgow where he opened an office in the Custom House.[30]

Lieut. Forrest served in Glasgow until his sudden death in February 1850. Of his work, a correspondent to the Glasgow Herald said, "his first object was the comfort and well-being of the Emigrants" and "his rare qualities will be much missed both by Emigrants and Agents of ships from the Clyde Ports."[31] Instances where emigrants were cheated or taken advantage of were generally rare from the Clyde and in Scotland as a whole (particularly as compared with Liverpool) but Lieut. Forrest did bring a number of cases before the local Justice of Peace Court when emigrants had been

defrauded.[32] One of the most difficult and sensitive aspects of the agent's job was his relationship with shipping and emigrant agents with whom he had to deal on a day to day basis. In the case of Lieut. Forrest, he appears to have succeeded in this regard, whereas a number of later government agents failed.

A Lieut. Patey R.N. succeeded Forrest and received favourable comment for his work, however he was soon transferred to the post at Liverpool in 1851.[33] His successor, a Capt. Brownrigg R.N., while showing a commendable concern about the safety and interests of the emigrants was perhaps over zealous in his dealings with shipping agents and after losing a court case, he resigned in June 1852.[34] A Capt. James Stevens R.N. held the position as Emigration Officer at Glasgow and Greenock from June 24 to July 16, 1852 and was succeeded by Captain Charles Keele R.N. Capt. Keele served at the Clyde as a "zealous" officer who carried out his duties "with strictness and energy" until the winter of 1854-5 at which time he came into conflict with one firm of shipping agents and to avoid the repetition of an "unpleasant situation" he was transferred to Londonderry.[35]

During this period the number of emigrants departing from the Clyde increased considerably (see Chapter nine) which resulted in a corresponding increase in the demands upon the government agents. Beginning in 1842 a medical inspector was appointed at Glasgow, who was paid a fee depending on the number of emigrants he examined prior to embarkation.[36] Because the government agent for the Clyde was responsible for both the major ports of Glasgow and Greenock, he was forced to employ a clerk in Glasgow. The government

(beginning about 1851) finally paid this clerk's salary (in 1856 - one pound per week) and by 1856 also paid the salary of an officer for superintending the stowage on board passenger ships (at the rate of one pound, one shilling per ship). For a number of years the Emigration Agent had his office in the Customs House in Glasgow but in December, 1854 tenders were called for the construction of a Government Emigration Depot for the Clyde.[37] As well as being responsible for these agents the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners printed and distributed pamphlets containing information about the various colonies and helpful advice to intending emigrants.[38] The Commissioners also prepared periodic public notices on particular aspects of emigration.[39]

Throughout most of the period under discussion there were also government agents in the Canadas who were responsible for assisting emigrants once they had arrived in the colonies. Alexander Carlisle Buchanan (the Elder) was sent in 1828 to Quebec by the Colonial Office in order to supervise parish-aided emigration. He served there until 1836 in a position which was officially established in 1832 as the Office of H.M. Chief Agent for Superintendence of Settlers and Emigrants in Upper and Lower Canada. He was succeeded in 1838 by Alexander Carlisle Buchanan (the Younger) who was his nephew.[40] By the 1840's there were a number of other government agents appointed at various towns (e.g. Montreal, Kingston, Bytown, Toronto, Hamilton) in the Canadas whom emigrants could approach for assistance or advice about employment or the availability of land in a certain vicinity.[41]

As described above, the greater part of the governmental role in the emigrations from Scotland to Upper Canada during this period was played by the British government, but it should also be noted that the colonial government in the Province of Canada also was involved. In November 1840, Governor-General Sydenham appointed Dr. Thomas Rolph, who had emigrated from England to Canada in 1833, as emigration agent for Canada to encourage immigration from the British Isles. Rolph made several trips to Britain during the early 1840's, and stimulated considerable public interest in Canada. His rather ill-fated venture in founding the British American Association for Emigration and Colonization, of which the Duke of Argyll became president will be examined in Chapter seven. Rolph's rather extravagant private ventures soon became a liability for the Canadian government and his appointment was terminated in December 1842.[42]

The Province of Canada made its first budget appropriation to promote immigration in the year 1854. For the first few years this small grant was mainly expended for the distribution of pamphlets favourable to Canada in the British Isles and Europe through existing agencies, such as the railways, shipping agents, consuls and newspapers. It was not until 1859 that another Canadian emigrant agent was sent to Britain, where he began work in Liverpool, to provide information and encouragement to emigration to Canada. Thereafter for several years in the 1860's a number of Canadian government agents toured various parts of the British Isles promoting emigration to Canada.[43]

At various times during the 1830's and 1840's the British government came under considerable public pressure to become financially involved in the emigration process between Scotland and the Canadas. These pressures were particularly strong in the cases of the handloom weavers in the Lowlands (see Chapter four) and the growing crisis in the Highlands (see Chapter seven). A much more detailed examination of these two instances will be found in later chapters of this study, however, the two opposing views on the validity of government involvement will be presented here.

In 1841, a Parliamentary Committee was formed to examine the causes of and possible solutions for the growing economic distress in the Highlands of Scotland. It concluded that,

> "A well-arranged system of Emigration, in order to relieve the present state of destitution, and as preparatory to any measures calculated to prevent a return of similar distress, would be of primary importance; and they now beg leave to add, that it seems to them impossible to carry such a system, upon so extensive a scale as would be necessary, into effect, without aid and assistance from the Government, accompanied by such Regulations as Parliament may impose, to prevent a recurrence of similar evils."[44]

The opposite point of view was well presented in a report received by the government in 1844 from a Commissioner inquiring into the operation of the Scottish Poor Laws. He concluded:

> "we do not think it necessary to recommend any Legislative measure for promoting emigration, as a remedy for the particular evils under which they labour. Even if it were practicable on an extended scale, we are convinced that it would form of itself a very inadequate remedy; and were the resources which we have pointed out as existing in the Highlands opened up, the population might for the most part, be profitably employed in their own country. In the other parts of Scotland, the supply of labour, in ordinary seasons, seldom, to any great extent, exceeds the demand. The process of emigration seems to be carried on slowly, and by small numbers at a time; but still with sufficient vigour to enable parishes to get quit of their surplus population."[45]

The British government's policy of not becoming financially involved in assisting emigrants to British North America was based on much the same arguments as used by the above mentioned Commissioner. (See also Lord Howick's memorandum, reference 21). This policy stated that,

> "the best service which the Government can afford on this subject is probably that which it does now render, viz to repress frauds on the poor Emigrants before they sail, to prevent abuses in the Ships by which they are conveyed, and in short to keep clear and sound the Channels in which Emigration flows, without undertaking itself to conduct the Stream."[46]

The British government's one concession to this pressure to provide financial assistance was made in 1851 with the passage of the Emigration Advances Act, by which Highland landlords could obtain loans from the government to assist in the emigration of their tenants to British colonies. Overall, however, little use was made of the provisions of this Act.[47]

In concluding this chapter dealing with the role played by government in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada 1815-1855, it can be said that following an initial period of hesitant yet significant government assistance (financial and organizational), the British government opted for a policy of providing regulation and information. The government's role in this regard, however, was certainly just as significant to these emigrations, in that it strove for the generally humane and safe movement of thousands of individuals to new lands and opportunities. The role of the Canadian government was minimal during the period under discussion, yet it did become aware of the necessity and value of publicity beginning in the late 1850's. Thus, overall, the role of government, particularly the British, was a positive and beneficial factor in these emigrations.

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Kathleen A. Walpole "Emigration to British North America under the early Passenger Acts, 1803-1842" unpublished thesis, University of London, 1929.

2. Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 14.

Monica G. Page, op. cit., p. 1.

3. Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 41.

Gerald M. Craig, op. cit., p. 87-8.

4. Glasgow Herald February 27, 1815.

Andrew Haydon Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst Toronto, 1925 vol. I p. 10-21.

5. Glasgow Herald March 17, 1815.

Greenock Advertiser February 24; March 17, 21, 24, 28, 31; April 4, 14, 28; May 9, 1815.

Kelso Mail March 13, 20, 27; April 3, 17; June 19, 1815.

6. ibid., March 31, 1815.

See also - Parliamentary Debates Vol. XXXI p. 917 June 21, 1815.

7. A.R.M. Lower "Immigration and Settlement in Canada, 1812-1820" Canadian Historical Review vol. 3 (1922) pp. 37-47.

Andrew Haydon, op. cit., p. 21-39.

Helen Cowan, op. cit., p. 42-44.

Lilian F. Gates Land Policies of Upper Canada Toronto, 1968 p. 86-7.

Although the occupations of these emigrants seems to have been farmers and labourers, the size of the deposit required by the government (i.e. sixteen pounds for every male over sixteen years) would appear to indicate that these emigrants were not from the poorest classes.

SRO RH 9/17/237

> This source provides a list of seventy letters received between the end of February and the beginning of March 1815 by the government from Scottish applicants wishing to settle in Canada. Of this total almost half were from the Glasgow area.

Andrew Haydon, op. cit., p. 25-6 quoting letter from Sir Sydney Beckwith to Sir George Drummond November 21, 1815.

> There would appear to be some possibility that 800 to 900 unmarried men arrived from Scotland on board the ships carrying the government assisted families. This, however, is contradicted by the emigration figures showing arrivals at the port of Quebec in 1815 (Cowan, op. cit., p. 288).

8. Glasgow Herald April 1, 1816.

This advertisement also contained the following information.

> "The Agent for Government, agreeably to the instructions received, has uniformly abstained from exciting any desire for leaving Scotland that did not before exist, and has repeatedly pointed out, both by letters and personal interview, especially to the more ignorant of persons applying, every circumstance of information, to prevent disappointments, and to preclude the possibility of misunderstanding."

> "It is understood that a passage to Quebec may be obtained, particularly in the ships in the timber trade, upon moderate terms; but to save unnecessary correspondence, it is proper to mention, that this office takes no concern whatever in that business."

9. CO 42/22 February 23, 1818.

10. Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 44-5.

11. For a more complete discussion of the organization and activities of these and later emigration societies see Chapter four of the present study.

12. John Strachan D.D. Remarks on Emigration from the United Kingdom London, 1827 p. 55-8.

Norman Macdonald Canada, 1763-1841 p. 250-1.

Lilian F. Gates, op. cit., p. 91.

Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 61-3.

SRO GD 45/3/140 Lt. Col. Wm. Marshall to General Darling June 7, 1828.

> "I think there is generally a want of inclination on the part of these people /Lanark settlers/ to repay the money in question, perhaps chiefly for the reason that they seem always to have been impressed with the idea, it would not be exacted, and Government did not intend to put them in a worse situation, than those placed in the Perth and Richmond Settlements, who received assistance and from whom no repayment was expected."

Glasgow Herald June 23, September 29, 1820.

During the winter of 1821-2 Scottish newspapers carried government notices that there would be no further government financial assistance as in 1820 and 1821 - see Edinburgh Evening Courant December 8, 1821 and The Scotsman January 26, 1822.

13. Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 69.

14. CO 384/1 Contains petitions for assistance and enquiries about land in Canada - year 1817.

CO 384/15 Similar petitions, etc. from Scotland - year 1827.

CO 384/24 Similar petitions, etc., from Scotland - year 1830.

CO 384/25 Similar petitions, etc., from Scotland - year 1831.

Some specific examples:

CO 42/367 (January 7, 1821)

> From Capt. Malcolm MacGregor, a half-pay officer who wanted to lead a group of labouring class emigrants from Perth, Scotland to Upper Canada in the spring of 1821 and was enquiring about the availability of government assistance.

CO 384/7 p. 773 November 21, 1821.

A petition from Alexander Morrison, a Burgess and leather merchant in Stirling, Scotland asking for a government land grant in British North America.

CO 384/8 p. 285 October 15, 1822.

A petition from Ronald McDonald of Inverness asking for government assistance in obtaining transportation to and land in Upper Canada for a group of 145 families from the Inverness area.

CO 384/19 p. 205 September 11, 1828.

A petition from William Fraser (written at Glenely) who had spent twenty-six years in Canada and had returned to Inverness-shire on business in 1827. Fraser intended to return to Canada in the summer of 1829 and he claimed that five to six thousand people from various parts of the Highlands were willing to emigrate with him. In his petition he asked if the British government would provide transportation, provisions or land.

15. PP 1826 IV (404) p. 356-7.

PP 1826-7 V (550) p. 500-08.

Both of the Parliamentary Papers referred to here in many cases give details of the occupations and economic situations of the various applicants. Some further comment will be made on these in Chapter ten of the present study.

16. PP 1826 IV (404)

PP 1826 V (88) (237)

PP 1826-27 V (550).

17. T.R. Malthus <u>An Essay on the Principle of Population</u> London, 1806 vol. II, p. 147.

"with any view of making room for an unrestricted increase in population, emigration is perfectly inadequate; but as a partial and temporary expedient, and with a view to the more general cultivation of the earth, and the wider spread of civilization, it seems to be both useful and proper; and if it cannot be proved that governments are bound actively to encourage it, it is not only strikingly unjust, but in the highest degree impolitic in them to prevent it. There are no fears so totally ill-grounded as the fears of depopulation from emigration."

18. A.C. Buchanan Emigration Practically Considered; with detailed directions to Emigrants proceeding to British North America, particularly to The Canadas; in a letter to The Right Hon. R. Wilmot Horton, M.P. London, 1828 (148 pages) p. 125-8.

PP 1828 XXI (148) Col. Cockburn's Report.

SRO GD 45/3/140 Lt. Col. William Marshall to Earl of Dalhousie April 7, 1827.

19. PP 1826-7 V (550) p. 39.

20. It should be noted here that the British and colonial governments concerned were involved in various schemes of assisted emigration to Australia and New Zealand after this period. See -

David S. Macmillan Scotland and Australia 1788-1850 Oxford, 1967.

Fred H. Hitchins The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission 1840-78 Philadelphia, 1931.

21. Public Archives of Canada MG 24 A 27 volume 22 pp. 309-348.

Lord Howick (the third Earl Grey) had been Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies for the period 1830-33.

22. ibid.

For similar statements of government policy see -

PP 1841 XV (298) p. 71-2.

Glasgow Herald April 22, 1842.

Glasgow Herald February 26, 1847.

23. R.D.C. Black Economic Thought and the Irish Question 1817-70 Cambridge, 1960 p. 218-9.

24. Between 1803 and 1851 the British Parliament enacted sixteen Passenger Acts, some of which made substantial changes from the previous Act, while others were only amendments.

PP 1851 XIX (632) p. 801-806.

This Parliamentary Paper contains an abstract of all of the Acts for the regulation of passenger ships for the period 1803 to 1851.

The following are selected extracts from the above abstracts:

"Vessels to North America were required to be victualled for 12 weeks, so as to afford a daily allowance for each person of half a pound of meat, one pound and a half of biscuit or oatmeal, with a half a pint of molasses, and one gallon of water."

43 Geo. 3, C.56; passed 1803.

"The limit upon the numbers to be carried was three persons for every four tons burthen. Ships carrying passengers were to have a height of 5½ feet between the decks or between the platform and the deck."

9 Geo. 4, C. 116; 23 May 1828.

"Ships carrying 100 passengers were to carry a medical man, duly authorized by law to practice in this country as a physician, surgeon, or apothecary, and a proper supply of instruments, medicines, etc."

5 and 6 Wm. 4, C. 53; 31 August 1835.

"The sale of spirits to passengers was prohibited."

5 and 6 Vict. C. 107; August 1842.

"It gave power to the Commissioners to vary the diet. It prohibited the carriage of gunpowder, vitriol, or green hides as cargo. It gave power to ensure ventilation between decks, a survey of the ship, and a proper crew."

10 and 11 Vict. C. 103; July 1847.

25. M.A. Jones, op. cit.

Kathleen A. Walpole, op. cit.

PP 1851 XIX (632) p. 801-806.

S.C. Johnson A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America 1763-1912 London, 1913 Chapter five.

E.C. Guillet The Great Migration - The Atlantic Crossing by Sailing-ship since 1770 Toronto, 1963 p. 10-19.

Glasgow Herald March 27, 1846; June 7, 1848; March 31, 1848.

Notices of changes in Passenger Act regulations were frequently carried in Scottish newspapers.

26. Fred H. Hitchins, op. cit., p. 17, 19, 26.

27. CO 385/8 R.W. Hay to Lieut. Hemmans R.N. April 8, 1834.

For other versions of similar instructions see -

PP 1842 XXXI (301) p. 204.

PP 1854 XLVI (255) May 17, 1854. Names, salaries and instructions to Emigration Officers in the United Kingdom.

A Four Years' Resident /James B. Brown/ Views of Canada and the Colonists Edinburgh, 1844 p. 355.

"Persons sailing from ports at which Government Emigration Agents are established, have the advantages of being guided by the experience of those officers in the choice of a vessel, and of having every description of necessary information gratuitously provided - such as regarding the sea-worthiness of passenger ships, the periods of sailing, and means of accommodation, sufficiency of provisions, water, and medicines they have on board."

28. PP 1838 XL (388) p. 13.

29. ibid.

30. CO 384/76 p. 104-07, 110, 372.

31. Glasgow Herald February 22, 1850 and his obituary February 18, 1850.

32. Glasgow Herald February 19, 1844 and August 11, 1848.

Chapter nine of the present study.

33. Glasgow Herald January 27, 1851.

Oliver MacDonagh, op. cit., p. 242.

34. ibid., p. 242.

Glasgow Herald June 7, 1852.

CO 384/89 p. 363-4.

A meeting (April 23, 1852) of the Glasgow Ship Owners Association agreed to petition the Colonial Office to have some appeal mechanism included in the forthcoming amendments to the Passenger Act against Emigration Officers who overstepped their duty.

35. CO 384/89 p. 168 July 22, 1852.

PP 1854 XLVI (255) p. 3.

CO 384/92 p. 405-08 December 23, 1854.

36. PP 1854 XLVI (255) p. 33.

37. PP 1857 (Session II) XXVIII (238) p. 3.

Glasgow Herald December 29, 1854.

Oliver MacDonagh, op. cit., p. 283.

PP 1851 XIX (632) Q 5350.

> Ship supplies and most passengers were usually taken on at Glasgow but water and the remainder of the cargo and passengers were embarked at Greenock. The vessels then proceeded to the tail of the bank for a final clearance by the Emigration Agent and medical inspector.

38. The following are some examples of such publications made available by the British government.

Information for Emigration, published by His Majesty's Commissioners for Emigration, respecting the British Colonies in North America London: J. Hartwell, 1832.

> "No pecuniary aid will be allowed by Government to Emigrants to the North American Colonies; nor after their arrival will they receive Grants of Land, or gifts of Tools, or a supply of Provisions. Hopes of all these things have been sometimes held out to Emigrants by Speculators in this Country, desirous of making a profit by their conveyance to North America, and willing for that purpose to delude them with unfounded expectations, regardless of their subsequent disappointment. But the wish of the Government is to furnish those who emigrate with a real knowledge of the circumstances they will find in the Colonies to which they are going." (p. 1-2)

Official Information for Emigrants, Arriving At New York, and who are desirous of Settling in the Canadas; also, Extracts From The Instructions for Emigrants arriving at Quebec as issued by A.C. Buchanan, Esq. His Britannic Majesty's Chief Agent for Emigration to the Canadas Montreal: Gazette Office, 1834.

> "There is nothing of more importance to Emigrants, on arrival in a strange country, than correct information on the leading points connected with their future pursuits. Many have suffered much by a want of caution, and by listening to the opinions of interested and designing characters, who frequently offer their advice unsolicited, and are met generally about wharves and landing places frequented by strangers." (p. 2)

Information for Emigrants to British North America, published by Authority of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners London, 1842 (34 pages, price 6d.)

Colonization Circular

This publication was started in 1843 by the Emigration Commissioners and was issued periodically with the object of giving publicity to the opportunities and demands of the larger British colonies.

PP 1854 XLVI (1763) p. 33-5.

An example of a printed notice (1853) made available to emigrants on arrival in Canada.

39. Glasgow Herald July 12, 1844 "Caution to Emigrants to New Orleans".

This was a warning to emigrants distributed by the Emigration Commissioners concerning the outbreak of an epidemic of yellow fever in New Orleans.

Glasgow Herald July 12, 1844 "Notice to Emigrants to Canada".

This was a public notice distributed by the Emigration Commissioners that emigrants "should not depend on the public funds for the means of subsistence after arrival in the colony, or for defraying their travelling expenses from the port of disembarkation; but that they ought to be provided with sufficient means for these purposes before they leave this country."

40. Vincent Harlow and Frederick Madden British Colonial Developments, 1774-1834 Oxford, 1953 p. 409.

A.W.P. Buchanan The Buchanan Book Montreal, 1911.

W. Notman Portraits of British Americans Montreal, 1868 vol. 3 p. 205-08.

George C. Patterson, op. cit., p. 162.

41. Frances Morehouse "Canadian migration in the forties" Canadian Historical Review vol. 9 (1928) p. 315.

See footnote 38 above for publications which contain lists of these agents in the Canadas at various times.

Minutes of Evidence taken under the Direction of a General Commission of Enquiry for Crown Lands and Emigration (Charles Buller, Esq., M.P. Chief Commissioner) Quebec, 1839 Upper Canada p. 36.

The following were given as the duties of government emigration agents in the Canadas at this time.

"To furnish emigrants with information as to routes, distances, and rates of conveyance to different parts of the province; to point out the Crown lands offered for sale in the several districts, to furnish free passage and assistance to indigent and pauper emigrants, and to enable them to proceed to places where they can obtain work, and when employment is scarce, to occupy them in opening roads, clearing land, erecting shanties, etc."

42. W.S. Shepperson British Emigration to North America Oxford, 1957 p. 40-46.

See Chapter seven of the present study.

43. Wilbur S. Shepperson, op. cit., p. 50, 72.

Norman Macdonald Canada: Immigration and Colonization p. 36, 74, 81-3.

Paul W. Gates "Official encouragement to immigration by the Province of Ontario" Canadian Historical Review vol. 15 (1934) p. 24-38.

PP 1860 XLIV (606) p. 408.

In his report for 1859, A.C. Buchanan commented on the need for a qualified agent for Canada being sent to the United Kingdom.

Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser July 19, 1862.

This edition of the newspaper carried details of a meeting of the Paisley Emigration Society at the Unitarian Chapel in George Street. One of the speakers was Mr. Alexander M'Lauchlin who had recently been appointed by the Canadian government to lecture particularly in Scotland on the subject of emigration.

44. PP 1841 VI (333) p. iv.

45. PP 1844 XX (557) p. lxiv.

46. Sir A.G. Doughty (editor) The Elgin-Grey Papers 1846-1852 Ottawa, 1937 vol. III p. 1097.

Memorandum from T.F. Elliot, Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioner to Lord Lansdowne, January 23, 1847.

47. For a more detailed discussion - see Chapter seven.

CO 384/89 p. 101-04 May 13, 1852 concerning an application under the Act by Sir James Matheson of Lewis.

14 and 15 Vict., c. 91 Emigration Advances Act: Scotland.

CHAPTER 3

LAND COMPANIES AND LAND SPECULATORS IN UPPER CANADA

This chapter examines the role played by land companies and land speculators in assisting and directing emigration from Scotland to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855. Before discussing in detail the role of the one main land company and individual speculators, some general background to land settlement in Upper Canada is necessary.

Great Britain had obtained Quebec from the French in 1763, and had subsequently lost the Thirteen Colonies to the United States of America in 1783. Following this, the British Empire Loyalists moved north from the United States to remain within the Empire; they took their place along with the long established French Canadians in opposition to the American concept of "Manifest Destiny" for the continent. This concept was brought into sharp focus by the War of 1812-1814, in which the Americans attempted to invade and conquer Canada from the British - an attempt which came close to succeeding.

Beginning in the late Eighteenth Century, the British Government had supported and attempted a number of approaches to the settlement of lands in Upper Canada. A proclamation of February 7, 1792, invited colonizers to bring in settlers and receive grants of land; this was called the "leader and associates" system of land grants and involved making a large grant to an individual who promised to bring in settlers to occupy the lands granted. There are a number of examples of this approach: William Berczy in Markham Township, 1794-97; Comte de

Puisaye near Whitby in 1798-1803; Thomas Talbot, the 'Lake Erie Baron', who was extremely successful, 1803-1840; Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, near Chatham in 1805-1818; Archibald McNab, north of Ottawa, between 1823-40; William Dickson in Dumfries Township north of Hamilton in 1816; and Donald Cameron near Lake Simcoe, from 1823-1829.[1] Some of the above were successful, but the others turned out either to be speculators or, if genuine in their intentions, they floundered through bad luck or mismanagement, and the "leader and associates" system was therefore abandoned.

The British Government for a time also undertook various schemes aimed at assisting or subsidizing particular groups to leave the British Isles and settle in the colonies. Between 1815 and 1821, a large number of Scots came out with government assistance and settled in the Rideau district. Beginning in 1823, Peter Robinson managed a government assisted emigration scheme and brought out two large groups of Irish settlers who settled both west of Ottawa and around Peterborough. It was difficult to prove that assisted emigration had any positive effect on conditions at home, and the British Parliament, after an extensive review of the schemes by Parliamentary committees in 1826 and 1827, decided that they had cost too much to be repeated. (See Chapter Two).

After about 1825, the primary source of settlers for Upper Canada was the unassisted immigration of private individuals. By this period, a growing number of people from every walk of life were planning to emigrate from the British Isles, not because they were destitute, but because they felt themselves to be steadily slipping, unable to maintain, let alone improve, their present level of living. By the

early 1820's, it was becoming evident that basic changes would have to be made in land policies if Upper Canada was to be prepared to receive a growing immigrant population. Past regulations and practices had proved to be hopelessly inadequate and unsatisfactory. For over thirty years, the policies regarding land disposal had sought to accomplish nearly every imaginable purpose except that of encouraging compact and effective settlement.[2]

R.G. Riddell, in his article "A Study in the Land Policy of the Colonial Office, 1763-1855," presents an analysis of the government land policy in the period prior to 1825:

> "No policy in regard to land was ever formulated by the British Government in the period between 1783 and 1825. If, however, the whole set of regulations and instructions applying to land in the various colonies is taken and considered, it is possible to discern four general objectives that were more or less consistently present. These are, first, that land should be distributed in such a manner as to encourage settlement; second, that it should be distributed in such a manner as to produce revenue; third, that it should be regarded as an asset upon which the Crown could draw to subsidize special projects, to reward officials, or to pension servants; and fourth, that land should be used to endow either the government itself, or institutions which it desired to establish. The fact that these objectives are inconsistent or mutually incompatible was no cause of concern to a government only dimly aware that it had a policy at all."[3]

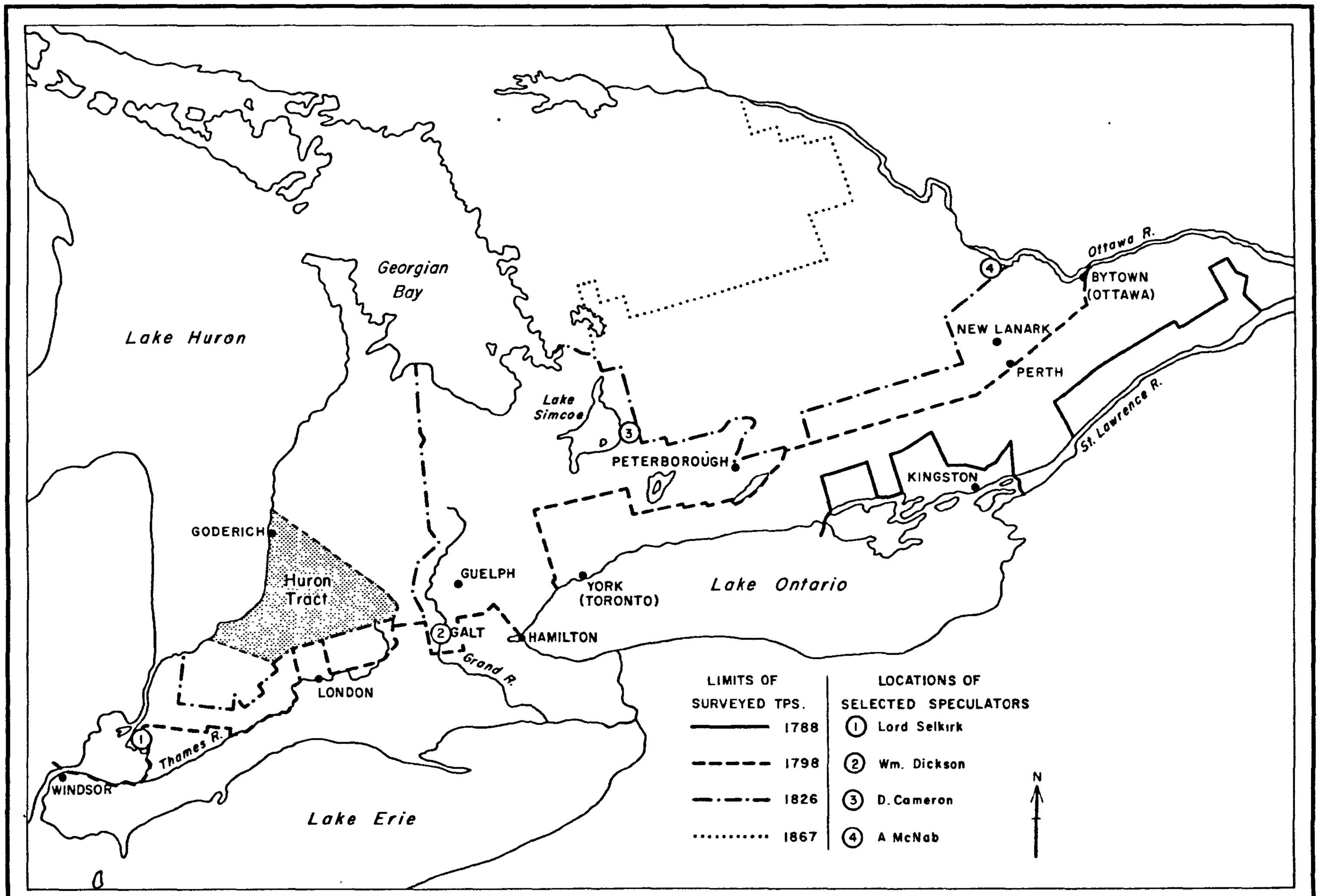
During the period up to 1825, the population of Upper Canada had slowly reached 150,000 and more than 13 million acres of land had been granted or promised by the Crown (or 13/17 of the surveyed area to that time). Yet during the 13 following years, when the population increased from 150,000 to 400,000, the amount of Crown land disposed of, including the Clergy Reserves, amounted to under 600,000 acres. Thus it would appear that perhaps less than a tenth of the land granted prior to 1825 had been even occupied by settlers, much

less cultivated.[4] In 1838, the provincial assessors reported there were 6,060,332 acres of occupied farm land, of which 2,064,903 acres were under cultivation and 4,853,890 acres were uncultivated. An additional 1,928,945 acres were unsold Clergy Reserves, 1,521,561 acres unsold Canada Company land and about 4,500,000 acres were in the possession of other speculators.[5]

In 1826, the general policy of making gratuitous land grants was terminated and in that year a Commissioner of Crown lands was appointed by the British Government to supervise the sale of Crown lands at public auctions. Thus after this period, the average immigrant arriving in Upper Canada could purchase land from a number of sources - the government, the Clergy Reserves (after 1840), the Canada Company, the existing occupant who had made improvements to the property or land speculators.[6] This chapter will examine the extent to which a number of these speculators affected Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855.

Figure 3.1 is included here both to indicate the growth of settlement in the colony and to provide some basic place name information for later references in this study.[7] This figure shows that the general spread of settlement over time (as indicated by the extent of the surveyed townships) was closely related initially to the St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes shorelines, largely due to accessability. However, by 1867 the entire peninsular area of southern Ontario had been surveyed in preparation for settlement. Figures 6.1 and 8.2 and Appendix Three all give an indication of the main areas of particularly Scottish settlement in Upper Canada during the period under consideration.

Figure 3.1



UPPER CANADA (ONTARIO): APPROXIMATE LIMITS OF SURVEYED TOWNSHIPS FOR SELECTED PERIODS BETWEEN 1788 AND 1867; AND SELECTED SPECULATORS.

a) The Canada Company

By the mid 1820's, both the British and Upper Canada Governments were looking for new answers to the land problem - that of achieving effective settlement and hence the growth and prosperity of the colony. It was also hoped that any new arrangements would yield a larger revenue from colonial lands, thus decreasing or ending the British Government's need to provide financial assistance to Upper Canada, and at the same time making the executive branch of the colonial government (Executive Council) more independent of the reformed minded lower house (Legislative Assembly). It was within this setting that the idea emerged and developed into the Canada Company, as one means of solving these problems.

One of the originators of the idea of a land company acquiring the unalienated lands in Upper Canada was John Galt, the Scottish novelist. His first direct contact with Canada came from his having worked in 1820 as one of the agents in Britain for residents of Upper Canada claiming losses and damages suffered during the War of 1812-14. Galt's original suggestion was that a company should purchase all the unassigned land in the colony in order to provide revenue to pay the War claims and to increase the treasury of Upper Canada.[8] Galt had connections with London investors whom he interested in the scheme. After a number of complications, the Charter of the Canada Company was issued on August 18, 1826. By it the Company was to receive all of the Crown Reserves[9] which had not been granted, leased or otherwise occupied as of March 1, 1824 (about 1,400,000 acres) and a block of one million acres of land (later increased to 1,100,000 acres to allow for swamps and poor land) in the London and Western Districts,

which became known as the Huron Tract. The Company, for its part, was to pay a total of 348,680 pounds sterling over a period of sixteen years (1827-1842) with half-yearly payments averaging 9,500 pounds, to the Colonial Government.[10] The Company was managed by a Court of Directors in London, who supervised the Commissioners in the colony, who in turn were in charge of the day to day operations of the Company in Upper Canada.

In March,1827, the Court of Directors decided that it would be advisable to appoint agents at the various emigration parts of the British Isles as well as at Quebec and Montreal and to provide these agents with prospectuses of the Company and maps of the lands which were for sale in Upper Canada. As an encouragement to these agents in the outposts who were to obtain emigrants with money to purchase lots, the agents in Britain were to receive the following commissions:

A) A commission of 1% on the amount of money deposited with the company by any emigrant discovered by such agent.

B) A further 2% on such part of the sum so deposited which finally was used to buy land from the company.

C) A commission of 1% of the purchase price of land, when the emigrant used the credit purchase system of the company.[11]

The Company made arrangements with more than twenty agents in the British Isles in the period between 1827 and 1830 to act on the above basis.

Table 3.1 lists those agencies operating in Scotland at various periods, and Figure 3.2 shows the location of these agencies in Scotland. The map differentiates between main agencies (those usually listed on the Company's publicity material), smaller agencies (those listed in newspaper shipping advertisements as representing the Company in the 1830's) and locations where information about the Company's land was available. (See Chapter Nine under John Sutherland of Wick in the 1840's).[12]

TABLE 3.1

CANADA COMPANY AGENCIES IN SCOTLAND

LOCATION	AGENT	OPENED	RELATED DETAILS
Greenock	Messrs. Robert Ewing and Co.	March 1827	- shipping agents - paid twenty pounds per year until December 1831 - likely carried on unofficially for several years.
Glasgow	Messrs. Gilkison and Brown	July 1827	- ship and emigrant agents - acted as unpaid agent until mid 1840's.
Leith	Messrs. James Duncan and Co.	June 1827	- shipping agents - involved at least to 1832 - James Duncan was also a writer to the Signet.
Edinburgh	James Adam	April 1830	- writer to the Signet - Ten pounds per year discontinued December 1831
Aberdeen	John Catto and Son	January 1828	- merchants and shipping agents
Paisley	Andrew Mercer	January 1829	- life insurance agent - writer to the Signet
Perth	Robert Menzies		- writer to the Signet - listed as Canada Company agent for Perthshire
Haddington	J. Haldane	-	-
Hawick	John Gentle	-	-
Langholm	Messrs. Tedcastle and Hall	-	-

See Footnote 12.

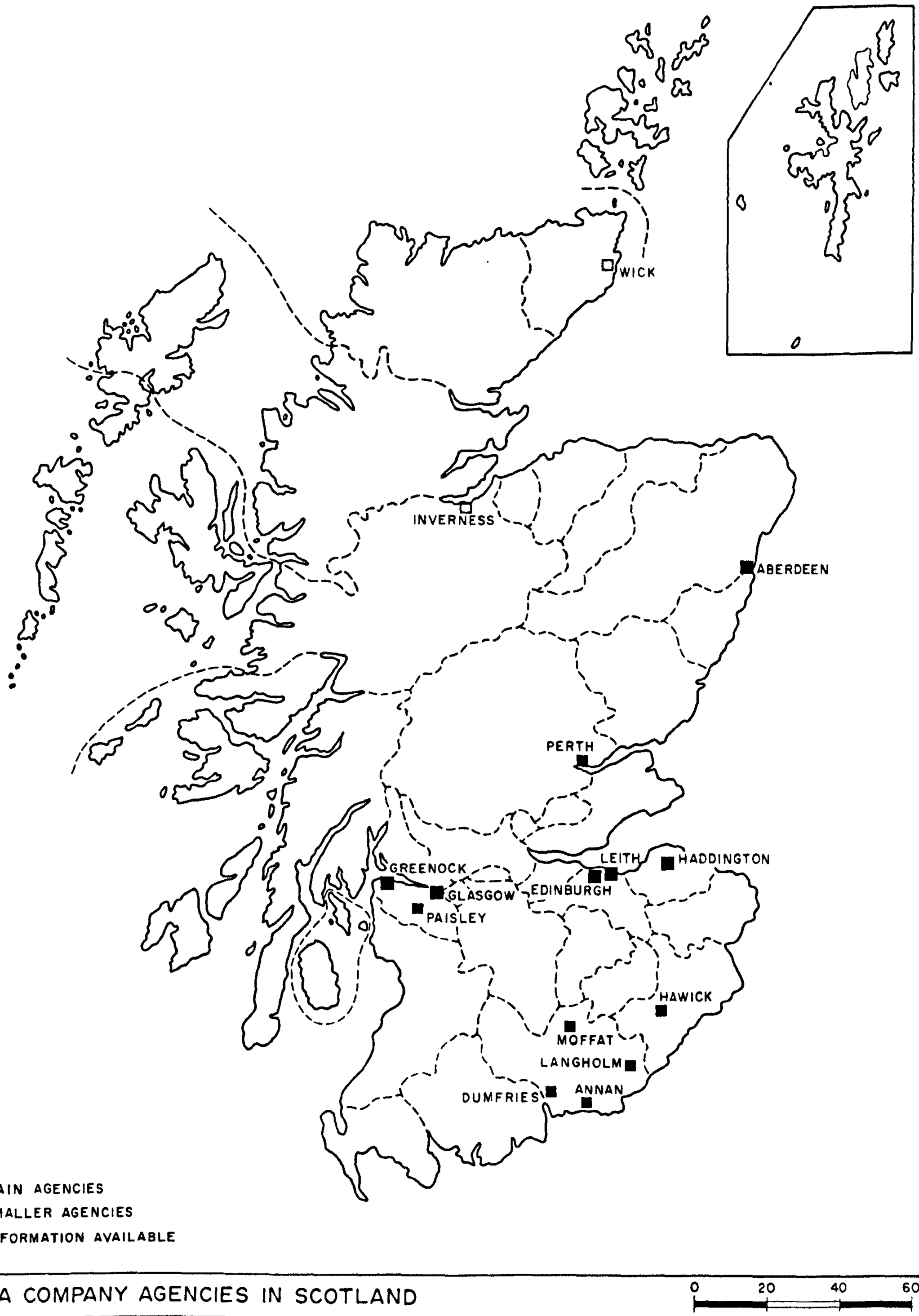

WICK
INVERNESS
ABERDEEN
PERTH
GREENOCK
GLASGOW
PAISLEY
LEITH
HADDINGTON
EDINBURGH
HAWICK
MOFFAT
LANGHOLM
DUMFRIES
ANNAN
N
MAIN AGENCIES
SMALLER AGENCIES
INFORMATION AVAILABLE
CANADA COMPANY AGENCIES IN SCOTLAND
0 20 40 60 MILES

Figure 3.2

Several of the agencies received as well small cash payments as salaries. It became obvious that few emigrants were prepared to enter into arrangements for the Company's land in the British Isles but rather preferred to wait until they had arrived in Upper Canada and having inspected the areas for sale, could then choose land they wanted to buy. The Court of Directors recognized this as a reasonable wish on the part of the emigrants and decided in April 1831 that -

> "the appointment of Special Agents be in future discontinued and that a more broad and general principle of publicity be substituted by sending the Company's printed Papers at the beginning of every season to Ship Owners and Brokers connected with Canada Shipping both at London and the Outports, and also to influential persons interested in emigration with an intimation that they may have more on application at the Office of the Company."[13]

Thus after 1831, there were only unofficial agencies operating at the larger emigration ports. The Company did for a short time employ an agent, William Cattermole, to visit various parts of Britain distributing Company literature and answering questions.[14] It should be noted, however, that even as late as 1841, Frederick Widder, one of the Company's Commissioners in Upper Canada, suggested in a report to the Directors that the Company should re-establish the system of agents in the principal emigration ports in order to attract more settlers to purchase the Company's lands. He advocated that in some cases it might even be wise to pay the emigrants' passage from Great Britain to Quebec.[15] Nothing came of these ideas however.

As well as agents (both official and unofficial) attracting emigrants to the Company's lands in Upper Canada, the Company carried

on an extensive publicity campaign. Each of the agents received maps and printed information about the Company's lands; broadsides (large printed sheets) to be posted in market towns and villages describing the advantages of emigration to Upper Canada; and copies of letters written by recent emigrants' to their friends or relatives at home in the British Isles. The Company felt that "no description of evidence is received with more confidence than that of emigrants themselves founded on a practical knowledge of the country. The Board therefore will never spare the expense of printing, and circulating intelligent letters"[16] An example of such a letter, included with the Report of the Court of Directors for 1831, is one from John Inglis, Guelph, Upper Canada,to John Younger, a shoemaker, in Roxburghshire dated February 26, 1831. It contained a detailed and favourable description of life and conditions in Upper Canada, including:

> "Dear John, I would not just wish to advise any one to come here; but, for my own part, I would not return to Scotland, though any one would pay my passage back and give me twenty pounds a-year, - not that I do not love the land of Caledonia, which will ever be dear to my bosom, (and I could knock down the man who speaks ill of it,) but I never could have the prospects for my family in Britain that I here have; only one thing is to be remarked, no one need come here in prospect of doing well unless he intend to be diligent, and work hard; and he who does so will, in the course of seven or eight years, feel independent.
>
> Dear John how happy would I be to have you here, with my dear brother and sisters, and the sooner the better would it be for yourselves."[17]

Indeed over the period 1830 to 1842 the Company circulated at least 30,000 copies of various letters from settlers. The Company also purchased large numbers of books and pamphlets by various writers on the advantages of emigration to Canada for distribution in the

British Isles.[18] Figure 3.3 is a good example of a Canada Company broadsheet.[19]

The Canada Company also provided a number of services to emigrants as well as to established settlers. Although the Company did not become involved in the embarkation or passage of persons to Quebec, as they felt it could be carried on as easily and cheaply through the regular channels, they did offer between 1831 and 1833 a free passage from Quebec to the head of Lake Ontario for any settler paying his first instalment on one hundred acres in the Huron Tract. The Company also acted, free of charge, as transfer agent for remittances of money from British Isles to Canada or vice versa, using letters of credit.[20] As mentioned previously, the Company realized the importance of favourable reports sent home in emigrants' letters and decided to transmit these letters free of postage to friends at home, at least during the year 1831. With the emigrant's letter the Company enclosed a letter of its own stating:

> "I forward the enclosed Letter to you from your Friends in Canada who are Settlers on the Company's Lands, and shall be happy to send any Letters you may have for them also free of charge. I hope the accounts are good and shall be glad to have Extracts of any parts that are interesting to Persons intending to emigrate from this Country."[21]

The Company also provided formal letters of introduction to its Agents and Commissioners in Upper Canada for people who had the means and intention of buying lands from the Company, as well, as for those people who were being sponsored by influential people in the British Isles.[22] All of these services would be of considerable assistance to emigrants, especially those of some means, and made the prospects of emigration seem much less formidable. As a result of its publicity

EMPLOYMENT
FOR
Labourers, or Farmers
OF SMALL CAPITAL,
AND
Land for Sale
IN
UPPER CANADA.

PERSONS desirous of obtaining Employment, and having the means of emigrating to UPPER CANADA, may get Work at high prices compared with what they have been accustomed to receive in this Country as Agricultural Labourers. The Wages given in Upper Canada are from £2 to £3 per month, with board and lodging. At these Wages there is a constant demand for Labour in the neighbourhood of York, in Upper Canada, and there is no doubt that a very great number, beyond those now there, would find Employment. Working Artisans, particularly Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Bricklayers, Masons, Coopers, Millwrights, and Wheelwrights, get high Wages, and are much wanted. Industrious Men may look forward with confidence to an improvement in their Situation, as they may save enough out of one Season's Work to buy Land themselves in settled Townships.

FREEHOLD LAND of excellent quality is to be sold at TEN SHILLINGS PER ACRE, payable as follows:—Two Shillings per Acre down at the time of making choice of the Land in Canada, and the remainder in small annual payments, with interest, which an industrious Settler would be able to pay out of the Crops.

UPPER CANADA is a British Province, within a few Weeks sail of this Country. The Climate is good; all the Fruits and Vegetables common to the English Kitchen-Garden thrive well; Sugar, for domestic purposes, is made from the Maple-tree on the land. The Soil and Country possess every requisite for farming purposes and comfortable settlement, which is proved by the experience of the numerous industrious Emigrants now settled there. The samples of UPPER CANADA Wheat have not been exceeded in quality by any in the British Market during the past year. The population of the Province, which is rapidly increasing, consists, almost exclusively, of persons from Great Britain, who have gone there to settle. The Taxes are very trifling, and there are no Tithes. The Expense of clearing the Land ready for Seed is about £4 per Acre, if paid for in Money, but if done by the Purchasers themselves they must employ part of their time at Wages, or possess some means of their own. The Expense of removing from this Country to York, or any of the principal Towns in the UPPER PROVINCE, adjoining the LANDS of the CANADA COMPANY, is, at the utmost, as follows, and is frequently done for much less,—Grown Persons, Men or Women, £6 each for the Passage, and half-price for Children, without Provisions for their maintenance during the Voyage, with which they must furnish themselves; or, if Parties prefer to take their Passage to Quebec only, (which may be done for £3 from England, Children £1:10, Provisions about as much more; and from Ireland and Scotland for considerably less,) on arrival there, they may be forwarded to the UPPER PROVINCE by the Company's Agents, on the following Terms:—

The AGENTS of the CANADA COMPANY on the arrival of Emigrants at Quebec or Montreal, will, for the present Season, convey, at the Company's Expense, Purchasers who pay a first instalment, in London, Quebec, or Montreal, of Two Shillings an Acre upon not less than One Hundred Acres, to the head of Lake Ontario, which is in the vicinity of their choicest Lands; and their Agents in all parts of the Upper Province will give such Emigrants every Information and Assistance in their Power. Should Emigrants, on arrival, not settle on the Company's Lands, the Money paid by them will be returned, deducting the actual Expense of Conveyance to York.

For Particulars and a Map of the Country apply to N. S. PRICE, Esq. Secretary to the CANADA COMPANY, *St. Helen's Place, London*; or, the following Agents:—Messrs. W. D. & W. E. ACRAMAN, *Bristol*; JAMES ADAM, Esq. *Edinburgh*; JOHN ASTLE, Esq. *Dublin*; SEXTON BAYLEE, Esq. *Cork*; GEORGE BUCHANAN, Esq. *Omagh, Londonderry*; JOHN CARROLL, Esq. *Limerick*; Mr. THOMAS W. EVANS, *Liverpool*; Messrs. ROBERT EWING & CO. *Greenock*; Messrs. GILKISON & BROWN, *Glasgow*; and Messrs. WATSON & GRAVES, *New Ross*.

Parties intending to go out this Season should make immediate Application.

MARCHANT, PRINTER, INGRAM-COURT, LONDON.

Figure 3.3

campaign and general activities in Upper Canada, the Company received favourable comment in emigrant guides and Scottish newspapers.[23]

The Company's office in London carried on an extensive correspondence with all parts of the British Isles, answering inquiries about the Company's lands and services as well as sending out prospectuses and other pertinent information. One such letter of 8th May, 1830, was to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, mentioning the important work carried on by the Company as "a matter of national consequence to divert the tide of emigration from the United States to Upper Canada" and offering to send him twenty or thirty copies of the prospectus showing lands to be sold by the Company if he thought that they would be "of sufficient public importance to be disseminated in that part of the Country."[24]

Both in 1828 and 1842-43, the Company received requests from emigration societies in Paisley and Glasgow for assistance in emigrating to Upper Canada. But the Company was interested in attracting agricultural labourers and tradesmen likely to be useful in a new country and felt that "Weavers and Spinners emigrating to that Country [Canada] are likely to be troublesome, rather than useful to those on whom they may imagine they have any claim," and that "the Company does not purpose to offer encouragement to Pauper Emigrants of any description."[25] It was also in communication with a number of Scottish pensioners of the Chelsea Hospital who asked that their pensions be paid to the Company for land and assistance in emigrating to Upper Canada.[26] However nothing came of this scheme as the pensioners' finances were not adequate and generally they were too old and unsuitable for pioneer life in the backwoods. In the autumn

of 1840 and summer of 1841, with the encouragement of Dr. Thomas Rolph, plans were underway for the purchase of a large block of land in the Huron Tract by Macleod of Macleod, "for the purpose of immediate settlement by the surplus population of his Highland Estate."[27] Nothing apparently came of these plans, likely because of Macleod's growing financial difficulties (see Chapter Seven). The Canada Company was also active in encouraging the British Government to provide financial and other assistance to emigrants.[28]

Before concluding this section on the Canada Company, some mention should be made of the role of John Galt. As mentioned previously, Galt was one of the originators of the idea of a land company purchasing the government lands in Upper Canada and he acted as the Company's first commissioner in the colony. Galt was also well known as a Scottish writer, for example The Annals of the Parish (1821) and Life of Byron (1830). A number of his prolific writings, both in articles and novels, dealt with North America and the opportunities there for emigrants.[29] His novel Bogle Corbet; or The Emigrants is the fictional tale of a Scottish gentleman who settles on 1,200 acres in the backwoods of Upper Canada. It "contains instruction that may lighten the anxieties of those whom taste or fortune prompts to quit their native land, and to seek in the wilderness new objects of industry, enterprise, and care".[30] An appendix contains a description of the different townships in eight of the eleven districts in Upper Canada for the information of potential emigrants. Galt also co-operated with Andrew Picken in producing a large (nearly four hundred pages) and detailed emigrants' guide to the Canadas in 1832.[31] Thus Galt, both as a businessman and writer,

did a great deal to develop Upper Canada and make it better known to people in the British Isles.

In conclusion, the two main contributions of the Canada Company to emigration from the British Isles were its role as an agent of initial capital introduction prior to local capital accumulation[32] (it provided credit to emigrants to help them to obtain land) and secondly, its use of agents and advertising and the provision of services to encourage emigration to Upper Canada. Thus although it is impossible to quantitatively ascertain the number of Scottish emigrants who were encouraged or directed to Upper Canada by the Canada Company, the above section has nevertheless shown the important role of the Company in this emigration process.

The remaining sections in this chapter will examine the role of various other land speculators who were active in Upper Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century. None of the following played as major or critical a role in the emigration or settlement process in Upper Canada as did the Canada Company, yet each was a small part of the overall pattern.

b) Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk

Although Lord Selkirk's activities in Upper Canada started and finished before the period of this study, a brief summary of his attempts at colonization will be presented here. Selkirk's activities are of significance in that while the numbers involved were small, his schemes had a positive publicity impact on the disadvantaged in Britain. During the 1790's,his father had acquired land in northern New York State and with the father's death in 1799, Thomas Douglas received the title and control of the family estates.[33] Selkirk proposed to the

British Government a number of schemes for emigration from Ireland and Scotland to British North America.[34] His attempts to encourage emigration met with opposition from most Highland landlords, who in turn brought pressure on the British Government to enact the Passenger Act of 1803 which was partially successful in checking emigration at this time (see Chapters Two and Seven). He finally obtained land from the Government and in August 1803, three ships with about 800 people (largely from Skye) arrived in Prince Edward Island. After staying on the Island for two months in order to get the people organized on their land, Selkirk departed for Upper Canada. There he had arranged for a grant of 1,200 acres from the Government, as well as a further 200 acres for every family that he would settle, of which fifty acres would go to the settler.[35]

The lands Selkirk chose were in Dover and Chatham Townships near Lake St. Clair and the settlement there was to be called Baldoon, after his father's estate in Scotland. Selkirk planned to make Baldoon a show-piece farm and sent agents to purchase large numbers of sheep in the United States. In the summer of 1804, fifteen Highland families arrived via Montreal to begin taking up the land. These settlers came out indentured to work for Selkirk, who paid their passage and was to see to it that they received their own farms at the end of their period of service.

Another interesting aspect of Selkirk's colonization scheme was to be the establishment of national settlements in Canada to act as a defence against American influence in the colony. He suggested to the Government that the country be divided into four or five districts, "each inhabited by colonists of a different nation, keeping up their

original peculiarities, and all differing in language from their neighbours in the United States", with South-western Upper Canada being settled by Gaelic-speaking Highlanders from Scotland and the United States.[36]

The Baldoon Settlement, however, ended in failure. Of forty-three settlers who originally took up land, by 1817 only nine remained. Selkirk's agent, Alexander McDonell,proved unsuitable as he was frequently absent and failed to follow Selkirk's instructions. Selkirk's plans were too optimistic and grand for the realities of distance and lack of available capital. The site of the Baldoon Settlement near low swampy land led to deaths and distress from malarial fever which tended to undermine progress during the first few years. During the War of 1812 American troops destroyed most of the settlement, and by 1820 most of Selkirk's property in Upper Canada had been disposed of, and his plans there had come to nothing.[37]

In conclusion, the important point to note is that Selkirk's work in Prince Edward Island (1803), Baldoon (1804) and the Red River (1812), although on the whole unsuccessful, did help to bring the British North American colonies to the notice of potential emigrants in Scotland.

c) Archibald, McNab of McNab

In 1823,the Chief of the McNab's (the seventeenth and last Chief of the Clan) obtained from the colonial government control over an 81,000 acre township on the Ottawa River, which he then named McNab Township. One year previously he had barely managed to leave Scotland, to escape his creditor, the Earl of Breadalbane. Officially

McNab was to act, more or less, as the government agent to dispose of the lands, although he was to provide assistance to the emigrants in the form of transportation from Scotland and supplies for the initial period.

McNab then arranged with his brother-in-law, Dr. Francis Hamilton of Arnprior and Leney to provide financial backing and collect emigrants in Scotland. In April of 1825, twenty nine families left Greenock for Montreal, reaching McNab Township in June of the same year. Every head of family gave a bond to pay McNab, in either money or produce, thirty-six pounds for himself, thirty pounds for his wife and sixteen pounds for each child.[38] When the settlers chose their lots, McNab informed them that the government had granted him all the land in the township as he was a Highland Chief. McNab's attempt to establish a feudal system in Canada is clearly shown by the following copy of a location (occupancy) ticket.

> "I, Archibald McNab, of McNab, do hereby locate you, James Carmichael, upon the rear half of the Sixteenth Lot of the Eleventh Concession of McNab, upon the following terms and conditions, that is to say: I thereby bind myself, my heirs and successors, to give you the said land free of any quit rent for three years from this date, as also to procure you a patent for the same at your expense, upon your having done the settlement duties and your granting me a mortgage upon said lands, that you will yearly thereafter pay to me, my heirs and successors forever one bushel of wheat or Indian corn, or oats of like value, for every clear acre upon the said Lot of Land in name of Quit Rent for the same, in month of January in each year".[39]

McNab made a number of trips to Montreal where he induced newly arrived Highlanders to settle in his township.[40] Initially the government was unaware of his plans and motives, and even after an investigation in 1831, it failed to change the situation. From the beginning McNab had ill-used the settlers, refusing to provide the promised supplies, determining

where they could go to find employment and abusing his powers as a Magistrate. The settlers were soon heavily in debt to him.

Discontent began to appear as the settlers could see the opportunities and freedoms of the people in the surrounding townships and complaints soon forced the government into positive action.[41] After a final investigation, McNab was stripped of all his power in 1841 and he returned to Scotland in disgrace in 1843.[42] McNab's attempt at establishing the clan system in North America was bound to fail under the changed social and economic conditions in the New World, but the fact that it lasted as long as it did is a sad commentary on the government's policy of land granting in Upper Canada.

d) Donald Cameron

The next land speculator to be briefly discussed here is Donald Cameron. His activities are mentioned not so much because of their importance to emigration or Upper Canada generally, but rather because he was actively involved with Scottish emigrants during a brief period of time.

Between 1821 and 1824 Cameron was engaged in the emigrant trade between Scotland and Upper Canada. In February 1824,in a petition to the House of Commons,he stated that he had spent seven hundred pounds of his own money in assisting 690 persons to reach Upper Canada during the summers of 1821, 1822 and 1823. Cameron gave his address as Lancaster, Upper Canada "now generally residing at Fort William" (Scotland).[43] He asked for a grant of land in Upper Canada on which to settle 140 families. In 1825 the Executive Council in Upper Canada granted him 1,200 acres of land for himself and reserved two townships (Eldon and Thorah) east of Lake Simcoe for his settlers. By this time

the Scots whom he had assisted had dispersed to various parts of Upper Canada in search of employment or land and the government therefore allowed him until May 1827 to arrange for these emigrants to take up the land that had been reserved for them.

Cameron was granted further extensions of this time limit to November 1829, but by this time the Executive Council felt that an investigation was necessary. The outcome was that he was found guilty of perjury (by misrepresenting the number of his settlers) and jailed. Cameron repeatedly appealed (the issue remained active until 1849) to the Lieutenant-Governor in Upper Canada and to the British Government against the treatment which he had received, but to no avail. Throughout the entire episode Cameron still received the support of his settlers, who on at least six occasions petitioned on his behalf to the government.[44]

In conclusion, it would seem that Cameron failed as a result of being over ambitious in his speculations, although it should be noted that the treatment he received from the government was much harsher than that received by other, more notorious speculators.

e) <u>William Dickson</u>

One of the most successful land speculators during the early settlement of Upper Canada was William Dickson who was born in Dumfries, Scotland in 1769. He came to Canada in 1792 and by 1815 had become a member of the Legislative Council in Upper Canada. In 1816 he bought the Township of Dumfries, north-west of Hamilton and began to attract settlers to his lands. The first settlers were mainly Highland Scots who had initially settled in northern New York State. Dickson then sent an agent (Mr. John Telfer) to Scotland

about 1820 to attract emigrants, who during the next two decades came very largely from Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire. Dickson also carried on correspondence with leading Scotsmen about the advantages of settlement in Upper Canada as well as publishing articles in Chambers' Journal and the regular press.[45] It is interesting to note here that the name of the largest village in Dumfries Township was initially called Shade's Mills, but Dickson had the name changed to Galt in honour of his friend, John Galt, whose influence in Upper Canada has been discussed previously.

Dickson did a great deal to assist the early settlers by providing credit for supplies and directing the construction of an essential infrastructure of mills, roads and schools. As the township consisted of good farm land and was favourably located with respect to markets, its population expanded rapidly, much to the benefit of both Dickson and the new settlers.[46] Thus although Dickson did not financially assist in the emigration of Scots to Upper Canada, he did encourage and direct this emigration, by means of his business ability and publicity efforts.

f) Robert Gourlay

The activities of Robert Gourlay both in Upper Canada and in Scotland during the period under discussion indicate an eccentric yet dedicated individual. A discussion of his activities is included in this chapter partly as a matter of convenience and partly due to his attempts to encourage emigration to his own lands in Upper Canada during the later years of his life. As will be evident from the following paragraphs, Gourlay's activities might have equally well been examined in Chapter Four (emigration societies and trade unions) or Chapter Nine

(Scottish ports, shipping and emigration agents).

Robert Gourlay was born in Fifeshire, Scotland,in 1778 and came to Upper Canada in 1817. One description of his personality is as follows, "he was characterized through life by an uncontrolled temper, extraordinary conceit, and a marked persecution complex; and while this combination brought misfortune in Britain, it led to disaster in the colonies."[47] Gourlay became involved in personal and political controversy in the colony and after extensive court proceedings was banished from Upper Canada in 1819. On his return to Britain, besides a continuance of his eccentricities, Gourlay began to write and speak widely on the subjects of Poor Law reform, emigration societies and emigration generally.[48]

In 1827 and 1828 he was particularly active in Fifeshire, organizing emigration societies and speaking to public meetings. He listed himself as a Colonial Land Agent on his card and publications.[49] He disassociated himself from the emigration societies which had formed during this period in the west of Scotland as "their's is a prudent, but narrow and temporary project."[50] Gourlay felt that an emigration society should be formed in every parish and that every five parishes would form a union. The hierarchy would then continue to the county level and finally a national union. One object of these unions would be to correspond with all parts of the world in order to obtain the most up-to-date information and the best advice regarding land, employment and transportation.[51]

In 1849 Gourlay had printed a small pamphlet (twenty pages) entitled Emigration and Settlement on Wild Land. It contained, in addition to a number of reprints of various emigration articles,

information about 1,000 acres of land which Gourlay had for sale in the Township of Dereham, fifty miles west of Hamilton. Gourlay also distributed a broadsheet in the summer of 1849 in Fifeshire and Angus with the heading COLONIZATION 50 MEN WANTED FOR SETTLEMENT IN CANADA.[52] Nothing further, however, has been located as to the outcome of these plans. Gourlay himself returned to Upper Canada in 1856 where he attempted unsuccessfully to be elected to the legislature. Shortly after this final defeat he returned to Scotland where he died in Edinburgh in 1862.[53]

In conclusion, Gourlay's main contribution to Scottish emigration to Upper Canada would appear to have been his continued (for almost forty years) interest in this subject as shown by his writings and speeches over this period. These activities acted as both a source of information and an encouragement to potential emigrants in Scotland.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the activities of land companies and land speculators in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855. The discussion was limited to those of the above agents who were directly involved with Scottish emigrants.[54] No attempt was made to examine the general role of land speculators in Upper Canada as this has been covered in much more detail elsewhere (see footnote six) and was beyond the scope of the present work.

The Canada Company stands out as the major agent in this chapter because of its extensive acreages in the colony, its considerable organization and large scale financial resources. The other agents (all individuals) each played a smaller but nevertheless an important

and unique role at various periods, largely through providing information in Scotland about Upper Canada and occasionally by organizing for the emigration of small groups.

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1. Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1963, 113-123.

2. Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada - The Formative Years, 1784-1841, Toronto, 1963, p. 130-31.

3. R.G. Riddell, "A Study in the Land Policy of the Colonial Office, 1763-1855", Canadian Historical Review, XVIII December 1937, 387.

4. Sir C. P. Lucas (editor) Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1912 111, 59, 223.

5. Lilian F. Gates Land Policies in Upper Canada Toronto, 1968 p. 304.

6. For political and administrative purposes Upper Canada was divided into Districts which eventually gave way to Counties in the more settled parts of the colony (province). These counties in turn were sub-divided into townships. (See Figure 8.1 for example of Wellington County). A typical township might contain 50,000 acres of land, which during the period under discussion was surveyed into 100 acre lots and sold to immigrants.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 provided for the separation of English-speaking Upper Canada from the old province of Quebec and also established the Clergy and Crown Reserves. The Clergy Reserves were to be one seventh of future land granted (alienated) by the Crown and were reserved for the support of a Protestant Clergy. The Crown Reserves were to be equal in quantity to the Clergy Reserves with their purpose being to provide a fund to be used for the support of Government.

For an excellent and complete account of land policies in Upper Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century see -

Lilian Gates Land Policies of Upper Canada Toronto, 1968.

Norman MacDonald Canada, 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement London, 1939.

Gilbert C. Paterson Land Settlement in Upper Canada (Sixteenth Report of the Ontario Public Archives) Toronto, 1921.

7. Figure 3.1 is based on J.L. Morris Ontario and Its Sub-divisions 1763-1867 Ontario Department of Lands and Forests (1942).

A more detailed account (including maps) of settlement in south-central Ontario (from Hamilton to Kingston) can be found in the following book -

Jacob Spelt The Urban Development in South-Central Ontario Assen, 1955.

No attempt was made to include in Figure 3.1 all the place names in Upper Canada used in this study as the map scale was not suitable. However most place names used can be located on any map of the province showing towns and townships.

8. Public Archives of Canada, Q 368, I, p. 49.

9. In the surveys of Upper Canada after 1791, one seventh of all the land was set aside for the benefit of the Crown (Crown Reserves) and one seventh was set aside for the benefit of the Established Church (Clergy Reserves).

10. Annual Report of the Public Archives of Canada, 1935. Ottawa, 1936 pp. 207-209, 213-215.

11. Canada Company, Committee of Correspondence, May 29, 1827.

12. Clarence G. Karr "The Foundations of the Canada Land Company 1823-1843" unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1966 p. 51.

Canada Company correspondence and minutes.

Scottish newspapers -

Dumfries and Galloway Courier March 6, June 12, 1832.
Perthshire Courier March 1, 1832.
Inverness Journal March 25, April 1, 8, 1842.

John MacTaggart Three Years in Canada: An Account of the Actual State of the Country in 1826-7-8, 2 volumes, London, 1829 p. 302-03.

He printed here a list of the Company's main agents in Britain.

National Library of Scotland, ACC 3993, Minutes of the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland, May 9, 1838.

At a meeting of the Edinburgh Sub-committee a Mr. Alex. Hutcheson stated that he had been credibly informed that two or three ships were shortly to leave Lewis for Canada under the superintendence of a Mr. McKenzie, agent for the Canada Land Company.

One of the most active agents for the Canada Company was the firm of Gilkison and Brown, shipping and emigrant agents in Glasgow. Alexander G. Gilkison advertised himself (Glasgow Herald July 6, 1827) as an agent of the Canada Company in Smith's Court Number 62 Brunswick Street. The Post Office Annual Directory for 1831-32 for Glasgow (Appendix p. 49), listed the Canada Land Company's office at 23 Miller Street with the firm of Gilkison and Brown, as agents, their title being "ship and insurance brokers, and commission agents." They carried information for intending emigrants about conditions in the Canadas generally and about the Company's land in particular. In 1832 they were active in arranging freight or passage on ships to the St. Lawrence and also sent ships to the West Indies and India. (Glasgow Herald, April 27, 1832). They advertised widely in Scottish newspapers (Aberdeen Journal February 22, May 2, June 6, 1832; Ayr Advertiser February 23, 1832; Perthshire Courier February 23, 1832; Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser February 16, April 26, 1832). Figure 9.6 in the present study shows one of their typical shipping advertisements (Glasgow Herald March 23, 1832). As late as 1844,Alexander Gilkison was active at the Canada Company's office, 98 Miller Street, Glasgow "who will afford Emigrants every information relative to Canada and their route to the Upper Country." (Glasgow Herald, May 13, 1844).

13. Canada Company, Minutes of the Court of Directors, April 7, 1831.

14. Robert C. Lee "The Canada Company 1826-1853,A Study in Direction", unpublished M.A. Thesis University of Guelph, 1967 p. 105.

15. Canada Company, Letters to the Court of Directors from Frederick Widder June 24, 1841.

16. Canada Company, Commissioners' Reports, February 12, 1831.

17. Canada Company, Report of the Court of Directors to the Proprietors London, March 1832.

18. Clarence G. Karr "The Foundations of the Canada Land Company", op. cit., p. 116, 119.

Robert C. Lee, op. cit., p. 105, 123.

The following are some examples of Canada Company publications and advertisements:

A Statement of the Satisfactory Results which have attended Emigration to Upper Canada from Establishment of the Canada Company unto the present period. London: Smith, Elder and Co.

This publication distributed by the Company contained a map of Upper Canada and a number of statistics for the colony. It appeared in at least three editions 1841 - 60 pages, 1842 - 114 pages and 1846.

Letters and Extracts of Letters from Settlers in Upper Canada, London: Marchant, Printer, 1834 20 pages.

It contained letters from seven emigrants in Upper Canada to their friends and relatives in Britain.

Catechism of Information for Intending Emigrants (in German), prepared by Canada Company July 1, 1847 source - Ontario Archives, Miscellaneous 1847.

Quebec Mercury May 8, 15, June 5, 14, 28, July 7, 14, 1832.

A Canada Company advertisement gave details of available land, arrangements for purchase and a list of its agents in Canada and the United States.

Wilbur S. Shepperson British Emigration to North America Oxford, 1957, following p. 148.

An example of a Canada Company broadside (large printed sheet).

19. Employment for Labourers, or Farmers of Small Capital, and Land For Sale in Upper Canada London: Marchant, Printer (1832).

The original size of this broadside was twenty-two inches by seventeen inches.

20. Glasgow Herald, July 15, 1842.

PP 1849,XXXVIII,(593-II) p. 75.

Quebec Mercury, May 8, 1832.

The Company offered land for sale which could be paid for either in cash or by six instalments over a five year period.

21. Canada Company, Letter Book March 11, 1831.

22. Canada Company, Correspondence with Commissioners dated London, June 28, 1832.

Letter of introduction for the Rev. William Proudfoot, a Scottish clergyman "on a Mission of enquiry into the State of the Religious Institutions of the Scotch" in Upper Canada.

23. Glasgow Herald, August 24, 1827; July 15, 1842; February 17, 1843.

Aberdeen Journal, September 28, 1853.

Paisley Advertiser, September 2, 1826.

Chambers Information for the People (edited by William and Robert Chambers), No. 1, London and Edinburgh, 1835.

Thomas Rolph Emigration and Colonization London, 1844 p. 290.

It should be noted however that Rolph received some financial assistance from the Canada Company.

Robert Mudie The Emigrant's Pocket Companion, London, 1832 pp. 228-31, 268-74.

The Emigrant's Manual - America William and Robert Chambers: London and Edinburgh, 1854 p. 27-8.

24. Canada Company, Letter Book, May 8, 1830.

25. Canada Company, Correspondence with the Commissioners, March 4, 1843.

26. Canada Company, Letter Book, January 7, 1831.

27. Canada Company, Correspondence with Commissioners dated London, July 15, 1841.

PP 1842 XXXI (301), p. 239 Thomas Rolph to T.W.C. Murdoch February 26, 1841.

28. PP 1843 XXXIV (291), p. 66.

Regarding the possibility of appointing a British emigrant agent at New York.

PP 1842 XXXI (301), p. 240-244.

Regarding the possibility of more involvement on the part of the British government in the emigration process.

PP 1841 VI (333), p. 40-5 Appendix Second Report, Emigration Committee, 1841.

Evidence provided by the Canada Company concerning developments in a number of townships in Upper Canada.

29. John Galt "A statistical account of Upper Canada", The Philosophical Magazine XXIX (1807), pp. 3-10.

"Bandana on emigration" Blackwoods Magazine, September 1826.

"Colonial discontent" Blackwoods Magazine, September 1829.

"Guelph in Upper Canada" Fraser's Magazine, November 1830.

John Galt Laurie Tood; or the Settlers in the Wood 1830, 3 volumes. (Another edition London, 1832).
This is a narrative of a humbly educated Scot who had spent sometime in the United States.

Blackwoods Magazine vol. 10, November 1821 pp. 455-69;
vol. 15, April 1824 pp. 433-440;
vol. 20, September 1826 pp. 470-78.

Frank H. Lyell A Study of the Novels of John Galt, Princeton, 1942.

Carl F. Klinck "John Galt's Canadian Novels" Ontario History, vol. 49 (1957), No. 4 p. 187-194.

Second Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society, 1828 p. 36.

John Galt had been in correspondence with the Society concerning the need for ministers in Upper Canada (Minutes of the Glasgow Colonial Society November 18, 1828). The Directors of the Society considered, "the establishment of the Canada Company as one of the most desirable events that have taken place in connection with the future prospects of the British colonies in Upper Canada. Their most cordial good wishes are with the Managers of those noble undertakings."

30. John Galt Bogle Corbet; or the Emigrants, London, 1831 I, iv.

31. Andrew Picken The Canadas, as they at present commend themselves to the enterprize of Emigrants, Colonists and Capitalists, London: E. Wilson, 1832.

32. James M. Cameron "Guelph and the Canada Company, 1827-1851, An Approach to Resource Development" unpublished M.Sc. Thesis University of Guelph, 1966.

33. Helen I. Cowan "Selkirk's work in Canada: an early chapter" Canadian Historical Review, vol. IX (1928), p. 300.

34. F.C. Hamil and T. Jones "Lord Selkirk's work in Upper Canada: the story of Baldoon" Ontario History, LVII (1965) p. 1-2.

Chester Martin Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada, Oxford, 1916.

A number of people felt that Selkirk was not really concerned with the welfare of the poorer classes in the British Isles - for example,

Remarks on the Earl of Selkirk's Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1806.

"for the class of small tenants, whom, without exception, Lord Selkirk dooms to exile, in order to cultivate the waste lands of speculators in America" (p. 188).

"the late emigrations proceeded neither from necessity nor inclination: they originated in views of private interest rather than any desire of the people's good." (p. 260).

35. John M. Gray Lord Selkirk of Red River, Toronto: Macmillan 1963 pp. 20-30.

36. F.C. Hamil "Lord Selkirk in Upper Canada" Ontario History vol. XXXVII (1945) p. 36.

37. ibid., 47-48.

Norman Macdonald Canada, 1763-1841, Immigration and Settlement, London: Longmans, Green, 1939 p. 160.

Chester Martin Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916.

38. Marjorie J.F. Fraser "Feudalism in Upper Canada, 1823-1843" Ontario History, vol. XII (1914) pp. 142-46.

Rev. William A. Gillies In Famed Breadalbane, Perth, 1938 p. 108-111.

39. Alexander Fraser The Last Laird of McNab, Toronto, 1899 pp. 24-25.

40. Wilfred Campbell The Scotsman in Canada, Toronto and London, n.d. p. 199-200.

In 1830 a group arrived from Islay and in 1834 a group arrived from Blair Athol, as a result of McNab's efforts in Montreal.

41. A petition by 133 persons in Township of McNab to the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, dated April 14, 1840 complains of ill-treatment and robbery by Archibald McNab since 1824.

Appendix to Journals of Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada Vol. I, 1st Session, 1st Parliament, 1841, Appendix (H.H.)

42. Norman Macdonald, op. cit., 200-01.

43. CO 42/202, p. 182-3, February 1824.

Norman Macdonald op. cit., p. 181-2.

44. George C. Patterson Land Settlement in Upper Canada, 1783-1840, (Sixteenth Report of Department of Archives, Ontario), Toronto, 1921, p. 196.

Helen I. Cowan British Emigration to British North America, p. 122-3.

CO 42/430, June 10, 1836, Head to Glenely

G 75, November 30, 1835, Glenely to Colborne

G 92, June 28, 1839, Normanby to Arthur.

45. James Young Reminiscences of the Early History of Galt and the Settlement of Dumfries, Toronto, 1880 p. 33, 41-2.

John David Wood "The historical geography of Dumfries Township, Upper Canada: 1816 to 1852" unpublished M.A. Thesis University of Toronto, 1958 p. 1, 30, 56-7, 63.

46. Norman Macdonald, op. cit., p. 495-6, 508.

Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 123.

G.M. Craig Upper Canada - The Formative Years, p. 142.

47. C.D.W. Goodwin Canadian Economic Thought - the Political Economy of a Developing Nation 1814-1914, Durham, North Carolina, 1961 p. 6-7.

48. W. Stewart Wallace The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Toronto, 1963 p. 274.

G.M. Craig Upper Canada, p. 93-100.

Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 96.

Hansard N.S vol. 16 November 27, 1826 p. 142-3.

Robert Gourlay Statistical Account of Upper Canada compiled with a View to a Grand System of Emigration, in connexion with a reform of the Poor Laws, London, 1822 2 volumes

"Having made it my study, during three months residence here, to inquire into the nature of the Country, and into every particular respecting settlement, I am convinced that very simple measures might be adopted, by which the redundant population of Britain could be conveyed, by a regular flow, into Canada, instead of being wasted, to the great prejudice of British interest, over the whole of America." (vol. I p. 523).

49. CO 384/20 p. 229, spring 1828.

A handbill advertisement for Gourlay's series of lectures, the purpose of which was to organize emigration societies.

Robert Gourlay (Colonial Land Agent) The Record - dedicated to the Labouring People of Fife, Edinburgh: T. Ireland, 1829.

CO 384/17 p. 535 February 15, 1828 printed card of Robert Gourlay, Colonial Land Agent.

CO 384/17 p. 525 broadside of 1827.

Purposes of Emigration Societies, Union and Agency. To the Emigration Union of Ceres, Scoomie, Kennoway, Cults and Largo signed Robert Gourlay.

50. ibid.

51. ibid.

52. Robert Gourlay Emigration and Settlement on Wild Land Cupar, Fife 1849, (price 2d.), (copy in CO 42/563 p. 91.)

Robert Gourlay Colonization broadsheet 1849, (copy in Toronto Public Libraries, Baldwin Collection).

"No one need apply whose moral character is not unexceptionable, and known for steady habits."

E.C. Guillet The Great Migration, Toronto, 1963 p. 30, quoting from Emigration and Settlement on Wild Land, p. 3-4.

"By my plan, each little community of five men, a wife and four girls will be strong and efficient from the outset. Should sickness invade the dwelling, there will be abundant aid and sympathy. The girls will have protection of brothers; be exposed to no risk, to no vice; and by the end of three years will be well trained in all the industrial habits of the country. They may if they choose, return to Scotland; and if they remain they will be sure of husbands. Huzza for the lassies of Scotland! The best in the world!"

53. W. Stewart Wallace, op. cit., p. 274.

54. Numbers of other Scots had approached the government regarding the possibility of obtaining large land grants in Upper Canada but few were successful. See Chapter Two, footnotes.

CHAPTER 4

EMIGRATION SOCIETIES AND TRADE UNIONS

This chapter will examine the role played by emigration societies and trade unions in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855.

During the fifty years before 1815, hand-loom weaving had been one of the most prosperous trades in Scotland, yet after the Napoleonic Wars, as a result of the introduction of power looms and an influx of cheap labour from Ireland, a period of dismal decline set in. Wages fell steadily and there were years of particular depression in 1819, 1826, 1837 and the early 1840's. Thus the hand loom weaving trade was an exception in a period of otherwise general industrial growth and prosperity in Scotland. It should be noted as well that the number of people involved in hand loom weaving was very large (about 83,000 looms in 1838).[1] Indeed during these periods of depression, certain areas, particularly in the western central lowlands of Scotland where the trade was concentrated, were very badly affected and the government came under heavy pressure to find some type of remedy, either of a short or long term nature.

The winter of 1819 - 1820 was a period of particular distress

with many thousands of weavers unemployed and efforts were made by the local governments in Glasgow and neighbourhood and by charitable collections to provide outdoor work and free food. A number of people felt that one possible solution to the growing problem was emigration to the British colonies overseas. Perhaps a typical effort of this sort was made by John Dunlop, Sheriff Deputy of Renfrewshire who wrote to Earl Bathurst at the Colonial Office in January 1820, asking what government help might be available to a number of families who were signing a petition desiring to emigrate to Canada, but were unable to pay the costs of such an emigration. Dunlop concluded by stating that,

> "nothing can prove more conducive to the tranquillity of this country than to divert to some new channel the labour of those who from necessity and want of other employment will hereafter be on all occasions ready to promote change and to ferment disturbances."[2]

Throughout the spring of 1820 a number of petitions from various emigration societies arrived at the Colonial Office, asking for free passage to Canada and an allowance from the government to allow them to establish themselves in the new country.[3] However the government was hesitant about wholeheartedly adopting government assisted emigration as a remedy, but rather, felt that "too liberal an acquiescence with their requests might appear to hold out a premium in place of a facility to emigrate".[4] Thus instead of a free passage, the emigration societies were expected to obtain the funds for the fares themselves, after which the government would provide land grants of 100 acres in Upper Canada and loans in successive instalments of £3, £3 and £2 with which to purchase implements and supplies which were to be repaid at the end of ten years.[5]

Due to their impoverished condition and in order to petition the government more effectively the weavers came together in emigration societies, which were groups of people, average size of sixty families usually from the same local area in Scotland e.g. Muslin Street Emigration Society (Glasgow) or Lesmahagow Emigration Society. They were only of a very temporary nature with their sole aim to collect enough money to enable them to emigrate from Scotland. They usually each had a president and secretary who spoke on behalf of the society and kept records of membership and finances.

Although the regulations and operations of the various emigration societies varied from one to another, it is possible by examining the regulations of several such societies to obtain an overall impression. The regulations of the Fenwick Emigration Society (begun in April 1839) began with the following preamble: -

> "But as it (emigration) cannot be effected without considerable expence, and as few working men can command a sufficient fund for that purpose, unless by the gradual process of weekly deposits, it is hereby proposed to form an association for the purpose of encouraging emigration amongst the working classes, and of acquiring the means necessary for the accomplishment of that object."[6]

The constitution provided for weekly deposits which were then placed in a bank and any member of the society who emigrated received his deposits plus interest. The society held regular meetings in which reports (emigrant letters and printed accounts) of the various emigration fields were presented and discussed. This particular society continued in existence at least until the late 1850's[7]. Most of these emigration societies however, were only of a temporary nature (under five years) and tended to dissolve when either the majority

of their members had succeeded in emigrating or the depressed economic situation had passed.

In April 1832, the Glasgow Herald printed the following details about an emigration society in Carlisle.

> "A club, or society, has, we are informed, been lately established in this city for the purpose of enabling operatives to defray the expenses of proceeding to America. The members subscribe each a weekly sum, and when sufficient to pay the charges of the voyage, etc., has been received, they draw lots who is to avail himself of it. Several it is said, have accomplished their purpose by these means."[8]

This society is interesting for two reasons, first, that the assisted emigrants were chosen by lot and second that the members were assisted individually as the money became available rather than emigrating in groups as we shall see the case generally was in Scotland. The rules of the Paisley New Zealand Emigration Society stated that no one of bad character was to be a member and that the admission of new members was to be by a poll vote of the society. Funds were to be collected by public subscription and by voluntary contribution of the society's members, and of the public at each meeting. Public meetings of this particular society were to be held every Saturday evening and "no member shall ever contribute less than a penny at each meeting."[9]

In July 1869, an Association for the Purpose of Emigrating to Canada, North America, was begun in Paisley by a group of married men (largely handloom weavers) who wanted to emigrate together with their families to their own township in Canada. Its members had to be "of good moral character, unconvicted of crime, and must belong to a Protestant Church." They also had to subscribe one shilling per

week and if they fell into arrears in this payment, after a warning they were expelled.[10]

These emigration societies were essentially cooperative societies formed with the specific purpose of encouraging and assisting individual or group emigration from Scotland. Various cooperative ventures (Victualling Societies, Friendly Societies, Reading Rooms) had been active among Scottish weavers since the late eighteenth century and appear to have provided an adaptable structure for the organizing of emigration societies.[11] R. H. Campbell states that from the 1780's to about 1815 Scottish handloom weavers "became the most prosperous, the most aristocratic, and the most autocratic of workmen" as well as being "generally more intelligent, independent and enterprising workers."[12] Thus while handloom weavers might not have been an absolute majority in any particular society they were likely the dominant group.[12A]

In the spring of 1820, as a result of pressure from local members of Parliament, petitions from the emigration societies and Government uneasiness about unrest in the Glasgow area, the government offered the previously described terms. Public subscriptions were made in Lanarkshire and Glasgow in order to raise funds for the passage to Quebec, but in a number of cases this was not even sufficient and some of the government loan was spent on fares. Two vessels, the Commerce and the Prompt sailed in late June and early July 1820 for Quebec with about 700 passengers. They were followed in the second week of July by the Broke, with 149 passengers, who

were initially unable to afford the fares, but after £500 had been raised in London, they were chosen by ballot from among members of societies who had not sufficient means on their own. As these assisted emigrants of 1820 were from Glasgow and Lanarkshire in Scotland,it was fitting that their destination in Upper Canada became known as the New Lanark Settlement on the Clyde River.[13]

However no sooner had these emigrants departed when more petitions were directed to the Colonial Office,both by those who were still members of the societies who went in 1820 as well as others who saw this offer of government assistance as one answer. to their growing problems.[14] In order to organize this situation,a committee was formed in October 1820 which quickly came to represent about six thousand persons who were members of the various emigration societies in Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire. This committee"of gentlemen" was formed

> "for the purpose of deciding upon the claims of the several persons desirous of settling in Canada under the protection of Government with the view of selecting those families who are most likely to establish themselves with advantage."[15]

It is interesting to note here that Robert Lamond,who was the secretary of the emigrant societies,was also active as an emigrant agent. (see Chapters five and nine of the present study). The government had agreed to extend the same terms as in 1820, to 1800 persons who would emigrate in the spring of 1821, thus the committee was faced with the task of deciding exactly which persons would be able to participate in the scheme. At a meeting of the committee on December 1, 1820,it was decided that 400 persons had a prior claim as they were members of the

societies that left in June 1820: however the committee thought that on the basis of past experience, only a small proportion of the rest could be expected to raise sufficient money for their passage to Quebec and that they would make up the remaining fourteen hundred persons. Each society was to make the transport payments on behalf of its members at the rate of £4/5/0 per adult, with the first instalment of £2/10/0 being due by January 8, 1821. The Secretary of the Committee would then compile lists of those eligible under the scheme and would give notice to the president of each society ten days before the sailing of each vessel.[16]

Four ships were chartered from Q. and J. Leitch and sailed from Greenock in April and May 1821 - George Canning on April 14 with 490 passengers, Earl of Buckinghamshire on April 29 with 607 passengers, Commerce on May 11 with 422 passengers and David on May 19 with 364 passengers. They all arrived safely at Quebec after an average voyage of forty days, during which twelve children died, but thirteen were born. From Quebec, they proceeded up the St. Lawrence River to Prescott and then inland via Perth to the New Lanark settlement where land had been reserved for them. There the emigrants from forty-four emigration societies were to make their homes and begin a new life. Unfortunately some of the land was poor and in 1831 the Lanark settlers asked to have their debts to the government of £22,640 cancelled, which was finally done in 1836.[17]

However these government assisted emigrations did not satisfy the demand and petitions continued to be received at the Colonial Office asking for government help. For example in 1822, Earl Bathurst, the

Colonial Secretary received a petition from thirteen societies (1800 persons) in the Glasgow area,asking for land grants in the New Lanark area of Upper Canada and similar assistance to that given in 1820 and 1821. The petition stated that some families had been separated by the previous emigrations, that even with the improved trade conditionslife was very difficult, and that "your petitioners are induced to believe that Emigration in one shape or another will become inevitable."[18] But the general improvement of conditions among Scottish weavers continued until the spring of 1826 when depression struck again, and public subscriptions were again collected for Relief of the Industrious Poor as well as for newly formed emigration societies.[19] At the beginning of August 1826,there was a meeting of weavers from the Duke Street and Camlachie area of Glasgow, the substance of which was as follows.

> "We view, with dreadful anticipation, the approaching winter, and shudder when we contemplate the prattling objects that look up to us for protection, who are dear to us as our own existence, without fire and clothing to shield them from the inclemency of the season, without food, even the coarsest garbage, to support their little frames - the idea is horror, - while the further prospect darkens with disease, crime, and death ------ thousands of us are craving as a boon what was inflicted on our ancestors as a punishment - that of being transported to the wilds of America."[20]

The government decided to set up an Emigration Committee which began its sittings in March 1826,in order to examine the value of emigration as a remedy to the economic and population pressures in Britain. The committee's second report appeared in April 1827, at which time it recommended that the government provide £50,000,

which would then be combined with £25,000 promised by the London Committee of Manufacturers for the Relief of Distress, to be spent sole on the assisted emigration of hand loom weavers. However, by the time the Committee delivered its final report in June 1827 and before the government had decided to take any action, the general conditions in the weaving trade had improved and the government decided therefore that no assistance for emigration was necessary.[21]

Nevertheless the three reports of the Emigration Committee in 1826-27 provide a great deal of information about the activities and attitudes of the various emigration societies. Archibald Campbell, M.P. for Renfrewshire and a member of the Emigration Committee spoke in favour of government assistance to emigration. He emphasized the destitute condition of the weavers who "generally cannot contribute one shilling towards their own emigration" and the importance of favourable letters from Upper Canada from those settlers who emigrated in 1820-21 in encouraging the desire to emigrate and in providing information about conditions in the new country.[22] William S. Northhouse, editor of the London Free Press newspaper and formerly from Glasgow, gave evidence to the Committee on behalf of thirty-three societies (12,000 persons) from Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire. He stated that these societies were composed largely of hand loom weavers and also emphasized the importance of letters of encouragement from friends already in Upper Canada. He suggested that the Passenger Acts of 1823 and 1825, by regulating the number of passengers that a ship could carry in relation to its tonnage (one passenger

to every five tons burden) had greatly increased the fares and made it more difficult for poor people to emigrate, although he added that to the people he represented, "it is of little moment whether the passage were £6 or £60; they have nothing."[23]

Joseph Foster, the President of the Glasgow Emigration Society (140 heads of families), which was formed by a few families in 1825 and expanded rapidly in 1826, gave evidence on behalf of his society whose members were mostly weavers. Their reason for wanting government help in emigrating was the impossibility of receiving wages adequate to support themselves and their families. When asked whether they would prefer to emigrate without assistance and take the chance of prospering or to receive a loan from the government, he replied that they were prepared to make themselves liable for the repayment of the loan. He described how the society's members had no financial resources and had applied to "a number of wealthy and respectable citizens" who said they would contribute to a fund to obtain clothes and other necessities for the voyage, but that they still were unable to raise sufficient money to pay the fares. His society preferred Upper Canada as a destination and most of the members wanted to settle in one neighbourhood or village where they would be of comfort and assistance to each other.[24]

The government decision not to provide any assistance to the various emigration societies came as a severe blow to all those who had placed their hopes in emigration as an answer to their poor economic situation. At a meeting in October 1826 of 1000 members

of emigration societies, the general impression was that the government would provide assistance and, in April 1827, it was thought that the government would provide funds to take 16,000 weavers to Upper Canada (6,000 from Scotland, 6,000 from Ireland, 4,000 from England). Indeed in the summer of 1827, government agents had gone to Upper Canada to make arrangements to settle the groups of planned assisted emigrants, but as described above, the plan was cancelled.[25] Its cancellation can be attributed to three main factors - the general improvement in economic conditions in the summer of 1827; the aversion of the government to become financially involved in emigration and the feeling, particularly with regard to Scotland, that any benefit gained by a removed of population to the colonies would only be temporary and would soon be negated by the growing movement of Irish into Scotland.[26]

Even after the government made it clear that no further financial assistance could be expected for the emigration societies, a number of petitions continued to arrive at the Colonial Office asking for help from the government.[27] Petitions were also received from military pensioners who wanted to receive financial assistance to emigrate to Upper Canada, giving as security their pensions. The government answer was that they could not assist in conveying them, but that the government would provide their pensions in British North America if they decided to emigrate.[28] Despite the lack of government financial support, some societies managed to collect enough money in their local areas to send some of their members to Canada. The ship Mary sailed from Greenock to Quebec about April 8th, 1828,

with members of the Paisley Emigration Society, who arrived at Montreal with few resources to begin their new life.[29] By 1830 the government agreed to provide free grants of land of fifty acres to some of the weavers emigration societies, if the societies were able to provide the cost of transportation and provisions. At least two groups were able to take advantage of this offer - the United Emigration Society of Glasgow and Neighbourhood (120 heads of families, mostly weavers) in 1831 and the Glasgow Emigration Society in 1832.[30] Generally, after 1827, with the prospect of no further government help and an improvement of economic conditions, the emigration societies in Scotland disappeared.

However during one of the next major economic depressions beginning in 1840, emigration societies once again were organized and took an active role in assisting emigration from Scotland to Upper Canada.

The following is the preamble to the regulations of the Fenwick Emigration Society, dated April 23, 1839 and presents very clearly a picture of the economic and social situation as seen by weavers and other working class persons at this period.

> "A fearful gloom is fast thickening over the horizon of our country. Every prospect of comfort to the working man is daily becoming darker and more dreary. Trade and manufactures are rapidly leaving our shores. And, to all appearance, a crisis is at hand, in which the suffering of the working classes will in the first instance, form a prominent feature. It is desirable therefore, that they should have it in their power, as far as possible, to avoid the miseries to which a large portion of the community must be reduced by the depression of wages, scarcity of work, and starvation by hunger through the operation of the corn laws. This can be best effected by fleeing from the scene of destitution and distress."[31]

In a discussion of the role of emigration as a solution to the conditions in Scotland, it is useful to have an idea of the poor situation in which the weavers found themselves. At an anti-Corn Law meeting in Glasgow in January, 1842, the various delegates gave reports on the conditions in their areas. The delegate from Pollockshaws gave the following information based largely on a sample of sixteen hand loom weavers, who he said were steady, industrious workers, who worked on the best fabrics woven in the district.

Table 4.1 SITUATION OF HANDLOOM WEAVERS IN POLLOCKSHAWS IN 1841 - 1842

Parish population in 1841 - 7966

Handloom weavers - in 1826 - 909
- in 1841 - 508

Average age - 48 Average weekly earnings 6s 9½d

Average hours labour daily - 15

Average family size - 5

Clothing - none had been able to purchase clothes for themselves or their children for the past two years - in only 3 cases had the parents clothes to go to church.

Food - chiefly potatoes, with some meal and buttermilk and in 11 families butcher meat was never consumed.

Education - only 1 child out of 36 was at school.

(reference 32)

Beginning in 1840, the government again began to receive letters and petitions asking for assistance in emigration to the colonies. Henry Dunlop, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, wrote asking for government funds to help the emigration of the poor and unemployed

at present in Glasgow that "they might become useful and productive members of Society <u>there</u> instead of dragging on a miserable existence in this Country."[33] The government answer was that no money was available for such a purpose. The Handloom Weaver's Commissioner's Report, published in 1841, presents very clearly the situation faced by the weavers.

> "We have no doubt that a large and well managed system of emigration may be generally beneficial to a whole nation; and that a small emigration may be usefully employed for the specific purpose of relieving a single district from its surplus population. But we do not believe that, in the present state of the British Empire, emigration is likely to afford specific relief to a class so numerous and so constituted as the hand-loom weavers."[34]

Over the next three years up to 1843, petitions for assistance continued to reach the government - all of which received a negative response.[35] This situation did not discourage many of these societies, who continued to make local appeals for funds. It is interesting to note here as well that there were several instances of fraud and misrepresentation reported against persons allegedly collecting for emigration societies.[36] Figure 4.2 shows a handbill used by Glasgow East-Quarter, Calton, and Mile-End Emigration Society in the fall of 1841, in an attempt to gather support.[36A] Figure 4.1 is a map showing the location of emigration societies in the central Scottish Lowlands over the period 1819 to 1850.[37] The key is divided into two time periods with a break in the 1830's when no societies were active. The major concentration of societies was in the counties of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire which include the urban areas of both Glasgow and Paisley. These counties contained the major concentration of hand loom weavers and the periodic economic depressions were felt most severely there.[38] In the 1820's there were approximately eighty such societies active in this area and this number dropped to

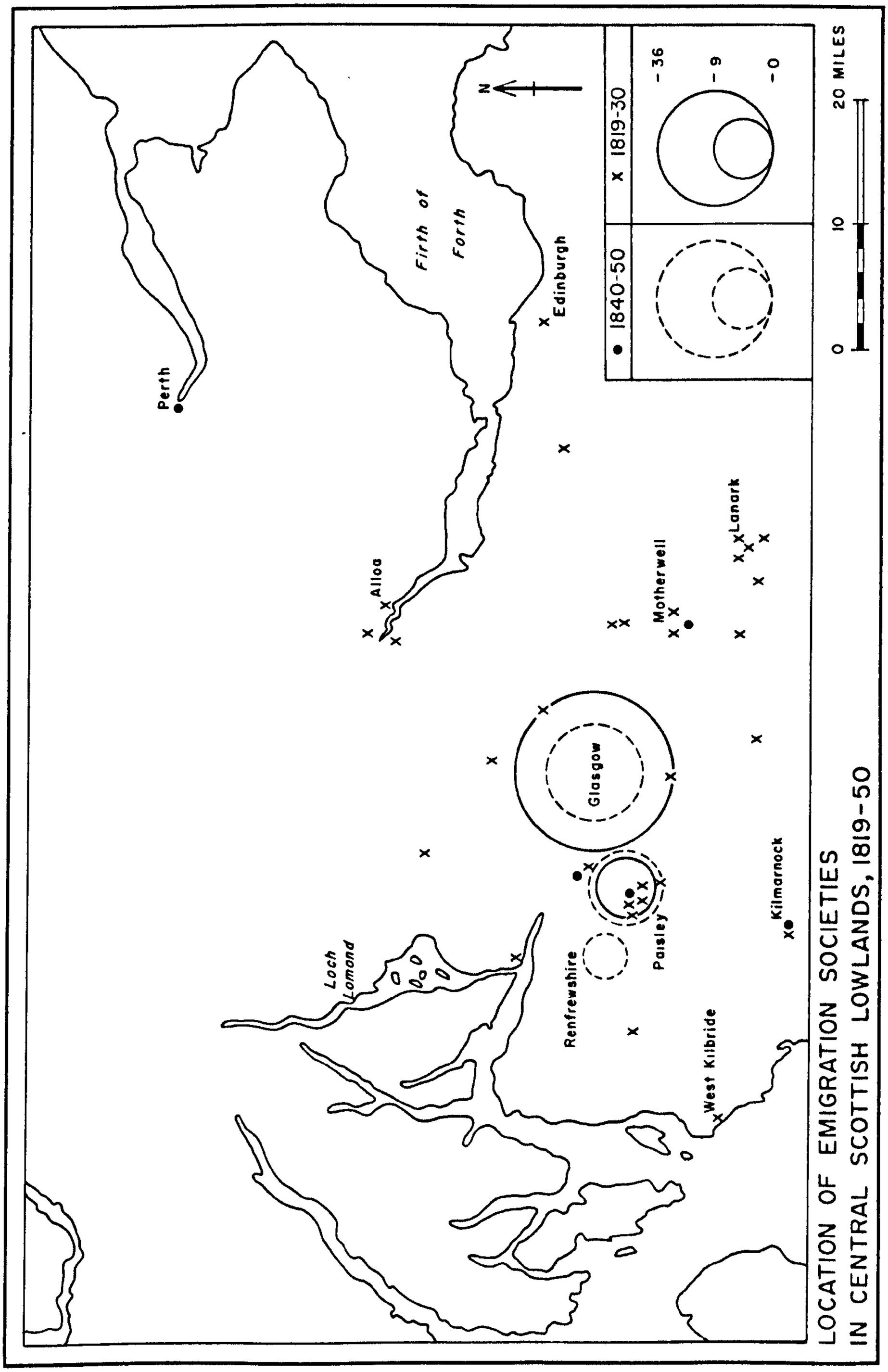
LOCATION OF EMIGRATION SOCIETIES
IN CENTRAL SCOTTISH LOWLANDS, 1819-50
1840-50
X 1819-30
-36
-9
-0
20 MILES
10
0
N
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
Perth
Alloa
Motherwell
Lanark
Glasgow
Paisley
Renfrewshire
Kilmarnock
West Kilbride
Loch Lomond

Figure 4.1

TO THE

NOBILITY, BANKERS, & MERCHANTS OF SCOTLAND,

THE PETITION OF THE

GLASGOW EAST-QUARTER, CALTON, & MILE-END EMIGRATION SOCIETY,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioners are a Society of Hand-Loom Weavers, who, from the state into which hand-loom weaving has fallen, are unable to support themselves and their families; and, as the privations which they have undergone are great and increasing, they believe their labour would be much more productive in Upper Canada, and while they would better their own condition by emigrating to that country, they also feel persuaded that they would become more profitable customers for the manufactures of Great Britain.

That your Petitioners, having disposed of nearly the whole of their bed and body clothing for the support of themselves and families, are unable to attend the house of God, or even to educate their children, and they have no prospect of relief, unless they emigrate to another land, and being about forty families, consisting of nearly two hundred and fifty souls, they hope the Nobility, Bankers, Merchants, and Ladies of Scotland will aid them with their contributions, which will be gratefully received by their Treasurer, JOHN REID, Esquire, of Annfield, Glasgow.

JOHN ALEXANDER, *Preses.*
JOHN BUSBY, *Secretary.*

WE, the undersigned, who know that the above is no exaggerated statement, deeply sympathise in the distresses of the intending emigrants, and earnestly recommend their peculiar case to the attention of the public.

JOHN REID, Esq. of Annfield, *Treasurer.*
Very Rev. WILLIAM ROUTLEDGE, Dean of Glasgow.
Rev. WILLIAM HUNTER.
Rev. JAMES SMITH.
Rev. J. C. FOWLER.
Rev. ALEXANDER WILSON.
WILLIAM LECKIE EWING, Esq.
WILLIAM HUSSEY, Sen. Esq.

E. STEVEN & Co. Esqrs.
REID, ROBERTSON, & Co. Esqrs.
ROSS & M'LEOD, Esqrs.
JOHN ROSS, Jun. Esq.
JAMES LAURIE, Esq.
GEORGE GRANT, Yr. Esq.
WILLIAM SNEDDEN, Esq. Bailie.
GEORGE MUIR.

I take leave most earnestly to recommend the case of the Petitioners to the benevolent consideration and sympathy of their fellow-citizens. Their destitution is great; and they have no prospect of relief, unless they emigrate to another land.

Glasgow, October 4, 1841. Rev. JOHN SMYTH, D.D.

I earnestly recommend the Petitioners to the consideration of the public—having looked into their credentials. They seem to be industrious men—of good character; and, as their wages are extremely low, it is surely most desirable that they be enabled to procure, elsewhere, a more adequate support for their families.

Glasgow, October 4, 1841. Rev. MICHAEL WILLIS, D.D.

The petitioners I believe to be men of reputable character,—suffering the greatest privations in consequence of pressing necessity. They are industrious, but their employment is one by which they can barely earn a subsistence. I earnestly recommend their case to the consideration of the public.

Glasgow, October 4, 1841. Rev. ARCHIBALD NISBET.

I cordially agree in recommending the claims of the Glasgow East-Quarter, Calton, and Mile-End Emigration Society. After minute enquiry into the character of its Members, I am satisfied they are entitled to a share of public support.

Barony, 7th October, 1841. Rev. WILLIAM BLACK, D.D. Minister, Barony.

*** The Subscribers will sign the book only for what amount they please, and a qualified person will be appointed to collect it.

W. & W. MILLER, Printers, 90, Bell Street.

Reference -
CO 384/67 p. 136

Figure 4.2

approximately fifty in the 1840's. There are several possible reasons for this decline - there were considerably fewer weavers at this later period, a number of those who wanted to emigrate had perhaps managed to do so on their own, and finally some people might have been discouraged and disillusioned by the failure of the societies in the late 1820's to obtain assistance from the government.

In the year 1841 approximately 660 persons from three emigration societies in Glasgow emigrated to Canada. They were mostly handloom weavers and had raised the money by donations from private individuals, donations of public bodies (Glasgow Town Council £30), collection at church doors following sermons preached on their behalf and small sums the members had themselves. A large amount of old clothing had been collected by the police, likely for charitable uses, and the three societies' members were given a choice of the best of it.[39] On March 16th a large meeting of the various emigration societies was held in the Town Hall, Glasgow, with the Lord Provost in the chair with the main speaker being Dr. Thomas Rolph, the official Emigration Agent for Canada. Rolph stated that although no free government passage was likely, opportunities were excellent in Canada for industrious emigrants. The meeting was also addressed by Robert Lamond, ship agent, who had been active in organizing the emigration of the societies in 1820 and 1821, which he proceeded to describe.[40]

A. C. Buchanan, the British Emigration Agent at Quebec, in his report for 1841, described the condition of the members of these three societies once they had arrived in Canada. Commenting on the emigrants he said -

"--many of them were quite unsuited, by their previous mode of life, to succeed in a country where agricultural employment is their chief dependence. They are principally from Glasgow and Paisley, and landed here, many in great distress, and all very poor.---They appear to have left their homes under the impression that they would be supported and forwarded to any section of the province they wished to settle in, at government expense, and that if they could only reach this port, all their wants would be provided for. I had the greatest difficulty in making them understand---that they must depend on their own industry for support."[41]

Dr. R. B. Bradley, the Emigrant Agent at Toronto, had problems with some members of the societies and stated that,

> "The Scotch weavers and wool-carders are very badly off, as they can neither reap nor plough. They are very troublesome, daily bringing me letters from their clergy and insisting upon support until employment be procured for them; many of them state that Government encouraged them to come out, and are now letting them starve. I endeavour to persuade them that theGovernment did not give them any encouragement to emigrate."[42]

News of the poor condition of the weavers on their arrival and of their problems in settling in Canada appeared in several Scottish newspapers, but it did not discourage other emigration societies from trying to obtain the means to emigrate in 1842 and 1843.[43]

Indeed the year 1842 saw nearly 1000 people who were members of various emigration societies arrive at Quebec, as compared to the 660 in 1841. Once again, local members of Parliament were active in forwarding petitions for the societies and in advocating that the British government should provide assistance, but the government position was restated by Lord Stanley in April 1842, that, "In the North American colonies the Government had not any funds, nor means of raising funds, which could be applied to the purposes of emigration."[44]

Appeals for support for the societies were frequent in various newspapers, lectures were given for the benefit of the Emigration Fund and local collections taken up to obtain money for fares and outfits for the emigrants. The Bridgeton and Calton of Glasgow United Emigration Societies even sent four delegates to London in order to collect subscriptions on behalf of these societies.[45] The distress in the period was not however confined to the Glasgow and Paisley areas, as is shown by a memorial to the Colonial Office from the Magistrates and Town Council of Dundee asking for government assistance in sending operatives to the colonies.[46] It is also interesting to note the desire expressed by several of the emigration societies, of forming agricultural villages on their arrival in Canada in order to remain together and assist each other in their new country.[47]

The members of the societies who were able to raise sufficient funds for their passage and provisions, left Glasgow in five ships during the spring and summer of 1842.[48] The majority of them landed in a very destitute condition, having had a longer than average passage of about 57 days. The government emigration agent provided them with some food and transportation for a large number inland to Upper Canada, while others were aided by private subscriptions on their arrival. Even though A. C. Buchanan stated in his report for 1842, that they arrived "in a more destitute condition than any other emigrants from the United Kingdom" a number were successful in beginning a new life in Upper Canada.[49]

In 1843 increased efforts were made by the various emigration

societies to obtain support both from the government and from private individuals. Favourable reports were beginning to be received in Scotland concerning the earlier societies emigrations which encouraged those who remained behind - for example,there appeared in the Glasgow Herald a half column copy of a favourable letter from William Anderson, who was a member of the committee of the Glasgow and Gorbals Emigration Society which left in 1842 and was writing from Dumfries Township, Upper Canada.[50] In Glasgow,the twenty-eight different emigration societies formed one central committee which was composed of prominent business and churchmen, including the Lord Provost of Glasgow as Chairman and Alexander G. Gilkison, a prominent shipping agent and former representative of the Canada Company, as Secretary. A meeting of the United Emigration Societies was held on January 12, 1843 from which a petition was sent to the government asking for funds,and plans were organized to collect donations from the general public.[51] A number of emigration meetings were held in Paisley in January and March and the emigration societies in Paisley and Renfrewshire came together to present a joint petition to the government.[52] The government also received communications from the Provost of Paisley, the Magistrates of Glasgow and the Town Council of Edinburgh who stated that their area was as deserving of any government help which might be available to transport unemployed operatives to Canada as the Glasgow area.[53]

Of the approximately 4500 people from the various emigration societies in the areas of Glasgow (3354) and Paisley-Renfrewshire (1225),only about 900 people or 20% were able to get to Canada in

1843.[54] This situation resulted from the fact that even though some of the societies had been in existence for several years making weekly contributions and attempting to raise funds, the expense of maintaining the emigration committee and the actual costs of emigration still remained too high for the majority of their numbers. The chairman of the committee of the United Emigration Societies informed the government in May 1843 that two ships carrying the societies' members were about to depart for Canada while several others were getting prepared but that they had no funds to get them any farther than Quebec or Montreal. The Colonial Office replied that they were unable to provide any help for what appeared to be a very unfortunate situation (i.e. landing without any means) but that some money for transportion inland could probably be obtained from the Emigration Fund in Canada.[55]

The greatest number of these emigrants arrived at Quebec during the later part of June and were quickly forwarded up river to Upper Canada, partly at government expense and partly with £70 which the societies had as surplus following the voyage. The majority of them went to the area west of Toronto, towards Goderich and London, where a number of them had friends. Buchanan, in his report for 1843, described the emigration societies' members "as intelligent and industrious, although all very poor."[56]

The appearance and activities of various emigration societies was very closely connected with the general conditions of

trade and demand for the labour of weavers and labourers. Thus beginning in 1844,with improved conditions in Scotland,emigration societies tended to disappear from the emigration movement.[57] This does not mean that the emigration societies were no longer active in the 1840's, as two small groups did leave from the Clyde, one in 1844 and one in 1845, however these were merely the remnants of the societies that had left in the period 1841-43.[58] The government did contimue to receive occasional petitions from emigration societies and groups asking for assistance, particularly during periods of temporary trade depression.[59]

Beginning in the early 1850's, references again appear to meetings held on behalf of emigration societies, composed particularly of handloom weavers.[60] By this time, however, with the discovery of gold in Australia, the object of weavers emigration schemes seemed to turn in that direction.[61] In attempting to organize this emigration to Australia there appeared a conflict between two competing groups - the Scottish Australian Emigration Society and a group called the National Hand-Loom Weavers Emigration Association - as to which should take the lead.[62] This latter group drew up an address to the hand-loom weavers of Scotland which commented on the past failure of weavers unions, the excess supply of labour and advocated the establishment of local emigration societies under the organization of a central board and general secretary. Their address contained the following stirring appeal -

> "But we are coolly, carelessly, and unconcernedly to lie down and starve and rot upon the surface of the earth the more such things are true (their problems)? Is there nothing we could do, no method we could adopt, no superior way we could try, to elevate ourselves in the social scale? Yes, there is one way; and but one practical way for us at present. Emigration is what we wish to draw your attention to."[63]

A number of weavers in the Paisley area were able to emigrate with some help from the government in South Australia in the 1850's, but this emigration is going beyond the scope of the present work.[64]

Scottish Trade Unions

Before beginning this section on the influence of Scottish trade unions in directing and encouraging emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855 it should be noted that overall this influence was of small importance. However there were several specific unions which did play a role with regard to emigration which are worth noting here.

There have been two good studies done on the role played by British trade unions in emigration during the middle and late nineteenth century.[64A] The general conclusion reached was that,

> "All told, systems of emigration benefits or ad hoc resorts to emigration were few, and the union help affected the numbers of emigrants hardly at all. Expenditure was small absolutely and in relation to the amount spent on other items. Famous unions never let their emigration benefits be operative and the physical extent of union emigration has been implicitly and explicitly exaggerated."
>
> "Yet, if taken up at all, it (emigration) was merely a minor supplementary policy, seldom assuming a dominating place in union programmes."[65]

Professor S. G. Checkland in his book on the growth of industrial society in England concludes that most trade union efforts were in the directions of "cooperation, trade unionism, and pressure for the franchise."[65A]

In general, trade unionism in Scotland developed very slowly and erratically during the nineteenth century. Even with the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824, trade unions in Scotland were in a state of collapse in the 1830's and did not revive until the 1850's.[66] It is therefore not surprising that the Scottish trade unions were generally of little significance in relation to the overall emigration movement.

Scottish handloom weavers had little success, at least up until the early 1850's, in forming any sort of union initially due to the government pressure and later due to an over supply of labour during a period of fluctuating economic conditions in their trade. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the main organization behind handloom weaver emigration was in the form of the various emigration societies which appeared during the periods of particular economic depression i.e. the 1820's and early 1840's. By November 1851, the handloom weavers had re-formed a union which in turn asked the government to subsidize the emigration of a number of their members, and as noted previously, a Handloom Weaver's Emigration Association became active in the fall of 1854 with particular emphasis on Australia.[67]

The cotton spinners in Scotland were somewhat more successful in organizing combinations in order to improve their situation and as early as 1830 they were sending out their members to the United States, often providing as much as £20 per family, in order to decrease the labour supply and cut down on any idle benefits that they might have to pay out during hard times. A member of the Cotton Spinners' Association (admission fee £1, weekly dues 2 shillings)

in Glasgow in 1838,when asked about the advantages of joining the Association, stated that they included protests against any reduction of wages, funeral money of £4 and occasionally grants of £7 - 10 for emigration of individual members chosen by drawing lots. This same Association continued to subsidize emigration in the late 1860's as well.[68]

Members of the typographical trade in Scotland also assisted the emigration of some of their numbers. Apparently Dublin was the first Typographical Society to establish an Emigration Fund (by 1838) and was soon followed by Belfast, Glasgow and several others. In 1848,the articles of the Glasgow Typographical Society (instituted in 1817) described the relief available to members who became unemployed. They could receive a grant of money, varying in size with the length of time that they had been members of the Society,e.g. 1 year - 10s, 3 years £1/6/0 and 6 years £2/14/0. This money was for those who had to leave Glasgow in search of employment (known as tramping) and included two other conditions, first,that if the member returned within six weeks the money had to be refunded and second, that if he went more than thirty miles from Glasgow, he would only get half the above amounts. It also stated that "Members desirous of emigrating, in addition to the sum allowed them by this scale, will have their case considered at a General Meeting of the Society."[69] When the Scottish Typographical Association was founded in November 1852, one of the resolutions which was passed was that each local society should have an Emigration Fund. Thus some help was provided towards emigration by this union, particularly in the

later part of the nineteenth century.[70]

There are a number of other scattered references to trade union emigration from Scotland, but mainly in the period after the mid nineteenth century. Alexander Campbell, a pioneer in the Co-operative and Trade Union movements in Scotland, was active in a land and railway scheme in New Brunswick beginning in 1848 and he continued to advocate emigration during the 1860's. Another person active in union assisted emigration was Alexander Macdonald who was born in Lanarkshire and became the first president of the National Union of Miners (1863) and later Member of Parliament. He promoted the formation of theScottish Miners' Emigration Association (1865), which consisted of local emigration societies into which the members paid 6d for a chance to be drawn by lot, those chosen having their passages paid, mainly to the United States. The Scottish United Operative Masons' Association, which in 1855 had nearly 3,000 members, had as a benefit £3 as an "emigration bonus" as well as paying its members 6s a week "idle benefit."[71] The General Council of Trades Delegates of Glasgow, organized on a regular basis in May 1858 was also active in promoting assisted emigration schemes, although its main task was to shorten the working day to eight hours and obtain the relief of unemployment. By 1860 schemes of assisted emigration put forward by John Crawford, a Paisley lawyer and currency reformer, were officially commended by the Glasgow Trades Council.[72] Crawford had been a vocal advocate of working class emigration beginning in the 1840's and continued to write and speak widely on this subject up to the 1860's.[73]

It is impossible to say how many emigrants were assisted to emigrate with union assistance from Scotland, but the numbers involved were certainly very small, particularly before the later part of the nineteenth century. Indeed the vast majority of industrial workers and tradesmen were not union members at all and therefore had to rely on their own finances and initiative when contemplating emigration overseas.

Opposition to Emigration Among the Working Class

The preceeding two sections in this chapter have dealt with the positive role played by emigration societies and trade unions in assisting and directing emigration from Scotland to Upper Canada. These efforts, however, were met with considerable opposition from various groups among the working class. This division of the working class into two sections, one in favour of emigration and the other against emigration appeared as early as 1819 among the weavers. At a meeting on June 16th on Glasgow Green, the first speaker proposed a resolution asking for government assistance for emigration. The second speaker took a stand against emigration and moved an amendment (accompanied by great cheering from the crowd) asking for annual parliaments, universal suffrage and decreased taxes. He felt that the places left by emigrants would soon be filled by the Irish. The third speaker claimed that "the only persons who should emigrate to Canada were the borough mongers, sinecurists and 150,000 of the clergy." Several other persons tried to speak in favour of emigration but they were shouted

down. The amendment was then voted on and carried.[74]

In the early 1830's,there was for a time a Glasgow United Committee of Trades which published under the direction of Alexander Campbell The Herald to the Trades Advocate (September 1830 to May 1831) with a maximum circulation of about 4,500. It contained several unfavourable comments on emigration, for example, it commented on large holdings in Scotland with "a wretched tenantry, and large tracts of waste land, from whence old Scotia's sons have been driven, to cultivate the desert wastes of foreign regions."[75] It also printed a song (poem) entitled "The Emigrant's Farewell", one stanza of which read,

> "Thou, land of my fathers! I bid thee farewell,
> By tyranny driven to a far distant shore, -
> Far, far from the glens and thy mountains to dwell,
> Where thy scenes shall awaken glad feelings no more."[76]

The Glasgow and Paisley Weavers Journal, published briefly between April 4 and May 29, 1838, commented that emigration could only be justified if it was proven that Britain could not produce enough of the necessities of life to support its population and that "instead of throwing away the people, who are the strength and sinews of the nation, keep them at home."[77] Further comments on the general attitude taken by weavers towards emigration appeared in theReports from Assistant Hand-Loom Weavers' Commissioners in the 1830's and 1840's. From the summary of evidence given by several weavers it would appear that they felt that if emigration was organized on a large scale with government help it would be adopted by the weavers, but they felt that such aid would not be forthcoming. Mention is also made of the disappointment and disillusionment felt by the weavers in the late 1820's

who had petitioned the government and tried to raise money themselves and were unsuccessful in emigrating to Upper Canada. Yet their condition continued to get worse.[78] The comments of J. C. Symons, who was the Assistant Hand-Loom Weavers' Commissioner for Scotland south of the Forth and Clyde Rivers, and had the opportunity of talking with many weavers in the area differ somewhat from the above. In discussing the various possible solutions to problems of the hand-loom weavers he stated that,

> "Emigration is not deemed acceptable by the weavers generally as a means of relief: they conceive that the number emigrating must be immense, to effect any change in the condition of those who remain; and that as to those who go, it would be preferable to bring food to the people, instead of taking the people to the food (i.e. repeal of the Corn Laws)."[79]

However the most vocal opponents of emigration among the working class were the Chartists whose influence began in Scotland after 1837 and lasted until the late 1840's. Their demands included universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, no property qualifications, payment of members of Parliament and electoral districts. Today these demands appear far from extreme but during the early nineteenth century they met with major opposition. The effort of the Chartists in Scotland was "characterised by its relatively well disciplined pursuit of long-term ends by means of education and social reform." They felt that efforts should be made to change the political and economic system in Britain, so as to improve the life and condition of the average person and that emigration did not provide any solution to the basic problems of the country. Indeed, they argued that emigration only succeeded in helping to maintain and continue the unjust system that they

were fighting against.[80]

The monthly publication (rather more a magazine than a newspaper) of the Scottish Chartists was the Chartist Circular which was published between September 1839 and July 1842. It printed several poems at various times which emphasized the unnecessary and traumatic experience of emigration: -

from "The Emigrants Farewell" by E. P. of Paisley: -

"Farewell, thou poor land of the coward and slave,
Where millions still fettered will be;
Where justice sits wailing by liberty's grave -
Farewell to thy bondage and thee!"[81]

from "Song of the Chartist Emigrant" by John Anderson of Dalkeith: -

"Farewell, tombs of my sires! once opponents to slavery!
Farewell lovely Scotland, thou cradle of bravery!
My heart bleeds afresh as I gaze on thy grandeur
And think from these scenes I an exile must wander."[82]

The Scottish Patriot was a Chartist newspaper published between July 1839 and December 1841 which also spoke out against the necessity of emigration.[83] It carried a report, in considerable detail, of a public meeting of operatives with Lord Provost of Glasgow in the Chair held in the Judiciary Hall, Glasgow on November 30, 1840, the purpose of which was to consider the propriety of appealing to the Colonial Office to ask for government funds to assist emigration from Glasgow to New Zealand. Most of those in attendance appeared to be Chartists, however it was soon evident that there were two factions at the meeting, one for emigration, the other against emigration, who alternately cheered and hissed the various speakers. The newspaper report gave the most space to a speech by Mr. Robert Malcolm Jun., a regular Chartist lecturer who spoke at considerable

length on the following topics - that operatives had a right to subsistence in their home country, that the colonial lands did not rightfully belong to the British government, that emigrants had no guarantee that they will find better conditions in the colonies. He said that he did not object to anyone leavingBritain who wanted to do so but he could not agree with the principle of emigration which he felt "was a contemptible expedient, a miserable quackish prescription for the effect of bad government" which only served to delay "the day of their emancipation from slavery and wretchedness". He ended his speech on what would appear to be a rather inflamatory note by stating "we will have a harvest of agitation, with the middle and working class united against the common enemy- a brigand, grasping aristocracy."[84]

He was followed by several other Chartists who spoke in favour of government assisted emigration. They did not have the support of those in attendance, as three quarters of the meeting voted for an amendment which stated that anyone could emigrate if they so desired but that there should be no government support for emigration. and it was not the solution to the present situation of the poor.[85] Chartist speakers frequently attended emigration meetings and spoke out strongly against emigration as a solution to both the problems of the nation and individuals.[86] Chartism however was not embraced by the majority of people in the working class and many who had thought that political change was the solution to the problems of the time finally came to accept the necessity of some amount of emigration.[87] Thus while there was a large

and vocal anti-emigration group in the working class (particularly in urban areas), the evidence, largely based on the occupations of emigrants from Scotland as recorded at Quebec, indicates that large numbers of working class people (both urban and rural) did not decide against emigration. (see Chapter ten).

Conclusion

In concluding this chapter dealing with the attitudes and efforts of various working class groups in Scotland in regard to emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855,it can be said that during particular periods,i.e. the early and late 1820's and the early 1840's,emigration societies were instrumental in encouraging and assisting in the emigration of large numbers of people. However, over the period as a whole, both during times of prosperity and depression, and excluding the small volume of union sponsored emigration, the vast majority of working class emigration was on the basis of individual persons or families, often those with some skill and some resources (see Chapter ten), organizing and financing their own emigration to the New World.

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Glasgow Chronicle April 6, 8, 18, 20. Troops called out in Glasgow.

3. CO 384/6 p. 705, 949, 1573-75.

4. CO 384/6 p. 1569.

5. Cowan, op. cit., p. 61 from CO 43/41 Bathurst to Maitland May 6, 1820.

6. "The Fenwick Improvement of Knowledge Society" Scottish Historical Review Vol. 17 (1920) p. 221.

7. ibid., 221-3.

8. Glasgow Herald April 2, 1832 from Carlisle Patriot.

9. Emigration to New Zealand - Report of the Speeches Delivered by the Rev. Dr. Burns and others at the Meeting in the Philosophical Hall, Paisley 27 June 1840. Paisley, 1840 p. 12.

Paisley Public Library, Paisley Pamphlets PC 284 Vol. 25.

10. Association for the Purpose of Emigrating to Canada, North America, Paisley 1869.

Paisley Public Library, Paisley Pamphlets PC 302 Vol. 43.

11. Brenda Gaskin, op. cit., p. 172.

Thomas Johnson, The History of the Working Classes in Scotland Glasgow, 1921 p. 381-85.

Although by the middle 1830's societies registered in Britain under the Friendly Societies Acts were involved in certain local instances in encouraging and assisting emigration, this did not appear to take place in Scotland, but rather ad hoc emigration societies were formed.

See -

Lawrence Heyworth, Rules and Regulations of the British Temperance Emigration Society and Savings Fund Liverpool, /1844/ 30 pages.

Edinburgh Review Vol. 95 April 1852 pp. 413-14.

Lennoxlove Muniments, Brown Correspondence.

Petition to Robert Brown from the Glasgow Canadian Emigration Mutual Cooperative Society April 28, 1820 representing eighty families of various trades.

R. H. Campbell, op. cit., p. 218-19, 303.

12. ibid., p. 185, 218.

Brenda Gaskin, op. cit., 109, 112.

PP 1839 XLII (159) p. 95 comments by J.C. Symons an Assistant Handloom Weavers Commissioner.

"The great grievance of the condition of the weavers consists not so much in lowness of wages, for there must always be some trade where wages are lower than in others,

but in that fact that men of merit and talent who have experienced and still deserve, better fortunes, should, by a combination of circumstances, have become enchained to a trade which is daily sinking them lower in the depths of destitution, and from which they have not the power of escape."

12A. CO 384/6 pp. 1083-85 October 1820.

Lennoxlove Muniments Robert Brown Correspondence
Hamilton Emigration Society to Robert Brown June 11, 1828.

It is worthwhile noting here the various occupations of two of the emigration societies formed in this period. In October 1820 the Glasgow Union Emigration Society petitioned the Colonial Office for assistance in emigrating to Canada. The society consisted of thirty-seven members (one hundred and nineteen persons) whose occupations included - nine weavers, seven labourers, four farm servants, three carpenters, three masons, two coopers, two sawyers, two gardeners, one shoemaker and one blacksmith. An example of another emigration society was the Hamilton Emigration Society which in June 1828 consisted of fifteen heads of families (one hundred and seventeen persons) who had collected one hundred and thirty five pounds and hoped to be able to get enough means to emigrate by the first of August - occupations six weavers, three masons, three labourers, two shoemakers, and one tailor. It is obvious from the range of occupations given above that many people other than weavers were involved with these emigration societies. This is likely due to the importance of weaving in many communities and when periodic depressions occurred other trades became depressed as well.

13. Robert Lamond, A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of Emigration from the Counties of Lanark and Renfrew to the New Settlements in Upper Canada, Glasgow, 1821.

in Carey McWilliams An Account of Early Settlements in Upper Canada Sutro Branch California State Library Reprint Series #12, 1940 San Francisco pp. 4-6.

Glasgow Herald, July 7, 1820.

Andrew Haydon, Pioneer Sketches in District of Bathurst Toronto, 1925 I, 84-88, 96.

Helen Cowan, op. cit., p. 61

Cowan states that 1,200 emigrants left on this basis at this time.

Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser May 18, 1820 from David S. Macmillan Scotland and Australia 1788-1850 Oxford, 1967 p. 64

A published account of the departure of 422 emigrants from Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire via Greenock to Quebec in the spring of 1820.

14. CO 384/6 p. 1017 Barrowfield Road Emigration Society (Calton) June 24, 1820.

CO 384/6 p. 1075-77 Paisley Townhead Emigration Society September 28, 1820.

CO 384/6 p. 1083-85 Glasgow Union Emigration Society October 1820.

CO 384/7 p. 849-50 Parish of Lesmahagow Society for Emigration to Upper Canada January 15, 1821.

15. Lord Bathurst to Earl of Dalhousie March 17, 1821 Ontario Archives, Lanark Settlement 1820-1832, miscellaneous 1820.

16. Lennoxlove Muniments, Robert Brown Correspondence Hugh Mosman to Robert Brown 15 June 1820 and Robert Lamond to Robert Brown January 29, 1821.

Robert Lamond, op. cit., 6-7, 11-13, 20-22.

17. ibid., 46.

Glasgow Herald, April 16, April 20, May 14, May 25, 1821.

Helen Cowan, op. cit., 61-63.

Account of Monies advanced to Lanark Settlers, 1820-1822 Ontario Archives RG 1 (shelf 53, #4c).

Norman Macdonald Canada 1763-1841, op. cit., p. 250-1.

Glasgow Herald May 31, 1822.

The newspaper reported that the Earl of Buckinghamshire sailed from Greenock to Quebec on May 28th "with about 200 emigrants from various parts of the country, intending to settle on the Government grants in Canada." These emigrants might have been the remnants of some of the emigration societies from the previous year.

18. CO 384/8 p. 437 1822 Petition to Earl Bathurst from Thirteen Emigration Societies.

Other examples:

CO 384/8 p. 41 J.T. Alston, Provost of Glasgow recommending Parkhead Emigration Society 17 September 1822.

CO 384/11 p. 1571-78 August 1825 petition from eleven families related to Societies of 1820 and 1821.

Robert Lamond, op. cit., p. 64-5.

> In concluding his narrative of the societies emigration in 1821 Lamond stated, "such is the desire to emigrate, that it consists with the Committee's knowledge, that double the number of persons would have embarked, if the means of transportation had been afforded."

19. PP 1826-27 V (237) pp. 100-03.

Glasgow Herald, spring 1826.

ibid., September 29, 1826.

CO 384/14 September 1826 petition from Monkland Emigration Society of Lanarkshire.

CO 384/15 October 8, 1826 petition from First Friendly Emigration Society of Paisley.

Sessional Lords Journals, December 7, 1826 vol. 59, p. 36.

CO 384/15 1876 and 1827 pp. 987, 1001, 1077, 1089, 1093, 1109, 1165, 1220, 1253.

20. The Scotsman August 9, 1826 from The Free Press.

21. Hansard NS vol. 17 May 21, 1827 pp. 927-30.

Cowan, op. cit., 88-92.

22. Second Report from Select Committee on Emigration: 1827 Q 176-208.

23. Third Report from Select Committee on Emigration: 1827 Q 637-777.

24. ibid., Q 60-164.

CO 384/5 March 7, 1827

> Robert Beath the President of the Kirkfield Bank Emigration Society wrote to R.W. Horton at the Colonial Office that "We Sire would still prefer Emigration even to a very liberal Scale of poor Rates."

25. Glasgow Herald, October 30, 1826.

ibid., April 9, 1827 from Glasgow Chronicle.

ibid., August 6, 1827.

26. Hansard, NS vol. 17 May 21, 1827 pp. 927-30.

Third Report from Select Committee on Emigration: 1827
Q 739.

Lennoxlove Muniments, Robert Brown Correspondence 1829
Box 2 Thomas Clark to Robert Brown September 29, 1829.

Clark was the secretary of the Union Emigration Societies of Glasgow and Neighbourhood and he wrote to Brown to inform him that a Lanark Emigration Society was about "to call on Gentlemen of the country" asking for financial assistance to emigrate. Clark said that this particular society was composed of Irish while his societies were Scotch and more deserving of help.

27. CO 384/19 p. 101-02 March 28, 1828 from three weavers at Rutherglen.

CO 384/22 p. 28 August 24, 1829 from James Little, Secretary, Lanark Emigration Society.

CO 384/23 p. 479 April 30, 1830 from Balfron Emigration Society.

CO 384/34 p. 226 August 3, 1834 from James Howell, Secretary of Irish Friendly Emigration Society founded in Paisley in 1826, originally 101 families but now reduced to twenty families, requesting help to emigrate to Upper Canada.

28. CO 43/72 Hay to John Lyle and Andrew White, pensioners in Glasgow July 1829.

CO 384/23 April 5, 1830 p. 433 petition from Glasgow Emigration Society of Naval and Military Out Pensioners.

CO 384/33 p. 627, 701 government replies.

29. Paisley Advertiser April 19 and August 23, 1828.

Glasgow Herald August 25, 1828.

Lennoxlove Muniments, Robert Brown Correspondence.
Hamilton Emigration Society to Robert Brown June 11, 1828.

This society consisted of fifteen heads of families (117 persons) and had gathered together a total of one hundred and thirty-five pounds. "Our Society intends going to America if By any means we can accomplish it. By the latter end of July or about the first of August."

30. CO 384/23 1830 United Emigration Society of Glasgow and Neighbourhood p. 148-150, 166.

G 69 March 1, 1832 Howick, Downing Street to Colberne regarding Glasgow Emigration Society.

Gaskin, op. cit., p. 160.

31. Scottish Historical Review vol. 17 (1920) p. 221.

32. Glasgow Argus, January 17, 1842, Supplement.

F. Engels The Conditions of the Working Class in England Oxford, 1958 translated by W.O. Henderson p. 41-7.

A vivid description of living conditions in Glasgow and Edinburgh in the 1830's and 1840's.

33. CO 384/61 p. 276 March 16, 1840.

34. PP 1841 X (296) p. 119.

35. CO 384/61 p. 464 May 27, 1840 petition from 30 Chelsea Out-pensioners of Glasgow to House of Commons included twelve weavers and eleven labourers.

CO 384/61 p. 314 November 12, 1840 letter from President First Paisley Canadian Emigration Society.

CO 384/67 p. 140, 1841, Bridgeton Emigration Society for Upper Canada.

CO 384/69 p. 289, 1842, Seven Emigration Societies in Paisley.

CO 384/69 p. 327, October 1842, Emigration Society of City of Perth and Suburbs.

CO 384/74 p. 450, 1843, petition from United Emigration Societies of Paisley and Renfrewshire.

SRO RH 2/4 235 Home Office: Scotland February 4, 1842 acknowledging memorial from St. George Emigration Society of Paisley which was forwarded to the Colonial Office.

36. Glasgow Herald December 5, 1845.

This paper contained a warning concerning persons who were collecting subscriptions for what was called "The West of Scotland Emigration Society". They were using the name of the Rev. James G. Wood of Middle Church, Paisley as Treasurer of the Society and he disavowed any connection with this Society.

Glasgow Herald September 15, 1848.

A similar warning to the above was printed concerning a group calling themselves "The Glasgow Eastern District Emigration Society".

Deceptions of this sort were, however, exceptions, and the vast majority of emigration societies were legitimate and honest groups.

36A. CO 384/67 p. 136.

The following quotations are extracts from other handbills distributed by emigration societies during this period in an attempt to obtain financial and moral support from the public.

CO 384/69 p. 289 memorial and joint petition of the seven emigration societies, of the householding operative weavers and others of Paisley January 17, 1842.

"We, your Memorialists, being satisfied that this state of things is imputable alone to the numbers who are specially dependent on this branch, the demand for which is unequal to their regular employment; and opine that this view is borne fully out by a retrospect of the last four years, and every doubt must vanish before the appalling fact, that of the thousands sinking in the struggle to sustain a fondly cherished independence, there are at this moment upwards of fifteen thousand of our ill-fated townsmen dependent for daily subsistence on the proceeds of benevolence, administered through the medium of the Supply and Relief Committee. With such unquestionable proofs from the past, the present, and without any prospect for the future upon which we can reasonably calculate for an increase of our trade, or necessary employment, we are desirous of going to the Colony of Upper Canada.

We, your Memorialists, taught by this painful experience, and destitute of hope in the absence of any cheering opening in our native country offering remunerating labour, have preferred a Petition to Parliament, praying for a grant of Land in the above named Colonies, with conveyance to it, provisions for one year, and the implements required to facilitate our agricultural labours, the entire cost of which we will equitably refund.

We, your Memorialists, submit that a two-fold benefit would result from the concedence of our prayer: ceasing to depend for subsistence on manufactures, we would be transferred to the class of consumers, that while our industry was directed to, and supported by, agriculture, those who remained behind would enjoy that employment which was no longer required by us and our families."

CO 384/67 p. 126 Circular from the First Glasgow Protestant Canadian Emigration Society November 1841.

"We conceive our present situation is well deserving the attention, sympathies, and assistance of the Nobility, Ladies, and Gentlemen of this country. We are doomed to all the privations consequent on the fluctuations in trade which take place in this country, and high state of provisions compared with the low rate of wages.

We are using every exertion to better our condition, so that we are fully resolved to try all the means that are in our power to get out to Canada, where work is plenty, and easily to be got, rather than stop here to be a burden on the town.

Now, conceive for a moment our situation, and we are fully persuaded you will justify our humble petition for your assistance and support, to enable us to accomplish our object. By your subscribing a little, however small, it will be thankfully received by our Treasurer, John Laurie, Esq. No. 31, Montrose Street, Glasgow."

Helen Cowan, op. cit., p. 211. Petition of the North-Quarter Glasgow Emigration Society, 1841.

37. A list was kept by the author of the various emigration societies whose names or activities were discovered in the period 1819-1850 and it was on the basis of this list that Figure 4.2 was drawn. Some of the main sources for this information are given below but reference could be made to a great many of the footnotes in this chapter.

PP 1826-27 V (237) evidence of Mr. W.S. Northhouse March 1, 1827 Q. 638.

CO 384/15 (year 1827) p. 987, 1001, 1077, 1089, 1093, 1109, 1157, 1165, 1169, 1220, 1253.

CO 384/23 p. 433, 675.

Sessional Lords' Journals vol. 59 p. 36.

CO 384/8 p. 437 (year 1822).

Ontario Archives RG 1 (Shelf 53, #4c). An Account of Monies advanced to the Lanark Settlers, 1820-1822.

CO 384/6 p. 1569.

38. SRO RH 2/4 235 Home Office: Letters, Scotland 1841-42.

This correspondence provides a vivid and detailed account of distress in the industrial areas of Scotland during this period.

Glasgow Argus January 31, 1842.

The number of unemployed and their dependents in the Paisley area is given as 17,543.

Glasgow Herald September 12, 1842.

Subscriptions and donations to the Glasgow Relief Fund on behalf of the unemployed in the Scottish Lowlands amounted to ten thousand, six hundred and two pounds, seventeen shillings and sixpence, by this date.

Brenda Gaskin, op. cit., p. 138-40, 148-9.

39. Glasgow Argus April 15, 1841.

ibid., March 11, 1841.

ibid., April 5, 1841.

40. ibid., March 18, 1841.

See also Chapter 7 for more details of Dr. Rolph's activities during this period.

41. PP 1842 XXXI (373) pp. 6-7.

PP 1842 XXXI (301) p. 251.

42. ibid., p. 22.

43. Glasgow Herald, April 22, 1842 from The Scotsman, review of Report on Emigration to Canada for 1841.

44. Hansard, 3rd Series vol. 60, February 8, 1842 Mr. Wallace M.P. presenting petition re. distress in Paisley, pp. 177-81.

ibid., 3rd Series vol. 62, April 19, 1842 pp. 811-12 Mr. P.M. Stewart M.P. for Renfrewshire.

ibid., pp. 814-15, Lord Stanley.

45. Glasgow Argus, April 14, 1842.
Glasgow Courier, April 28, May 17, 1842.
Glasgow Chronicle, February 23, May 9, 1842.
Glasgow Herald, May 20, 1842.
) Appeals on behalf of various Emigration Societies.

Paisley Advertiser March 19, 1842.

Announcing lecture on Colonization by J. Crawford who acted as agent in London for some of the unemployed operatives in Paisley who had formed Emigration Societies. (See CO 384/74 p. 235).

PP 1843 (115) Report from the Select Committee on Distress (Paisley) Q 419-423 that two separate appeals had been made in Paisley for funds for Emigration and that four hundred and seventy-seven pounds had been raised.

Glasgow Courier June 9, 1842, from Constitutional.

The Scotsman May 28, 1842.

A notice appeared stating that nearly sixty-five pounds had been collected in Edinburgh and sent to Paisley for the use of the Renfrewshire Canadian Emigration Society which represented forty families.

Glasgow Herald November 8, 1841 from Glasgow Argus.

A notice appeared stating that the recently formed First Glasgow Protestant Canadian Emigration Society hoped to raise enough money by their own industry to charter a boat to Quebec or Montreal in the spring of 1842 but they are asking for help in the form of provisions. "They are well known to be of good moral character, being examined by a committee appointed for that purpose."

Glasgow Herald January 7, 1842.

A notice appeared stating that the Bridgetown Emigration Society (formed in September 1841 of sixty to seventy poor persons, chiefly hand-loom weavers) was anxious to go to Upper Canada and "as we believe the men are of good character, and struggling with ills not of their own creating, we hope the aid to enable them to emigrate will not be denied."

Dumfries and Galloway Courier January 31, 1842.

A notice appeared of subscriptions to the Kilmarnock Emigration Society indicating that nine persons had contributed a total of eleven pounds four shillings and sixpence.

Glasgow Chronicle April 22, 1842 from Kilmarnock Journal

"Emigration is going on to a greater extent in Kilmarnock and vicinity than has been previously known", particularly to the United States and Canada. The article stated that a self formed emigration society of seven families had set out the previous week aided by contributions (see the previous reference), "but with this exception, the others are expatriating themselves at their own expense."

46. CO 384/73 pp. 134-36 May 26, 1842.

47. Glasgow Courier, April 28, 1842 Calton Canadian Village Emigration Society.

Glasgow Herald, June 3, 1842 Hamilton Canadian Emigration Society.

Glasgow Chronicle, February 23, 1842 The Glasgow Central Emigration Society. Sixty-two heads of families (270 persons) principally handloom weavers.

"They are bound by the terms of their agreement, as well as by the certainty of their interests being better secured thereby, to stick by one another on reaching the land of their adoption."

48. A number of Scottish newspapers carried details of these emigrations in the spring of 1842.

Inverness Journal, April 22, 1842 from Paisley Advertiser.

Glasgow Herald, April 25, 1842.

Glasgow Courier, April 26, 1842.

Glasgow Chronicle, April 29, 1842.

49. PP 1843 (109) p.16 Emigration - North America and New South Wales.

Glasgow Herald, September 12, 1842.

One set of the present writer's great-great-grandparents were likely members of these Emigration Societies that came to Upper Canada in the period 1841-43. Their names were Andrew Roberts and his wife Marion Miller and they took up land in Oro Township, Simcoe County, Ontario. The family lived there for several generations, and instead of being weavers as in Scotland, they became farmers in Canada.

50. Glasgow Herald, January 23, 1843.

51. Glasgow Herald, January 13, 1843 and January 16, 1843.

52. Glasgow Herald, January 23, 1843; March 20, 1843; April 3, 1843.

CO 384/74 p. 450.

53. CO 384/74 p. 293 3 April 1843 from John Henderson, Provost of Paisley.

GD 18 # 3392 February 11, 1843 from Glasgow Magistrates to Treasury.

CO 384/74 p. 278 February 21, 1843 from James Forrest, Lord Provost, Edinburgh.

54. Glasgow Herald, January 13, 1843.

CO 384/74 p. 450.

55. CO 384/74 p. 247-48 J. Campbell to Lord Stanley May 6, 1843.

CO 384/74 p. 249 reply by Colonial Office May 15, 1843.

56. PP 1844 XXXV (181) pp. 15-17.

Glasgow Saturday Post July 29, 1843.

> Extracts of a letter from Quebec written by John Kilpatrick who was secretary of one of the emigration societies which had arrived on the Bona Dea from the Clyde (May 4-June 24) to Mr. Thomas Gillespie, the secretary of the Glasgow Philanthropic Colonization Society. Kilpatrick stated that the emigrants were being sent with government assistance to Goderich and that so far things had gone well and that they had no regrets about leaving home. He concluded by recommending M'Phun of Glasgow's Handbook for Emigrants. (W.R. M'Phun was a bookseller at 84 Argyll Street, Glasgow who compiled and published a number of emigrant guides during the 1840's. See Chapter Five).

Glasgow Herald August 18, 1843 Copy of the above letter.

PP 1845 XXVII p. 38 Fifth Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.

> Reference to government assistance being provided in 1843 to a group of 300 persons (weavers) from Paisley, Scotland who were helped from Kingston to Port Stanley, Upper Canada. In 1844 they were apparently doing well.

DETAILS OF THE SCOTTISH EMIGRATION SOCIETIES

TO CANADA IN 1841-43:

1844	Calton Emigration Society	180 persons	
	Glasgow Emigration Society	423 persons	
	North Quarter Glasgow Emigration Society	160 persons	Source - PP 1842 XXXI [373]
		663 persons	
1842	Gorbals Emigration Society	92 persons	Source - Glasgow Herald, April 15, 1842.
	Ferguslie and Elderslie Emigration Society	49 persons	
	West Broomlands Emigration Society	120 persons	Glasgow Herald, April 18 from Paisley Advertiser, April 16, 1842.
	North Quarter Glasgow Emigration Society - 14 families	(say) 70 persons	PP 1843 (109) Emigration to North America
	Various Emigration Societies mainly from Glasgow area.	647 persons	Glasgow Herald, September 9, 1842.
		978 persons	
1843	Various Emigration Societies, mainly from Glasgow	(about) 646 persons	
	Govan, Hamilton, Cumlachie and Parkhead Emigration Societies	254 persons	Source - PP 1844 XXXV (181)
		(about) 900 persons	

57. Glasgow Herald June 17, 184[illegible] linking decrease in emigration to improved conditions in Scotland.

ibid., June 27, 1845 from The Scotsman.

ibid., September 14, 1846 regarding improved state of trade in Paisley.

58. Glasgow Herald June 3, 1844.

ibid., August 8, 1845, remnants of United Emigration Society of Glasgow and Suburbs.

59. CO 384/79 p. 109 8 May 1847. Glasgow Handloom Weavers Emigration Society.

It is interesting to note that a society with the same name as the above did succeed in assisting 557 people in emigrating to Canada as late as 1864. See Valerie Ross M.A. thesis McGill 1957 p. 88 from Canadian Sessional Papers, 24 (1864) No. 6 p. 89.

CO 384/81 pp. 263-65, July 5, 1848 George Thompson, Provost of Aberdeen to the Home Department, saying that there was great distress among operatives and labourers in the Aberdeen area and that 200-300 people want to emigrate to British North America, but will need government support. (See CO 384/81 pp. 261-62 for the government answer that no help was possible.

60. Glasgow Herald, February 6, 1852 - concerning meeting held on January 31st attended by delegates representing four Emigration Societies in Glasgow.

Glasgow Examiner, April 17, 1852.

61. Glasgow Herald May 7, 1852, June 14, 1852, March 26, 1855.

Aberdeen Herald, April 29, 1854.

A comment appeared here concerning the emigration in October 1852 of 350 Paisley weavers to Australia on the ship Beejapore under the leadership of a Mr. James Ferguson. According to a recently arrived letter things were progressing well for them in Australia.

David S. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 285.

He describes the failure of the Paisley Emigration Society to emigrate to Australia in the early 1840's.

E.C. Guillet, op. cit., p. 226.

While almost all of these weaver based emigration societies had as their destination Upper Canada, apparently a number of Paisley weavers emigrated to New York State in 1844.

Robert Brown The History of Paisley 2 volumes Paisley, 1886 vol. II p. 443.

Reference is made here to a number of emigration societies (consisting chiefly of hand-loom weavers) that were active with some success in Paisley in the years 1862-64.

62. Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser September 16, 1854 and September 23, 1854.

63. ibid., September 16, 1854.

64. ibid., March 31, 1855.

Glasgow Herald, March 26, 1855.

64A. Charlotte Erickson "The encouragement of emigration by British trade unions, 1850-1900" Population Studies vol. 3 (1949-50) pp. 248-273.

R.V. Clements "Trade unions and emigration, 1840-1880" Population Studies vol. 9 (1955-56) pp. 167-180.

65. R.V. Clements "English trade unions and the problem of emigration 1840-1880" B. Litt. Thesis, University of Oxford 1953 pp. VIII, 199.

65A. S.G. Checkland The Rise of Industrial Society in England 1815-1885 London, 1964 p. 364.

66. W.H. Marwick A Short History of Labour in Scotland Edinburgh, 1967 p. 22.

T. Ferguson Scottish Social Welfare 1958 p. 67.

R.H. Campbell, op. cit., p. 222.

Thomas Johnston, op. cit., p. 307.

67. G.D.H. Cole A Short History of the British Working Class Movement 1789-1927 London, 1930 3 volumes.

Marwick, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser September 16, September 23, 1854.

Glasgow Saturday Post March 4, 1848.

This paper carried an account of a meeting held on March 2nd of tenters and power-loom for the purpose of organizing a trade association for the protection of their wages. After providing details of the association, the main speaker, a Mr. Charles Watson, concluded with favourable comments regarding emigration to America. He felt that emigration would help to decrease the number of workers in the labour market and thereby assist in bringing unreasonable employers to proper terms.

68. Report from Select Committee on Manufacturers, Commerce and Shipping, with Evidence 1833 Q 5201-03, 5230-54.

Archibald Swinton Report of the Trial of Operative Cotton Spinners in Glasgow Edinburgh, 1838 p. xi and appendix xxii.

PP 1837-38 vol. II (488) Q 892 and Appendix No. 3.

Marwick, op. cit., p. 23.

69. A.E. Musson The Typographical Association - Origins and History up to 1949 Oxford, 1954 p. 322.

Articles of the Glasgow Typographical Society Glasgow: Wm. Eadie, 1848 p. 4-5.

70. Regulation of the Scottish Typographical Association Glasgow: Wm. Eadie, 1852 p. 2.

Minute Books from 1853 of Aberdeen Typographical Society and Annual Reports of the Scottish Typographical Association from 1890 - at Trades Hall, Aberdeen.

W.S. Shepperson, op. cit., p. 94.

71. W.H. Marwick The Life of Alexander Campbell Glasgow: Glasgow and District Cooperative Association pp. 14, 18.

W.H. Marwick A Short History of Labour in Scotland p. 25-26

Thomas Johnston History of the Working Class in Scotland Glasgow, 1921 p. 340.

Ferguson, op. cit., p. 66-67.

W.H. Marwick Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland London, 1936 p. 186.

Glasgow Examiner September 18, 1858.

72. W.H. Marwick A Short History of Labour in Scotland Edinburgh, 1967 p. 41.

W.H. Marwick "The beginnings of the Scottish working class movement in the nineteenth century." International Review for Social History vol. 3 (1938) p. 16.

73. John Crawford Letter on Emigration and Colonization addresses to the Hon. Lord Kelbourne, M.P. Glasgow and Paisley, 1842 p. 6-7.

He urged the British government to adopt a larger and more generous plan of emigration and he stated "I hold it to be equally a duty to withdraw the attention of working men from Chartism and other similar Chimeras, and to fix it on our colonies and emigration, as the readiest and most practicable mode of acquiring substantial and independent relief."

North British Daily Mail September 17, 1858

This paper carried a three column report (under the heading of "Emigration to the Colonies".) of a public meeting held at Glasgow City Hall on September 16th organized by the

local trades delegates with John Crawford as the main speaker. The meeting was also addressed by a Mr. Arthur from Montreal who commented very favourably on conditions in British North America.

John Crawford Social Science: A Lecture on Land and Money: or Emigration and Colonization and Reform of our Money Laws, the True Remedies of Social Evils London and Paisley, 1861 28 pages.

Ian MacDougall (editor) Minutes of the Edinburgh Trades Council 1859-1873 Edinburgh, 1968 p. 132, 134.

The Council's minutes of September 29, 1863 make reference to John Crawford, secretary of the Paisley Emigration Society who wanted to speak to a public meeting in Edinburgh under the auspices of the United Trades Council on the subject of emigration to Canada.

Glasgow Examiner April 13, 1850.

This paper carried an account of the activities of the Potters' Joint Stock Emigration Society which bought land in the State of Wisconsin, U.S.A. A Glasgow Branch was formed in March, 1849 and by April 1850 had 115 members who met weekly and make subscriptions. A payment of one pound one shilling and sixpence entitled a person to a chance draw by ballot as to who would receive assistance.

74. Caledonian Mercury from the Glasgow Chronicle June 21, 1819.

Cowan, op. cit., p. 60-3.

Henry F.G. Tucker, "The Press and the Colonies" unpublished M.A. Thesis University of Bristol, 1936 p. 29 from Morning Herald October 20, 1819.

"In 1819, the Morning Herald gave a report of a meeting of the Paisley poor. When the question of emigration was raised, they made it plain that they did not wish to go either to Canada or the Cape."

75. W.H. Marwick Life of Alexander Campbell p. 10.

Herald to Traders' Advocate, Glasgow No. 7 November 6, 1830.

76. ibid., No. 26 (1831) p. 409.

77. Glasgow and Paisley Weavers Journal, April 4, 1838, p. 7.

78. Reports from Assistant Hand-Loom Weavers' Commissioners Part I sessional paper No. 159, March 1839.

Evidence of James Johnston and Thomas Barr, weavers in Glasgow, p. 76.

79. ibid., p. 75.

PP 1835 XIII (492) Analysis of Evidence taken before Select Committee on Hand Loom Weavers Petitions p. 79.

Hugh Mackenzie of Glasgow, a hand loom weaver of plain muslin stated "Emigration, at best, is only a temporary relief."

Lennoxlove Muniments, Robert Brown Correspondence.

a) Operative weavers of Cambuslang to Heritors, Minister and Kirk Session of the Parish of Cambuslang, December 29, 1819.

b) Petition of operative weavers residing in Hamilton to the Duke of Hamilton, January 27, 1820.

c) Weaver Incorporation of Rutherglen to Robert Brown February 27, 1820.

These letters (petitions) all stated that one solution to the distress in the early 1820's might be to provide the weavers with small pieces of agricultural land to cultivate in Scotland.

80. Alexander Wilson "Chartism in Glasgow" Chartist Studies edited by A.S.A. Briggs London, 1959 pp. 249-87.

Wilbur S. Shepperson "Industrial emigration in early Victorian Britain" Journal of Economic History vol. 13 (1953) pp. 179-192.

Wilbur S. Shepperson British Emigration to British North America Oxford, 1957 p. 104-08.

R.H. Campbell, op. cit., p. 216-24.

Glasgow Saturday Post June 17, 1848.

This paper contains details of Feargus O'Connor's land schemes.

See Chapter Five of the present study for comments on and extracts from various Chartist publications.

It is of interest to place in juxtaposition here a quotation from a source favourable to emigration. Scottish Historical Review vol. 17 (1920) p. 221 Minutes of the Fenwick Emigration Society April 23, 1839.

"It is desirable therefore, that they should have it in their power, as far as possible, to avoid the miseries to which a large portion of the community must be reduced by the depression of wages, scarcity of work, and starvation by hunger through the operation of the corn laws. This can be best effected by fleeing from the scene of destitution and distress."

The underlining was done by the present writer to emphasize the extreme divergence in views held at this time on the usefulness or otherwise of emigration as a solution to growing problems and discontent among a certain sector of the population.

81. The Chartist Circular, March 21, 1840.

82. ibid., June 25, 1842.

83. The Scottish Patriot Vol. I No. 4, page 55 and July 4, 1840.

84. ibid., December 5, 1840.

85. ibid.

86. Emigration to New Zealand - Report of the Speeches Delivered by the Rev. Dr. Burns and others at the meeting in the Philosophical Hall, Paisley 27 June 1840. Paisley, 1840, p. 4.

At a meeting held in support of the Paisley Canadian Emigration Society in which almost all of the speakers were in favour of emigration "was a plot on the part of the aristocracy of this country to drive away the people of this land and take them into slavery. The fact is, until we get the Charter we will never be relieved from distress."

Paisley Advertiser March 20, 1841.

At a public meeting of 500 people on the afternoon of March 17th in support of the Canadian Emigration Society, a Mr. John Cameron stated that people should be provided for at home and the answer to this problem was to obtain better representation in Parliament.

87. ibid., August 1, 1840.

W.S. Shepperson "Industrial emigration in early Victorian Britain" p. 190-91, op.cit.

CHAPTER 5

PERIODICALS, NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS.

A) INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the influence of periodicals, newspapers and books in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855.

In order for these various forms of printed matter to have any influence in the process of emigration, there had to exist a literate readership. It has been estimated that on the average about three-quarters of the adult population of Britain had some knowledge of reading by 1840 but that a much smaller proportion could be regarded as competent readers.[1] R. K. Webb, in his study of literacy in the 19th century among the working classes in Scotland, concludes that the general average of literacy among the urban working classes was between two-thirds and three-quarters, but he adds that a great many of these read very poorly and very seldom. The two main problem areas where education tended to be neglected were the Highlands and the areas affected by the growing pains of industrialization.[2]

In the Highlands, the problem of literacy and the provision of education was both critical to and related to the economic and social decline of the area. The general figures which are available for illiteracy in the various parts of the Highlands in the early

1820's are very interesting and worth giving here - Argyll and Perthshire 30%; interior parts of Moray, Inverness, Sutherland and Carthness over 40%; generally in the Hebrides and the west coast of Inverness and Ross more than 70%; Islands of Harris about 85% and in South Uist about 90% illiteracy.[3] As late as 1837, forty-two per cent of the population in the Highland and Islands of Scotland were unable to read.[4] The general growth of literacy would appear to be related to the degree of access and communication with the lowland areas. It is therefore safe to assume that the influence of the various types of printed matter which will be discussed in this chapter, was definitely minimized in certain areas due to high levels of illiteracy.

Alastair Thompson, in his examination of working class reading habits in Scotland during the 1830's, presents the following estimates as to the size of the readership for the various types of publication. The Scottish population at the census of 1831 was 2,365,114, of which he estimates 1,800,000 were members and families of the working class, of whom 1,000,000 read chapbooks, 500,000 read magazines, 350,000 read newspapers and likely less than 180,000 read books. He ends by saying that of the four main "appeals" to the working class reader (the educational, the religious, the informative and the imaginative) the latter as "fiction in all its forms was wholly successful."[5]

Thus it can be concluded that the influence of, and the spread of information on emigration by periodicals, newspapers and books mainly reached and affected upper and middle class readers as

well as the better educated among the working class.[6] This chapter examines the attitude toward, and the information provided about emigration of a number of specific publications. No attempt has been made to examine all of the publications in Scotland during this period, rather the emphasis has been on those with the greatest circulations as well as trying to provide examples of different attitudes towards emigration.

A. PERIODICALS

1. Edinburgh Review

The Edinburgh Review was founded in 1802 and by 1814 had a circulation of 13,000 copies (not all of course in Scotland) with an average of three or four readers per copy of the popular articles. Its readers belonged to the upper and middle classes or gentry. It generally took the liberal point of view and advocated a policy of laissez-faire for economic affairs. In this respect, its advocacy of government financed emigration was an exception to this laissez-faire view.[1]

It is worthwhile to examine briefly some of the articles published in the Edinburgh Review over the period under discussion. As early as 1805 in commenting on the Earl of Selkirk's book, Observations on the Present State of the Highlands, the reviewer came out strongly in favour of Selkirk's views that emigration was necessary as one solution to the problems of the Highlands and that the emigration which was taking place would continue and should be encouraged to proceed to the various British colonies.[2] On a favourable review in June 1822 of John Howison's book, Sketches

of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local, and Characteristic, the periodical advocated the growth of colonies and an awareness of the problems and interests of the colonists.[3] In January 1824, an article condemned the legislative restraints on the free emigration of artisans, describing these restraints as inefficient, absurd and useless.[4]

During the late 1820's, when there was considerable discussion and interest in the advisability of spending government money to assist emigration, the Edinburgh Review strongly advocated such a policy.[5] Long after it was clear that the British government was not prepared to assist emigration financially, the periodical continued to recommend it, on the grounds of "justice, "humanity" and "expediency" and that emigration should not be left to "blind chance and the unaided impulses of unthinking multitudes".[6] It should be noted however that while the periodical was strongly in favour of the British colonies, it also was aware of the advantages of emigration to the United States.[7] Thus the Edinburgh Review was certainly a positive agent in encouraging emigration from Scotland.

2. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine was started in 1817 as the Tory answer to the Edinburgh Review and grew so that the circulation in its best years was at least 6,000 copies (in early 1830's 8,000 copies). Blackwood's attitude towards emigration varied over the period but was never very favourable.[8] In the 1820's and early 1830's, it published a number of articles dealing with various aspects of emigration, but following this period it contained nothing further

on this subject until the late 1840's and early 1850's.

Even the early period, which contained a number of articles favourable to emigration (particularly to Upper Canada) by John Galt writing under various pseudonyms ("Agricola", "Bandana")[9], saw Blackwood's publish an article stating "emigration is at the best but the means of palliating a present evil" and that the main object should be "to set the people at work to create wealth at home".[10] It published an article in May 1849 on Gibbon Wakefield's colonization system for Australia and New Zealand which agreed, that while humanitarian laws passed by government to improve the emigrants' situation during the voyage were justified, any attempt to introduce a rigid system and government involvement was wrong and that emigration should be allowed to operate on its own.[11] Thus it can be said that Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine was generally not a positive agent in encouraging emigration from Scotland.

3. (Quarterly) Journal of Agriculture.

The Quarterly Journal of Agriculture was first published in 1828 in Edinburgh and London, and from the beginning was very favourable to emigration, particularly to Upper Canada. Volume 3 (1831-32) contained a number of articles which were very pro-emigration, including several very lengthy extracts from Adam Fergusson of Woodhill's "Notes made during a visit to the United States and Canada in 1831" (which will be discussed more fully later in this chapter.)[12] Mr. Fergusson's settlement at Fergus, Upper Canada is favourably commented upon in 1835 in this journal and Fergusson's preference to Upper Canada is agreed

with by the editor, who accused Patrick Sheriff, in his book A Tour Through North America, of having republican leanings in advocating Illinois as the best place for emigrants to settle.[13] While the Quarterly Journal of Agriculture would agree that Canada was "the poor man's country" where through hard work and perseverance an emigrant could rise from destitution to a situation of comparative plenty and independence, it also felt that the colony needed respectable emigrants as well.[14]

This periodical also contains two interesting articles by Mr. Alexander MacGregor, who was the Church of Scotland licentiate at Kilmuir Manse, Skye. The first published in volume 9, (1838/39), discussed the causes of the famine in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland in 1836 and 1837 and suggested that in order to prevent another recurrence of these conditions ("the wonted evils arising from an over-accumulating population") new modes of management must be adopted in conjunction with an extensive system of emigration based on government funds. The editor of the Journal added a footnote, however, that emigration was only a "very temporary expedient" and that other more permanent solutions to the problem had to be found.[15] In the second article volume 11, (1840/41), he dealt solely with the necessity of such a government grant of money to promote emigration from the Highlands. MacGregor felt that Canada would be the best destination for the emigrants, as the fares would not be too great and conditions were favourable there for a poor man to improve his situation in life. He argued that unless a government grant was obtained soon all the better tenants would have emigrated leaving the poor and destitute

in worse conditions than they were in previously and that all of the Highland proprietors should petition the government for funds to assist emigration.[16]

Several years later, the Journal of Agriculture in an editorial comment on "Emigration and home colonization", stated that emigration must be regulated and encouraged, as it was useful in extending the empire and at times in providing fields for the energies of the British labouring population.[17] As late as 1849-51, this journal continued to advocate Scottish claims and interests in Nova Scotia.[18] Thus it can be said that this periodical was certainly a positive agent in encouraging emigration from Scotland and particularly in providing favourable information about Upper Canada.

4. Chambers' Edinburgh Journal

Chambers' Edinburgh Journal was first published in 1834 under the direction of two brothers, William and Robert Chambers of Edinburgh. It soon had a circulation of 30,000, which rose to 50,000 when a parallel edition was printed in London. It was published weekly at a price of 1½d and contained a wide variety of articles intended for popular reading. This large number of subscribers was drawn mainly from the lower middle and independent working classes who were attempting to improve their position and conditions in life.[19] This periodical was interested from its inception in providing useful information and encouragement for emigration.

On page three of volume 1, (1834), there is an article entitled "Emigration" which stated that one object of the publication was to

provide valuable and correct information on the subject of emigration from Britain. In 1835, in an article entitled "A word to intending emigrants", the editor commented that "we know of the deplorably hopeless prospects of innumerable families in this country" and as a result of the many favourable letters he had seen from Upper Canada, he had done what he could to encourage people to emigrate. He added however, a note of caution - that no one should be deceived into thinking that emigration and the new life in a new country would be soft and easy, rather that hard work was necessary if the emigrant was to succeed and prosper.[20]

Chambers' Journal contained during the 1830's and 1840's many articles and accounts that were very favourable toward Upper Canada as the best destination for Scottish emigrants, including, information on Adam Fergusson's settlement at Fergus,[21] several letters from successful emigrants,[22] and a number of reviews of books which described the advantages of Upper Canada.[23] In commenting on the formation of the Canadian Emigration Association in Montreal in 1842 to assist emigrants, the editor stated that he hoped this event "will induce many respectable families in languishing circumstances to decide on emigration."[24] In an article entitled "A word on emigration" in the periodical in 1845, the editor attempted to evaluate the various emigration fields from which the emigrant must choose a destination. He concluded that conditions are not very favourable at present in Australia and New Zealand and that it was very difficult to decide between the merits of the United States and Canada but "we would go to Canada."[25]

During the late 1840's the number of articles on Australia and New Zealand increased considerably, but in 1853 Chambers' Journal still regarded Canada as an excellent destination.[26] The periodical continued to stress the fact that, "To emigrate is a most important step for man or woman. It should not be set about rashly, or without a full view of the sacrifices which it involves" and that,as a periodical,it would continue to accept its responsibility in providing useful information to emigrants. It also felt that the British government had a responsibility to the emigrants which it had often failed to accept.[27]

Before concluding this section on Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, another work edited by William and Robert Chambers should be mentioned. This publication, entitled Chambers' Information for the People appeared as early as 1835. It consisted of 48 numbers, priced at 1½d each, covering various topics of practical science, history, and of course,emigration. The first number, eight pages in size,dealt with emigration to Canada and included a general map of Upper and Lower Canada, references to recommend books dealing with Canada and several encouraging letters from successful Scottish emigrants.

The whole tone of this number was favourable towards emigration to Canada, and it stated among other things that,

> "We have proved beyond the possibility of doubt, that Upper Canada is a country placed in infinitely better circumstances at the present moment, than any part of Great Britain or Ireland.
> We are convinced nothing but a want of knowledge of those advantages, sufficient to create confidence in their reality, prevents many thousands from annually leaving this exhausted and monopolised country, and betaking themselves to a place where there is literally 'a world for the winning'."[28]

Regarding the other numbers in the series dealing with other emigration fields - number four discussed all the British North American colonies; number five discussed the United States and took the view that when trying to chose between the United States and Canada that they both had advantages and disadvantages which must be weighed before choosing between them; while numbers ten and fourteen dealt with New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land respectively. Another version of this publication appeared in 1842 with essentially the same format and views.

Thus it can be said that the work of the Chambers' acted very positively in encouraging, informing, and directing the emigration from Scotland to Upper Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century.

5. Gaelic Publications

In commenting on the influence of Gaelic publications in providing encouragement and information to Gaelic speaking Scots concerning emigration to Upper Canada, two main points can be made. First, on the whole there was very little printed matter in Gaelic on this subject, and second, the contribution made by the Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod of St. Columba's Church, Glasgow,was of considerable importance to what printed material in Gaelic did appear. Reference will be made later in this chapter to an emigration guide written by Robert MacDougall and published in Gaelic in 1841. However, the only other Gaelic material printed in Scotland on emigration during this period would appear to be three Gaelic periodicals, with which Dr. MacLeod was involved.[29] These periodicals were An Teachdaire Gaelach (The Highland Messenger) 1830-32, Cuairtear nan Gleann (Visitor of the Glen) 1840-43, and Fear-tathaich nam Beann (The Mountain Visitor) 1848-50?[30]

Dr. MacLeod (1783-1862) was prominent in the famine relief organizations in both the late 1830's and 1840's as well as campaigning actively for government and private assistance for emigration, particularly from the Highlands of Scotland.[31] Dr. MacLeod was also an active supporter of Thomas Rolph and his emigration schemes. (see Chapter Seven). Before considering each of the three periodicals separately, Dr. MacLeod's own divided feelings on the subject of emigration should be noted from his statements below.

> "I regret and deplore the necessity for emigration; but it is the only safety-valve, if I may use that expression, for an overgrown and unemployed population."[32]
> "To Highlanders, emigration has often been a very passion - their only refuge from starvation. Their love of country has been counteracted on the one hand by the lash of famine, and on the other by the attraction of a better land opening up its arms to receive them with the promise of abundance to reward their toil.. They have chosen, then, to emigrate; but what agonising scenes have been witnessed on their leaving their native land."[33]

Teachdaire Gaelach (1830-32) was the first major attempt to publish a Gaelic monthly periodical and its object was to be instructive as well as amusing. It contained only two general references to emigration by Dr. MacLeod,but the scant mention of emigration can partly be explained by the fact that the real crises in the Highlands were yet to come.[34]

Cuairtear nan Gleann (1840-43) appeared in three volumes and quoting Dr. MacLeod's evidence before the Select Committee on Emigration from Scotland in 1841,

> "One great object of the publication at present is, to instruct the people on the subject of emigration; they have been deceived by private adventurers...we should continue the periodical, giving emigration a prominent place; but that every article on emigration should have the signature of the editor, that is,

> my own, so that I should be responsible for the information. I am happy to say that their prejudices are greatly removed; they are crying out for emigration, and my table is loaded (with letters) each week from all parts of the Highlands... imploring me to give information in the next number of the publication,which must be very cautiously done."[35]

This periodical contained frequent references (some informative, others pious) to life and conditions in the British North American colonies[36] and to Upper Canada in particular.[37] Dr. MacLeod was the editor and leading contributor, but notes and letters from other people including Dr. Thomas Rolph[38] appeared in the periodical. These articles were generally favourable toward emigration and played a part in encouraging emigration, particularly among those people in the Highlands whose main or only language was Gaelic.[39] It would appear however, that Cuairtear nan Gleann did not receive enough support and was forced to terminate in 1843.

The third Gaelic periodical which appeared during this period was Fear-tathaich nam Beann (1848-50) and contained a miscellany of information about religion, history, the cottage economy, crofting and emigration. Dr. MacLeod contributed several articles but this periodical was edited by his son-in-law, the Rev. Archibald Clark.[40] This periodical continued to provide favourable information about the various British colonies both in North America[41] and Australia.[42] The following is a translation from the Gaelic of an article which appeared in 1849 "Comhairlean Do Luchd-Imirich Dh'Ionnsuidh America" (Advice for Emigrants to America).

> "It is a great blessing of the Lord's Providence that America has been opened up for the people of Scotland, England and Ireland, so that in another corner of the world still subject to the Kingdom of Great Britain these people have the opportunity of bettering themselves, who hitherto had no other way of passing their days in the land of their birth but in poverty."[43]

In concluding this section on Gaelic publications it can be stated that although they were few in number and sporadic in appearance, they did provide encouragement and useful information for emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland.

6. Other periodicals

In various other chapters of the present study references have been made to various other periodicals and their comments on and attitudes towards emigration, and Upper Canada in particular. For example, Chapter Four comments on the Glasgow and Paisley Weavers Journal and the Chartist Circular, while chapter six makes frequent references to church publications such as the Congregational Magazine, Free Church Magazine and the Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church. The material and references provided there will not be repeated here.

The Edinburgh Magazine, which was a continuation of the Scots Magazine seemed to take a rather negative view of emigration,[44] which is very well exemplified by the following comment in 1822. "All accounts accordingly agree in setting forth the hardships of emigration as certain, and strongly suggest the inexpediency of all such enterprizes, unless from necessity."[45]

The Scottish Review which appeared first in Glasgow in 1853, was published by the Scottish Temperance League. While the sale of spirits to passengers was forbidden by the Passenger Act of 1842 (5 and 6 Vict. C.107 August, 1842), the Scottish Review printed several articles which were favourable to emigration but commented on how great a problem 'drink' could be on the long voyage, particularly to Australia.[46]

B. NEWSPAPERS

Before examining a number of newspapers in detail, it is worthwhile presenting some background to the development of newspapers in Scotland over this period. The number of newspapers published in Scotland for the following years is: 1795 - 13; 1815 - 26; 1836-- 54; 1847 - 77. Yet in 1847 there were fifteen counties which did not have a newspaper including Argyll, Ross and Sutherland.[A] There are possibly two main reasons for this slow growth of newspapers. The first is the fact that during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was a government newspaper stamp duty (4d in 1815; 1d in 1836), which was not abolished until 1855. This tended to discourage the development of small local papers and made it almost impossible to publish a daily newspaper outside of London. Thus by 1853 there was only one daily newspaper published in Scotland, where the vast majority were weeklies.[B] The second possible cause of the slow growth was the smaller educated readership who were attracted to newspapers as a media of communication and information.

The format of Scottish newspapers during this period (1815-1855) was generally very standard. Their contents included reprints of articles from English papers, reports of Parliamentary debates, international politics, a business or commercial section dealing with sales and shipping and a section of mainly local news. Several of the larger papers carried some information about other parts of Scotland: however it was not until the 1840's that much information was given by Lowland papers about events and problems in the Highlands.[C]

In the following section of this chapter, the information provided concerning the circulation of the various newspapers for 1853 was taken from the Glasgow Herald of March 12, 1855. The actual readership of newspapers, as opposed to their circulation, is a debatable point. For example, it has been estimated that in the 1830's the number of readers per copy varied from 6 to 30. However, over the period under discussion, as well as there being an increase in the number of papers published in Scotland, both the total circulation and the average number of copies sold per issue also increased.[D]

1. The Glasgow Herald

The Glasgow Herald was first published under that name in 1805 and has continued to the present time. During the first half of the nineteenth century its views were conservative (Tory) in nature and the volume of its circulation over the period was among the largest in Scotland (1837 - 2538; 1843 - 3384). In 1853 it was published twice a week, with an average circulation per number of 4504, being the second largest in Scotland.[1] It was read largely by the prosperous upper and business classes.

The attitude of the Herald over the period under discussion toward emigration was generally a favourable one. In May, 1820, it commented on the increased "spirit of emigration" from the west of Scotland to British North America, both on the part of prosperous farmers and destitute artisans. The latter were described as "emigrating in the hope, that we trust will not prove vain, of bettering a condition which cannot be worse where they are going than it is in the country they are leaving."[2] The early 1840's saw the establishment

of various emigration societies, particularly in the Glasgow and Paisley area, which were forced to rely considerably on public donations in order to achieve their objectives. The Herald printed a number of appeals on their behalf, including the following on September 9, 1842.

> "The members of these societies are in general, a class of intelligent men, and of peaceable and industrious habits, but who have long struggled under adverse circumstances, over which they had no control; and we would recommend them to the sympathy of the public to assist them in carrying out their truly laudable design."[3]

This same period of the early 1840's also saw several other favourable comments on emigration in the Herald including, a half column extract from the Times of London claiming that the present "let-alone" system of emigration was unsatisfactory and that more government control and supervision was necessary,[4] and, a statement by the Herald that colonial emigration was "universally acknowledged to be a sure means of relieving the overgrown destitution of this country, and providing comfortable and adequate employment for our suffering operatives in other lands."[5] On June 16, 1843, in discussing emigration from the Clyde, the Herald stated that encouraging reports had been received from the poor operatives who had recently emigrated (likely referring to emigration societies that had left in 1841 and 1842 for Canada), which had stimulated a desire among a large portion of the working classes in Scotland to emigrate as well but that they were unable to do so because of their destitute condition. The paper suggested that there was a need for a general plan for public subscription to obtain funds to assist those who wanted to emigrate but were unable and that use could be made of the funds which were now providing temporary relief to assist emigration instead.[6]

The occurrence of the potato famine in the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland brought forward further comments on the subject of emigration. On February 15, 1847 there appeared a one column letter to the editor of the Glasgow Herald on "Highland Destitution" signed A.B., in which the causes and some possible solutions to the problem were examined. The writer advocated emigration as "the most humane and effectual means of all" and that government help should be made available to provide transportation to and land in Canada for the emigrants. In June, 1848 the Herald carried another appeal for more government involvement in the emigration process instead of just, "pouring out of the scum into the colonies!"[7] Perhaps the attitude of the Herald to emigration generally can be summed up by its comments on November 21st, 1856 on Highland emigration,

> "it is now admitted that those who were forced, no matter how inhospitably, from their shores, and still more their descendants, have made a happy exchange - are enjoying on the other side of the Atlantic a degree of independence and comfort which they could never have expected in their own barren regions."

The Herald, over the period under discussion (1815-1855), also contained extracts from various emigrant guides and travel books dealing with Upper Canada which provided information and encouragement to emigration.[8] Extracts of favourable letters from settlers in Upper Canada were printed in the Herald[9], as well as information from government reports and Parliamentary Papers concerning conditions in the colony and emigration from the British Isles.[10]

In conclusion it can be said that the Glasgow Herald provided a considerable amount of information about and was favourably inclined toward emigration to Upper Canada. It should be mentioned also that

the shipping column of the Herald over the years contained details of ships trading with and carrying passengers to the various emigration fields. Although generally speaking the readership of the Herald were not the class which most frequently provided the emigrants, the attitude of the Herald no doubt had an influence in creating an awareness of the value of emigration, of the claims for emigration assistance on behalf of the destitute and of the importance of government regulation and involvement in the emigration process.

2. The Scotsman

The Scotsman was first published in 1817 and generally, over the period under discussion, it had the largest circulation in the east of Scotland while the Glasgow Herald had the largest in the west of Scotland. It may be considered a paper of liberal views.

In its early years of publication the Scotsman felt that emigration was beneficial to the country, even though good and productive people were leaving, in that,

> "the soundest views of political science teach us that a country may have too many citizens even of the most useful classes; and that when this is the case, the superfluous numbers are a source of misery to the class they belong to, and of poverty and weakness to the state."[11]

It advocated that the rich should help the poor to emigrate in order to improve their condition and that the government should encourage and finance an extensive system of emigration, with the United States of America being the best destination, although some of the British colonies would be suitable as well.[12]

On December 29, 1821, the Scotsman printed a very favourable

review of Robert Lamond's book on the government assisted weaver emigration from the west of Scotland in 1820 and 1821. The review gave a number of facts from the book,and,in discussing the problem of redundant numbers and pauperism,concluded by saying that,

> "By transporting such a person from the one country to the other, he is taken from a place where he is an incumbrance to one where he is an acquisition; a great addition is made to his comforts; society is perhaps relieved of a pauper; and at any rate, by withdrawing a part of a redundant commodity, - his labour from the market, he improves the condition of those he leaves behind him."[13]

By 1827, perhaps after more thought had been given to the problem, the Scotsman changed its emphasis slightly. Although still advocating large scale emigration as a remedy for excess population in certain extreme local cases of distress,it now felt that emigration should be secondary to measures of a more permanent kind which would get to the roots of the problem of a redundant population.[14] However the paper continued to provide information for emigrants and felt that the increasing flow of emigrants from the British Isles was "a phenomenon unparalleled in history", which provided great prospects for "the general interests of civilised man".[15]

In April,1841,in commenting editorially on the Report of the Select Committee of Emigration from the Highlands,the Scotsman reiterated its opinion that emigration alone was not the answer, but must be used in conjunction with other remedies if the excess population was to be permanently reduced. It argued that unless the solution was "a decided and a final one", any money spent would be wasted as the remaining population would continue to increase be ond the limits that the Highlands could adequately support. The Scotsman felt that the answer was a system of compulsory Poor Laws in Scotland

which would force the Highland landlords to contribute more financially to help relieve the problem which they (the landlords) in many instances had helped to create or at least allowed to develop.[16] The Scotsman continued to feel that the landlords were not accepting their responsibilities and that the Highland Destitution Fund, begun in 1847 to provide relief during the famine years, was only helping to relieve the poor rates and not really solving the basic problems.[17]

Over the period under discussion, the Scotsman printed a considerable number of reviews and extracts from various emigrant guides and travel books dealing with Upper Canada.[18] Generally the Scotsman tended to be most favourable to the United States as the best field for emigration.[19] However, it did provide over the years useful information, several emigrant letters and favourable comments on Upper Canada.[20]

In conclusion it can be said that the Scotsman did a great deal to encourage and provide information regarding emigration, and although it tended to favour the United States, it by no means neglected the colony of Upper Canada.

3. Glasgow Chronicle

The Glasgow Chronicle was published in Glasgow between 1811 and 1857 and was considered to be liberal minded, although in its later years with strong reform ideas. In 1853 it appeared once a week with a circulation of 1500.[21]

In the early 1820's, the Chronicle was very much in favour of emigration particularly to Upper Canada, as an important means of

relieving the acute economic distress among certain groups at the time.

On January 8, 1820, the Chronicle commented -

> "It is not indeed to be feared that women, so kind hearted and strong minded as those of Scotland, will ever make a general practice of drowning their infants; but it is not impossible that, urged by the cravings of want, they may send out their boys for robbery, and their girls for prostitution. To avoid such a consummation, our superfluous hands must seek competence and respectability in Canada. The expense would be nothing in a national point of view."

The paper suggested that the government would soon provide assistance for emigration, as such a measure would bring a return to "quiet and tranquility" which had recently been upset by discontent and turmoil. When the government did announce this assistance, the Chronicle commented that it was money well spent.[22]

Throughout the year 1820, the paper provided information about and extracts of favourable letters from settlers in Upper Canada.[23] The help provided by the editor of the Chronicle in this way was noted by Robert Lamond, who organized the emigrations of 1820 and 1821 from the Clyde.[24]

However, by the early 1840's, the attitude of the Glasgow Chronicle had changed considerably its views with regard to emigration. This change of attitude is an indication of the growing reform sentiment during this period. On February 14, 1842, it commented,

> "We consider the projects of emigration under the patronage of government, and particularly when carried out at the expense of the people left behind, as nothing else but voluntary banishment to those who go abroad, and of open robbery on those who are left - as a denying that the country possesses the means of supporting the inhabitants, or that it is possible, by the application of just legislative enactments, to improve the trade and condition of the people."

It agreed with the wisdom of the government in not providing funds to

assist emigration but argued that those who expected assisted emigration as a relief should now be prepared to remain in Britain and help to improve conditions by advocating the repeal of the Corn Laws, a reduction in taxation and an enlargement of the franchise.[25]

The Chronicle continued the statement of its views on emigration on February 23, 1842,when it said that while it was against any scheme of government financed emigration -

> "we wish all success to the efforts of respectable persons, who do not find in this country a field for their industry, to remove to such of our colonies as stand in need of, and will reward, their labour."

It then proceeded to mention the case of the Glasgow Central Emigration Society (62 heads of families, 270 persons) who hoped to go to Canada in April,1842, but needed to raise £100 more than the amount they had collected and the Chronicle recommended them as "worthy objects of charitable aid." The Chronicle continued to advance the appeals of other emigration societies during this period.[26] It also printed information about various emigration schemes[27] and favourable reports from Canada.[28]

Thus it can be said that although the Glasgow Chronicle did change its views regarding the degree of government involvement in the emigration process, it continued to recognize the value of emigration in many cases and to provide information relevant to such emigration, particularly to the Canadas.

4. The Glasgow Saturday Post

The Glasgow Saturday Post was published in Glasgow between 1838 and 1875 and was considered to have radical or reform-minded views.

In 1853 it was published once a week with a circulation of about 10,000, which was the largest in Scotland at the time.

In May, 1843, it printed an article entitled "A Word to the Duke of Argyll and the men of His Order", which stated that the Duke should not have become involved in the unsuccessful British American Association for Colonization, but that he must accept any responsibility for his actions. The article added that "we wish to warn the nobility against lending their names to such schemes."[29] The Post carried a number of pieces of information relating to emigration, including several describing frauds against emigrants.[30]

In September of 1843, the Post reprinted an article from the Morning Chronicle of London which stated that,

> " No sane man can reasonably doubt that it (emigration) is one of the means which the natural progress of society and human events point out as a genuine and legitimate mode of relieving the pressure of an old country."

It concluded however by saying that emigration should neither be over-rated nor underrated but must be applied in conjunction with other measures, for example, free trade, if the country was to prosper and progress.[31]

The Post for 1848 contained very little material dealing with emigration or the colonies, although it did advocate government assistance to emigration to South Australia for the "poor starving population."[32]

It can be concluded that although the Glasgow Saturday Post was generally in favour of emigration it did not provide a great deal of information on the subject.

5. Glasgow Examiner

The Glasgow Examiner was published in Glasgow between 1844 and 1864 and was considered to be radical (reform) in views. In 1853 it was published once a week, with a circulation of nearly 3,000.

Although the Examiner during the summer and fall of 1848 generally provided little information concerning emigration or the colonies, it did comment very favourably on the subject, on September 16, 1848 -

> "Our colonies are the only safety valves by which this depressing state of things may be relieved."
> "The people are unhappy and discontented for want of work and the means of support, and, therefore, very excitable. We have lands where the foot of man has never trod, and which will repay in an ample degree the labour which man may bestow upon them."

The article then continued to comment on Australia and New Zealand as the areas to which the greatest attention should be paid by intending emigrants.

In January, 1850, the Examiner in an article entitled "Who Should Emigrate", showed that it was of two minds about the advantages and disadvantages of emigration. It began by commenting that "emigration is no favourite of ours" and that,

> "Labour is the wealth of the nation, and we are just so much the poorer for every son of toil on whom necessity forces expatriation. The loss of it is too, that in general it is our most frugal and our best labourers who do emigrate,"

However it went on to say that they realized that the emigrant would improve his condition in life, that the colonies would benefit from this influx of labour and there were many problems in Britain that made it necessary and expedient for many people to emigrate.[33]

Despite this somewhat ambivalent attitude toward emigration the Examiner began in January 1850 an emigration column which was to appear weekly over the next few years. The first column appeared on January 5, 1850, and contained a brief description of the various fields of emigration which was particularly favourable toward Australia as a destination. It concluded this article by asking people in Scotland who had received letters from any friends who had emigrated, if they would make parts of their letters available to the newspaper, in order to provide information for intending emigrants. This emigration column over the next few years carried a great deal of information from various parts of the world, including advice to emigrants, reports on conditions and emigrants' letters. The great majority of these concerned Australia and New Zealand, with some about the United States and little about British North America.[34] Certainly beginning in 1852, with the discovery of gold in Australia, this emphasis in the emigration columns was reinforced.[35]

It can be concluded that while the Glasgow Examiner after 1850 did provide a considerable amount of emigration information, this information did not encourage Scottish emigration to Upper Canada.

6. Chartists publications

The newspaper the Scottish Patriot was published in Glasgow in 1839 and 1840 and represented the views of the physical force group of Chartists. (see Chapter Four). Initially it was very outspoken in its criticism of the value and morality of emigration.

> "A proposal is made, we see, to ship off some human cargoes to countries on the other side of the globe, where they may find food. It has been somewhere observed that man is of all animals the most difficult to transport; would it not, therefore, be easier to bring the food to him?"[36]

It felt the answer to the problem was to improve conditions in Scotland, so that people would not be forced to leave the land of their birth and their traditions. The Patriot felt that emigration was the establishment's means of retaining their privileges, by getting rid of the people instead of trying to change the present system.

> "It (emigration) in nowise goes to destroy the causes which produce that scarcity of work. It proposes merely to relieve the evil for the moment, not to eradicate the disease."[37]

However, even though the Patriot felt very strongly that emigration was not the answer to the basic problems faced by Britain, it was reluctantly forced to admit that in certain cases of extreme distress emigration might be a necessary expedient.[38]

The True Scotsman was another Chartist newspaper published in Edinburgh between 1838 and 1841 and tended to represent the more moderate moral force group of Chartists. Its attitude toward emigration appeared to be rather less negative than the Scottish Patriot. For example, on April 4, 1840, the True Scotsman printed the rather neutral comment that the present distress and misery had been the result of poor government and that as a result of this economic situation some people in the middle and poor classes have turned to emigration as a solution. However, the True Scotsman did not advocate any general system of emigration, which can be seen from its attitude to the Highlands lairds' requests for government money to finance an emigration scheme. It felt that the distress in the Highlands was the result of the landlords having lived beyond their means and their having sacrificed the people by overcrowding. It concluded,

> "We rest satisfied that all the emigration for which Parliament may employ, the public money will never accomplish the dastardly ends, or satisfy the avarice of the Highland landlords."[39]

The third main Chartist publication was the Chartist Circular, published in Glasgow between September 1839 and July 1842, under the direction of the Universal Suffrage Central Committee for Scotland (Scottish Chartist Association). Generally speaking, it was against emigration and printed a number of poems whose themes dealt with the very poor state of things in Scotland as well as the pathos and trauma of emigration.[40] In commenting editorially on the value of the British colonies it stated,

> "If any hard-working English or Scotch slave imagines that he derives the slightest benefit from our Colonies, either immediately or remotely, We can assure him he labours under a sad delusion."[41]

In concluding these comments on several Chartists publications, it can be said that they took the most consistently anti-emigration stand of any section of the press. This attitude arose from their belief that the solutions to the problems in Britain must be the result of fundamental changes in its political structure and that emigration only aided the establishment in relieving pressures and maintain the existing system. (see Chapter Five). It should be noted however, that these Chartist publications were only in existence in the late 1830's and early 1840's and that generally over the period under discussion (1815 - 1855), the opinions of Chartism in Scotland on this subject did not significantly affect the numbers or destinations of the emigrants.

7. Other Scottish Newspapers

In Chapter en of the present study, considerable use was

made of information provided by the shipping columns of various newspapers throughout Scotland. However, due to the orientation and scope of the present study, it was not possible to examine in great detail the editorial opinions on the subject of emigration and the colony of Upper Canada, of most of the Scottish newspapers of the period. This section will, however, provide some idea of the opinions of and information provided by a number of newspapers in the north and east of Scotland, both areas that were significant for emigration.

The Aberdeen Journal, which generally held conservative views, contained a considerable amount of information on various aspects of emigration, including details of number of emigrants leaving,[42] government reports[43] and the conditions in the colonies.[44] During the summer and winter of 1853-54, the Journal carried a series of eighteen favourable letters to the editor on the subject of "Canada as an Emigration Field" written by D.M'D., who had just returned from spending some time in the colony.[45] The writer of these letters stated that

> "a poor, sober, persevering, and industrious emigrant can, and unquestionably will, raise himself and his family to a state of happy competency and independence to which he never could attain, or even hope for, in Scotland."[46]

During the period under discussion there were three newspapers published in Inverness, Inverness Journal (1807 - 48), Inverness Courier (begun 1817), Inverness Advertiser (begun 1849), each of which took a stand (often conflicting with each other) on the question of emigration.

The Inverness Journal during the first decades of the nineteenth century was very much against emigration from the Highlands of Scotland to the British colonies in North America, referring to this growing movement as "most criminal infatuation."[47] But by the 1830's and 1840's,

with the growing problems and distress in the Highlands, the Journal began to provide most information and favourable comments about these colonies.[48] On July 8, 1842, it referred particularly to the prosperous conditions in Canada and added that "it is gratifying to see, by the great number of emigrants from the United States to Canada, that they are becoming more sensible of the advantages of our government there."

The Inverness Courier, although sympathetic to the landlords point of view in the early period (see Chapter Seven) had by the late 1830's began to realize that emigration from the Highlands was both inevitable and necessary. It stated, for example, "that while we regret that so many active men should feel it necessary to leave their own country, the Highlands will be considerably relieved of its over-plus population."[49] The Courier continued to provide favourable information about emigration and the British North American colonies throughout the 1840's.[50] The Courier also tended to support and defend the activities of the Highland landlords in clearing various parts of their estates.[51]

The Inverness Advertiser, begun in 1849 took a rather different view of these evictions and the emigration question, at least during its first few years of publication. The Advertiser carried frequent articles and comments on the ruthlessness of the landlords and the helplessness of the crofters and cotters and painted sad scenes of forced evictions and emigrations from the properties of the Duke of Sutherland, Mr. Baillie of Glenelg and Lord Macdonald. It summed up by stating, "I maintain that the people are not too many, but that their holdings are too small, their rents too high, their oppressions innumerable, their encouragements

nil!"[52] The writer of the above quotation was Thomas Mulock who served as both an editorial writer and temporary editor of the Advertiser in the years 1849 and 1850. Mulock carried on a brief but vocal and bitter battle against the Highland landlords' policy of clearances until his departure from the Highlands in 1853.[53] By 1852, the Advertiser had developed a more positive attitude towards emigration and carried information about favourable conditions in Australia (gold)[54] and Canada.[55]

The last newspaper to be commented on here is the John O'Groat's Journal which began publishing in Caithness in 1836. In 1842 the paper contained a great many details on the activities of John Sutherland an emigrant agent in the north of Scotland (Chapter Nine).[57] Over the period under examination, the Journal provided considerable information[56] about and favourable comments on emigration and the North American colonies, and Canada[58] in particular.

In concluding this section on the influence of newspapers in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855, several main points can be made. First, the general attitude of the majority of Scottish newspapers during this period was favourable both to emigration generally and in particular to Upper Canada. Second, Scottish newspapers were active in providing useful practical advice to intending emigrants and in the case of the emigration societies in the lowlands (Chapter Four), the newspapers appealed for public subscriptions to assist their members to emigrate. Third, the shipping columns of the various newspapers contained information about the vessels (type of ship, destination, sailing date)

sailing from Scotland to North America. Thus even though the typical emigrant of this period might not have been a regular newspaper subscriber, at least when emigration became a possibility for him, he could obtain valuable information from this source when he most needed it.

C. BOOKS

Books were the third main type of printed material which provided information and opinion on emigration and the various emigration fields and thereby were important in assisting and directing emigration from Scotland to Upper Canada. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, it was likely that less than 10% of the working class population of Scotland read books, although this figure was undoubtedly higher for middle and upper class readership. R. K. Webb examined the types of books in ten of thirty-eight small circulating libraries in three working class parishes in London at the end of the 1830's and found that they contained: well known fashionable novels 20%, novels of the lowest character 46%, various fiction 28%, and voyages, travels, history and biography 6%.[1] It is obvious from this that travel accounts and emigrant guides appealed to a very small percentage of the reading public. However this does not mean that these books were not significant, quite the contrary, they were very important, in that they provided critical opinions and information to those people who had an inclination or desire to emigrate. In many cases, these books also gave an initial stimulus for the idea of emigration by providing favourable accounts of conditions and benefits overseas,

which could then be compared and contrasted with their situation in Scotland.

There were two main types of books which provided this type of stimulus and information - travel accounts and emigrant guides, each of which had a more or less standard format. The travel accounts dealing with Upper Canada were usually written following a one or two year trip to North America, with most of the time often being spent in the United States. The authors travelled to the main cities (or towns) and marvelled at the sights (e.g. Niagara Falls). They provided general comments and opinions on the political, economic, and social life of the areas that they visited, as well as details about hotels they stayed in and interesting people they met. Emigrant guides, on the other hand, usually provided much more detailed information and statistics - for example on, wages, prices of farm produce, costs of various articles, transportation charges and mileages from one point to another. The guides often suggested the best areas for settlers to purchase land and described the techniques and problems of pioneering in a new country. It is important to realize however the great variety from one book to another in the quality, validity and usefulness of the information which was given both in the travel accounts and the emigrant guides. Some were excellent, others were poor, but they all served to create a growing awareness of life and conditions on the other side of the Atlantic.

During the period under discussion, the average person in the British Isles possessed little actual information or realistic

ideas of conditions and life in Upper Canada, although by the 1850's this situation had improved somewhat. Indeed, Gerald Craig in his introduction to Early Travellers in the Canadas 1791 - 1867, claims that - "To such people (the lower-and lower-middle-class people who formed the bulk of the emigrants) everything across the Atlantic was "America", and it was often a matter either of accident or of indifference whether they ended up north of south of the Great Lakes."[2]

Frequent comments were made during the early part of the period warning people to beware of books that made false claims or painted too bright a picture of life in a new country.[3] In 1829 the Monthly Review published the following warning -

> "As a general rule we should recommend any person who is disposed to emigrate, to receive with great caution the hints which are tendered to him in publications expressly devoted to the praise of distant and uncultivated lands. If a work enter minutely into the nature and climate of the soil and specify many attractions to the emigrant, he may conclude at once that the advice comes from an interested party. The author is either the agent of a company, which has a speculation of its own in view, and which cannot be conveniently accomplished without the assistance of many hands; or he has purchased from the Government a large tract of territory, which he wants to dispose of to advantage; or he is an emigrant himself desirous of increasing the population around him."[4]

John McDonald also refers to these over optimistic accounts received by many Scots when he describes his own feelings on leaving Greenock for Quebec in 1821, "little dreaming, from the flattering accounts which had been so industriously published respecting that country (Upper Canada), of the hardships attending such an undertaking."[5]

It is probably fair to say however, that as time went on, the general calibre of these books improved, although they never succeeded in eliminating many highly subjective opinions. Indeed,

the whole question of emigration (who should emigrate, if anyone, and to where) was a very controversial question - and the differing viewpoints and facts presented in these various books succeeded in keeping these matters before the public. This chapter will examine most of the travel books and emigrant guides printed in Scotland between 1815 and 1855 which dealt wholly, or in part,with emigration and/or Upper Canada. The vast majority of these were published in Edinburgh, although these also reached the readership in other parts of British Isles. Although there were many other similar books on Upper Canada printed in the British Isles, it was felt that an analysis of all these books was beyond the scope of the present study and that those books printed in Scotland would be the most representative of Scottish views on emigration and Upper Canada.[6] Similar books which were published in other parts of the British Isles reached Scotland,but only general comments will be made on these. This chapter will be divided on the basis of the various decades, with the 1830's having the most prolific output.

1815-1829

The first book during this period published in Scotland dealing with emigration and Upper Canada did not appear until 1820, although a number had appeared much earlier in London. It was entitled A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819, published in Aberdeen with the author being given as James Strachan. However, Dr. George Spragge in his introduction (p. xxiv)/to The John Strachan Letter Book, 1812-1834, (Toronto, 1946) attributes the authorship of the book to John Strachan, James' brother. John had emigrated from Aberdeenshire to Upper Canada in 1799 where he was a teacher and Anglican clergyman, eventually becoming Bishop of Toronto and an important member of the colonial power

structure.

Strachan states in his introduction that "my object is to point out the superior advantages which Canada offers to those who are determined to leave the British Isles for the Continent of America,"[7] and as a result the book is very heavily biased in favour of Upper Canada, particularly as opposed to the United States. On the whole he can say nothing favourable about the United States and nothing unfavourable about Canada. The book provides information about the procedure for obtaining land, prices of articles, climate, farming and transportation in the colony, and Strachan claims to have "exaggerated nothing." In concluding,he states that emigrants must be honest and industrious and that "if the emigrants desire be to maintain a rising family, and increase a small capital, with greater ease and certainty of success than in any other country that I know, Upper Canada will not disappoint him."[8]

The publication of Strachan's book received mixed reviews in a number of Scottish newspapers and periodicals. The Scotsman was without doubt the most critical, and its review of May 13, 1820 included the following comments, "this is one of the most miserable attempts at travel-writing we have ever seen," "mountain load of prejudices", and "the only thing new in the book is the superlative ignorance that runs through it."[9] These comments were no doubt too severe and the Scotsman's views were not held by a number of other contemporary publications. The Glasgow Chronicle and the Glasgow Herald (2⅓ columns on the first page), were both favourably impressed by the book, as was the Quarterly Review,which strongly recommended it as "the most interesting we have seen on the subject."[10]

The next book to be discussed appeared in November 1821 in Glasgow, entitled A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of Emigration, from the Counties of Lanark and Renfrew to the new Settlements in Upper Canada (price 3/6d) and was compiled and written by Robert Lamond, secretary of the Glasgow committee that superintended the activities of the emigration societies whose members emigrated in 1821 (for more details see Chapter Four) to Upper Canada. This book provided details of the organizational plans and activities of the committee and the various societies, a map and information about the townships in Upper Canada where the societies took up their land, a plan of one of the emigrant ships which they used and extracts of a number of favourable letters from emigrants who were already settled in Upper Canada. In other words, the book provided valuable information, and encouragement both for individual families who wished to emigrate to Upper Canada and for emigration societies that might be formed in the future and would need government and public support.

Lamond as well as being active on the above committee, was a ship broker and emigration (passenger) agent in Glasgow. In a shipping advertisement for the ship Harmony for Quebec in the spring of 1822, Lamond makes reference to his own book as a valuable source of information.[11] The Scotsman, in a favourable review of the book, commented on the importance of emigration in eliminating a redundant population and growing pauperism. It concluded by saying that while the book will not be of great interest to the general public "it is so particularly fitted for emigrants in humble circumstances, that it ought to be considered as their manual."[12]

Perhaps the most useful, highly thought of and successful of these early emigrant guides published in Scotland dealing with Upper Canada was John Howison's Sketches of Upper Canada, first published in Edinburgh in 1821. Other editions were printed in Edinburgh in 1822 and 1825. Howison, who had previously been employed by the East India Company and later published other books of travel, spent almost two and a half years in various parts of Upper Canada between 1818 and 1820. His description and analysis of the society and conditions in Upper Canada were on the whole accurate and perceptive, partially because he spent a large amount of time in the colony rather than a quick visit of several months which was frequently the sole basis for writer's observations. He made suggestions for improving the emigration process, for example, he suggested that the British government, rather than offering some free transport and free land, should instead organize cheap, regular and efficient transport from Britain to the actual area of settlement. Sketches of Upper Canada contained considerable detailed information about obtaining land, methods of agriculture, transportation, prices, crops, climate, the various settlements in the colony and the pattern of life of the average settler. Howison commented favourably as well on two predominately Scottish settlements, Glengarry County and Col. Talbot's land, north of Lake Erie.

Howison's main negative comment on conditions in Upper Canada involved the settlers feelings of conceit and exaggerated independence. Quoting the author on this point -

> "However, the Scotch, notwithstanding their dislike to an American and Canadian neighbourhood, do not fail to acquire some of those ideas and principles that are indigenous to this side of the Atlantic. They soon begin to attain some

> conception of the advantages of equality, to consider themselves as gentlemen, and become independent; which in North America, means to sit at meals with one's hat on; never to submit to be treated as an inferior; and to use the same kind of manners towards all men.
>
> However, those who are at first most skeptical about the reality of their newly-acquired importance, generally become most obstrusive and assuming in the end;"[13]

He mentions as well the settlers' "dirty, gross and indolent" domestic arrangments, their bad manners and low level of education. On the whole, Howison's views on Upper Canadaare very favourable. Quoting the author again -

> "No person, indeed, will pretend to say, that the settlers, whose condition I have described, are in a way to grow rich; but most of them even now enjoy abundant means of subsistence, with the earnest of increasing comforts; and what state of things can be more alluring and desirable than this to the unhappy peasantry of Europe?"[14]

He felt that of the various classes of emigrants, both the poorest peasant or labourer and the man of small income would do well, but that Upper Canada offered few attractions to the man with capital. His comments that - "every individual who, to youth and health, joins perseverance and industry, will eventually prosper" and "the country is becoming more agreeable every day, and only requires a large population to render it equal in point of beauty, comfort and convenience, to any part of the earth "[15] were meant to encourage and direct emigrants to Upper Canada.

The reviews and references to Sketches of Upper Canada were very favourable in contemporary publications. The Scotsman of November 17, 1821, states that "this work is written in an interesting style, and has greater claims to confidence than anything which has recently appeared on the subject" and contains "useful and accurate information about the present state of Canada." Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, as well as

printing a large extract from the book, commented that "we have no hesitation in saying, that this is by far the best book which has ever been written by any British traveller on the subject of North America."[16] The first number of Chambers Information for the People (1835), which has been commented upon earlier in this chapter, dealt with emigration to Canada and picked out Howison's book for particular merit, describing it as -

> "one of the most delightful works ever published on the subject of Canadian emigration; its details are highly entertaining and instructive, and the author's views are solid and philanthropic: it should be read, if possible, by intending emigrants."[17]

Thus in Scotland for a number of years Howison's book was perhaps the most widely read and favourably regarded work on emigration to Upper Canada.

In 1822, there was published John McDonald's book describing his trip to Quebec and his experiences in the Lanark settlement in Upper Canada, where he had emigrated along with the government assisted weavers in 1821. McDonald sailed from Greenock on the ship David of London on May 19th, along with 364 persons, mainly members of ten Scottish emigration societies, and arrived at Quebec on June 25th. The book begins on a rather pessimistic note with the statement in the introduction that -

> "In this short narrative, the reader will find a faithful and impartial account of the hardships through which our unhappy and deluded countrymen are doomed to pass, the privations they must undergo, the sufferings they must endure, with the deplorable consequences resulting from these, before they can be settled in their cold, comfortless and solitary log-house."[18]

McDonald gives a vivid picture of many of the problems and hardships which these early settlers had to face including, many areas of poor land, the "fangs of those tormenting and mischievous insects,"

the severe winter, distant markets, the lack of religious instruction and the lack of clothes. However in spite of these many difficulties the author felt that -

> "There is no fear, in my opinion, of obtaining the comforts of life in abundance, provided that the new settler has acquired habits of diligent, persevering and patient labour, strength of mind to surmount the difficulties incident to the novelty of his situation, and to an uncleared country, along with a constitution capable of accomodating itself to the extreme vicissitudes of temperature peculiar to an American climate."[19]

Thus while McDonald's book acted as a warning and discouragement to the faint-hearted, it was at the same time full of valuable information for those who were willing and prepared to begin a new life in a new country.

Two other books, both being travel accounts rather than detailed emigrant guides, appeared at this time, which contained a few comments on Upper Canada, but mainly dealt with the United States. The first was by James Flint who sailed from Greenock to New York in May 1818.[20] He spent most of his time in the United States, although he made the customary pilgrimage to Niagara Falls and from there down the St. Lawrence River to Quebec. He stressed the magnitude of the decision to emigrate but was generally in favour of the United States as an emigration field. The second of these two books was by John M. Duncan who made a similar trip in 1818 and 1819. He pointed out the many advantages and good qualities of life in the United States but advised "if you are enjoying a moderate degree of prosperity at home do not think of quitting it" and stated that he personally would not emigrate.[21] Duncan's account showed Upper Canada in a very poor light as compared to conditions in the United States.[22] These books are noted here to show that not all of the books written during this period were favourable to Upper Canada or to emigration generally.

The next book to be discussed is interesting, not so much for the information it provided, but because of the background of the author. The Rev. William Bell was born in Airdrie, Scotland in 1790 and after attending the University of Glasgow was ordained by the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh as the minister in the new settlement of Perth, Upper Canada. He arrived in Perth in 1817 (where he remained active until his death in 1857) and became the first Presbyterian minister to become established in the backwoods of Ontario, that is to say, inland from the St. Lawrence River or the Great Lakes. Initially the Rev. Mr. Bell received financial support from the Glasgow Associate Synod and the British government, until his congregation could support him.[23] His book, entitled Hints to Emigrants, in a series of letters from Upper Canada, was published in Edinburgh in 1824. It provided details of his voyage to North America and accounts of his experiences and of conditions in the backwoods of Upper Canada, during his first six years there. As one might assume the author was deeply concerned with the primitive state, indeed frequent lack of religious instruction and facilities in Upper Canada and he played an active part in organizing Presbyterianism in the colony and in stimulating an interest in Scotland in the problems of the colonial churches. This book received mention in Chambers Information for the People (no. 1 1835, London) as a good publication to be read by people considering emigration to Canada.

He stated that he wrote the book with "a view to inform and assist those who are desirous of emigrating to Canada" and added that he did not want "either to encourage or discourage emigration, being convinced that every person ought to judge and choose for himself."[24] However, such attempts at impartiality were very difficult to achieve

in emigrant guides during this period, and this book was no exception. The work presented a picture which was very favourable toward Upper Canada, and had little that was good to say about the United States. The author felt that for those who were willing to work and combined prudence with good management, success would be the result. Near the end of the book, in the description of conditions in the Perth settlement, Rev. Mr. Bell stated that, "all the necessaries of life, and many of its luxuries can be raised there; and, if people were contented, they might live as comfortably in that country as in any other on the surface of the globe."[25] Such statements could not fail to interest and encourage towards emigration large numbers of people in Scotland living under the strained or worsening conditions of the time.

For several years there was an absence of publications but in 1829 two books were published in Edinburgh dealing with emigration to North America. The first was written by Hugh Murray and entitled Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in North America, with Observations on Emigration (two volumes). It dealt largely with the United States but the latter section of volume two provided details and impressions dealing with Upper Canada. Murray felt that generally speaking Upper Canada compared favourably with the republic to the south, although perhaps not quite as prosperous and go ahead at the time. Concerning the type of person who should emigrate he only recommended such a step for the lower classes, "provided they can face the first hardships and difficulties of settlement." He added as well that, -

> "The petty farmer and tradesman also, though they may not be wealthier, will be in a more secure, independent, and

> comfortable condition. Generally speaking, those who are well at home will act wisely in remaining; but, for the many whose situation, as to employment and circumstances, is essentially bad, a removal to the transatlantic regions affords a fair promise of relief."[26]

In discussing the situation in Upper Canada, Murray wrote very favourably of the activities of the Canada Company both in developing the colony and encouraging emigration. He also provided details of the earlier government schemes to assist emigration from Scotland (1815, 1820 - 21) and Ireland (1832), which he regarded as successful.[27] He suggested that the government, even though they were no longer prepared to financially contribute to the removal of paupers from the British Isles, should now both encourage and remove obstacles to individual emigration to North America.[28] One other interesting and useful feature of this publication was the inclusion of a fairly complete bibliography of books dealing with emigration and North America.

Ten years later in 1839, Murray published another book in three volumes dealing specifically with British North America. This later publication contained considerably more details about conditions in the Canadas (Upper and Lower). Once again he was in favour of emigration, particularly of the middle and lower classes.[29]

The second book on this subject, published in Edinburgh in 1829, was by Captain Basil Hall, R.N., and was based on his travels in North America during 1827 and 1828. About one-sixth of the three volumes of this work dealt with the Canadas. The book has a very attractive literary style which holds the attention of the reader of these accounts of his travels. He included about forty pages of extracts of correspondence

which he had with various people in Upper Canada and these give a favourable view of conditions in the colony. The author stated that - "British America appears to me not a bad country for a destitute man, or one who possesses health and strength, and nothing more, but who has been accustomed to bodily labour from his youth upwards."[30]

The reviewers of Hall's book were of divided opinions. The Quarterly Review felt that it was a very good work while the Scotsman claimed that it contained "a host of prejudices" and was too hard on the United States.[31] However, although Hall was basically an aristocrat and a loyalist and very much in favour of retaining the colonies (both for the advantage of Britain and the colonies), he did want to maintain good relations with the United States.

In commenting generally on the emigrant guides and travel books published in Scotland in the 1820's dealing with Upper Canada, it can be said that they were favourable to this destination as an emigration field. While the 1820's was not a particularly prolific period for this type of publication, it did produce the beginnings of a quantity of information in Scotland about conditions in Upper Canada. These books did not attempt to minimize the difficulties and hardships involved in emigration but still recognized the opportunities which existed in the new world for large numbers of people in Scotland. We can also see the beginning of two themes which will be commented upon later in this chapter, - first, the differences of opinion as to the merits of Upper Canada as opposed to the United States and secondly, the two types of books, one written by authors who took a quick trip through the area, the other written by men who actually were emigrants to the area, or who had spent some considerable time in the colony.

1830's

As mentioned previously, the decade of the 1830's produced the largest number of publications in Scotland dealing with Upper Canada. The first one was published in Edinburgh and London in 1831 and written by Martin Doyle, entitled Hints on Emigration to Upper Canada, especially addressed to the lower classes of Great Britain and Ireland. This book reached a third edition in London by 1834. Doyle did not recommend emigration to those in the British Isles who had regular jobs and a comfortable living or those with small means who had never experienced hard work and difficulties. These people were better off to remain where they were. But he felt that emigration was very advantageous to the poor in Scotland and Ireland and that "all those who have been bred to farm and handicraft work, if industrious, healthy, and s have a moral certainty of succeeding. All such persons after two years find themselves in a thriving condition, and are anxious to have their old country friends with them".[32] Doyle then proceeded to discuss the many advantages for emigrants which he felt Upper Canada possessed over both lower Canada and the United States. This book can be classed as an emigrant guide, rather than a travel book, as its aim was to provide the emigrant with details and advice concerning transportation, living and working conditions and problems to be overcome in the new country. The book contained an appendix of sixteen pages giving informative and favourable extracts from nine original and previously unpublished letters written by settlers in Upper Canada to their friends and relatives in the British Isles. Doyle stated that he tried to provide the emigrant, "with the most necessary points of information to guide him to an economical,

convenient, and prosperous settlement. I have provided him with a concise and cheap book. Were it dearer, he might not wish to buy it; and were it longer, he might not like to read it."[33] As a result this reached a large and attentive public.

All of the books which have been discussed so far were published either in Edinburgh or Glasgow, which is not unusual, as the largest publishing companies were located in these two cities in Scotland, with Edinburgh being more significant in this respect than Glasgow. However, in 1832 there was published in Aberdeen, a work written by Thomas Fowler entitled, The Journal of a Tour through North America to the Falls of Niagara. Fowler was a native of Aberdeen, and made a tour of parts of British America, sailing from Aberdeen for Quebec on April 4, 1831. After seeing something of the Canadas, he spent several weeks in New Brunswick and sailed from Mirimachi to Aberdeen, arriving in Scotland on Nov. 11,1831.

The aim of the book as stated by the author was to assist both the tourist and the emigrant, and in many ways this book did appeal to both of these types. Fowler combined a chatty and interesting account of his travels and the interesting sights in British America along with many practical details to assist emigrants, for example, information on exchange rates, prices of produce, fares, and the advantages or disadvantages of different districts in the Canadas. He stressed the importance of carefully choosing a good ship and competent captain for the voyage across the Atlantic and mentions by name several such ships and captains operating from Aberdeen, which was most unusual among this type of book.[33A]

While saying that he would not advise people to emigrate, as that was their business, and that he was trying to present both the good and the bad aspect of conditions in the Canadas, Fowler came out in favour of emigration. He said that idlers, spendthrifts and drunkards would not prosper in Canada, (as if they would prosper anywhere) and that "I am of opinion, that every industrious, sober, steady person, has a fair chance of thriving in this country."[34] Thus although the circulation of this book was likely largely confined to the Aberdeen area, it did act as a positive stimulus and assistance to Scottish emigration to the Canadas.

Unlike Fowler's journal, the next book to be discussed received considerable interest and attention in a number of other Scottish publications in the early 1830's. The author was John McGregor and the book first appeared in London in 1829 entitled Observations on Emigration to British America and later a second edition of two volumes in Edinburgh and London in 1832, entitled British America.

McGregor was in favour of emigration and felt that people who showed "industry, frugality and perseverence" would do well in North America. He did not recommend emigration for everyone but that people who were used to physical labour were best suited for it. His advice that "for spinners, weavers, or those engaged in manufactures, there is not the smallest encouragement," was not accepted by many, for example, the many members of emigration societies in the early 1840's.[35] McGregor did not minimize the hardships and difficulties that had to be overcome, however he felt that conditions were improving year by year.

The book provided considerable detail about the various settlement

areas in the British colonies in North America and useful suggestions for making emigration a less rigorous experience. He felt that government assisted emigration of paupers was the best temporary measure which would benefit both the mother country and the colonies. He conditioned this suggestion by adding that if the government was to continue giving such assistance, it should do the job correctly by providing provisions and help in the actual settlement process.[36]

As well as dealing with the Canadas, the book gave considerable favourable coverage to the Maritime colonies. McGregor's interest in this area in North America is also shown by an earlier book published in London in 1828, Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Provinces. McGregor's book British America published in 1832 received a great deal of favourable comment in a number of Scottish publications. Extracts from the book appeared in the Glasgow Herald, Quarterly Journal of Agriculture and Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine and it received mention as a good publication to be read by emigrants in Chambers Information for the People (no. 1 London, 1835).[37]

McGregor's work was probably the largest (2 volumes of over 500 pages each) and one of the most authoritative of that time, but due to its price and size likely did not reach the notice of the average emigrant. However its very favourable references to British North America were put forward in the publication of extracts elsewhere and its influence was thereby increased.

The year 1833 saw the publication of a widely read and publicized book by Adam Fergusson of Woodhill, Perthshire, Scotland who made his first trip to North America in 1831. Fergusson was an advocate and prosperous

farmer, as well as a director of the Highland Society of Scotland. A second edition of the book was published in 1834, which included details of his second trip to Canada in 1833.

Fergusson's books were dedicated by permission to the Highland Society to whom he submitted a report on his observations and activities. Fergusson gave two reasons for the publication of his book, first, to provide useful information for intending emigrants and second, to direct the growing emigration from the British Isles to the colonies rather than to the United States. The author felt that greater use should be made of parish or government funds to assist emigration to the colonies, both in the voyage and in the actual settlement.[38]

Fergusson felt that Upper Canada was the best destination for emigrants that the advantages of emigration were considerable and that "the moderate capitalist, or the frugal, sober, and industrious labourer or artisan cannot fail of success."[39] He felt strongly that emigration was of great benefit both to Britain and to the colonies, which should be helped to develop as part of a growing overseas empire. His books provided an account of his travels and impressions and a large appendix containing extracts from government regulations, details of transportation, and an interesting summary of a trip made by a Mr. Robertson (a farmer near Edinburgh) to North America in 1830, who agreed with Fergusson on the many advantages of Upper Canada over the United States.[40]

Both editions of Fergusson's book were received with interest and approval by a number of other Scottish publications. The Quarterly Journal of Agriculture printed extensive extracts from the book in 1831-1832 as well as a flattering account of his settlement at Fergus in

Upper Canada several years later.[41] Chambers Edinburgh Journal also printed a number of extracts.[42] The Glasgow Herald reported favourably on his trip and the Scotsman while leaning toward the United States as the best field for emigration, stated that "for those who think of removing to Canada, it is worth all the other books now in the market put together."[43]

Everyone did not agree with Fergusson's views and he was criticized by several other writers who will be commented on later in this chapter. However, the wide coverage given to this book helped spread Fergusson's favourable views of Upper Canada and thereby played a part in encouraging emigration to that destination.

In order not to give the false impression that all the books written on emigration were favourably inclined to Upper Canada, several books that did not feel favourably will be discussed now. In 1833 James Stuart, Esq. of Dunearn completed a book of two volumes, published in Edinburgh, entitled Three Years in North America that went to three editions within a year. In it he described his experiences and views based on an extended visit to North America between 1828 and 1831, during which time he spent only one week in Upper Canada. The great bulk of the book dealt with the United States, which received a great deal of flattery. The few pages devoted to Canada were not complimentary. Both the Edinburgh Review and the Scotsman felt that Stuart was an honest and reliable observer, and the latter commented that "we have no hesitation in saying that it represents the most correct and faithful picture of the State of North American Republic with which we are acquainted."[44]

In 1833 there was also published in Edinburgh Men and Manners in

America (two volumes) by Captain Thomas Hamilton. This author felt that conditions in North America were not suited to his liking and that there were too many people of the lower classes with whom one had to come in contact. Hamilton dealt mainly with the United States, but what little he said about Canada was generally unfavourable. Hamilton made the pilgrimage to Niagara Falls and stated in concluding that Upper Canada would soon become part of the United States and that "the loss to England will be trifling."[45]

Next we come to a book published in Edinburgh in 1835 and written by Patrick Shirreff, who farmed at Mungoswells in East Lothian. The object of his book was to examine the conditions in North America, particularly focusing on their suitability, or not, for agricultural emigration from the British Isles. He travelled widely in the United States and in parts of Upper Canada, and frequently contacted Scottish settlers wherever he went.

His comments on Upper Canada were far from favourable, especially when contrasted with the United States. Shortly after crossing into the Niagara Peninsula he could not help commenting that "instead of the youthfulness and never-ceasing activity of the States, there seemed the listless repose of doating age."[46] Shirreff goes into considerable detail concerning the poor condition of the roads, high prices for land, the poor system of settling the land and his feelings can be summed up in his statement that "Upper Canada has been much over-rated by some people who have visited the country."[47] He does not deny however that a great many of the rural poor in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland would benefit considerably by emigrating to Upper Canada.[48]

Shirreff's opinion that Upper Canada had been over-rated as and emigration field by a number of people, was chiefly directed at Adam Fergusson of Woodhill whose books have been examined previously. Shirreff took Fergusson to task for giving too optimistic a picture of the conditions and ease of achieving success in Upper Canada for a pioneer farmer, and stated that the confidence of the Highland society was badly misplaced in Fergusson. Shirreff then went into considerable detail in examining the expenses and practical operations of backwoods agriculture and concluded that "Mr. Fergusson's calculations do not appear accurate, and scarcely intelligible in the way he has given them."[49]

Thus Shirreff came out strongly in favour of the United States, and in particular the state of Illinois as the best place for an emigrant to settle. It should be noted that his brother was settled in Illinois. This book was not altogether favourable received - for example, Chambers Edinburgh Journal felt that he spent too much time giving insignificant details and that only the later part of the book was worthwhile, while the Quarterly Journal of Agriculture (which had published large and favourable extracts from Fergusson's book) suggested that this book "should be received with caution" and warned against Shirreff's republican leanings.[50] To be fair to Shirreff it can be said that he attempted to give an objective description of Upper Canada, which although it was not a particularly favourable picture, did point out many of the real problems and disadvantages of the colony as opposed to the republic to the south. And even though Shirreff's book was not aimed at encouraging emigration from Scotland to Upper Canada, anyone who did consult it and did emigrate to the colony did so with more of a realistic idea of the task he had before him.

In 1834 John Matheson, a bookseller and publisher in Aberdeen produced two books, the object of which was to encourage emigration to and provide useful information about Upper Canada. In 1835,Matheson, who at the time was establishing an 'emigration information depot, wrote to the British government for information about emigration and by 1838 he had established the Aberdeen Depot for Works on Emigration in his Union Street shop.[51] The first of these books entitled Counsel for Emigrants appeared in the spring of 1834, a second edition in 1835 and another edition in 1838. It consisted of about 140 pages and included a large number of favourable extracts from settlers letters written from Upper Canada to Scotland, as well as extracts from many of the books discussed earlier in this chapter, including those by Fergusson, Doyle, McGregor and Strachan. It also contained an appendix giving a list of works dealing with Canada and the United States. In the introduction Matheson stated that,

> "As I would leave everyone to manage their own concerns, in so far, I shall offer no advice on the question of to go, or not to go, but when any intending emigrant has finally made up his mind, and 'no mistake', then I am sure he will listen to reason if it is all in his own way of thinking."[52]

He then proceeded to discuss the various emigration fields, and concluded that Upper Canada was the most suitable.

Matheson saw his responsibility as providing concise detailed information which would help emigrants make the transfer to a new country and then adjustment there easier and more successful. In the late summer of 1834, Matheson published a Sequel to the Counsel for Emigrants of about 70 pages, based on the same format as his initial book. He states its object as "principally to give an account, in this little work,

of the country which now the seemingly common choice has pronounced the best, namely, Upper Canada."[53] Matheson intended both of these books to be reasonably priced and available to the majority of emigrants, as opposed to more expensive publications which often contained much chaff among the few grains of information. The Scotsman carried short reviews of both these books and concluded that "we have no hesitation in saying not only that it may be read with safety (does not deceive or misrepresent), but that it ought to be read by every person intending to emigrate to our American possessions."[54] In conclusion it can be said that Matheson's books were among the most useful and encouraging towards emigration from Scotland to Upper Canada.

The later part of the 1830's brought the publication of several other books favourable to emigration from Scotland. Ellik Rosier published The Emigrant's Friend in Glasgow in 1834, which by that time had reached its third edition. It was small (80 pages) relative to most books of this type, and was aimed at the less well to do emigrants. It contained useful hints to emigrants about prices, transportation and land policies. In 1838 James Logan, advocate, published in Edinburgh an account of his trip to North America, during which he visited his brother who farmed land near Guelph, Upper Canada. His comments were generally favourable towards Upper Canada, saying that it was a good place for the industrious, adding however, that it was a great help to begin with a small amount of capital (for example £500).[55] Finally, in 1839 appeared Patrick Matthew's book in which he presented a survey of the various British colonies as potential emigration fields. Although Matthew was in favour of emigration

generally, his personal choice as a destination was New Zealand.[56]

However, once again it should be pointed out that all the books published during this period were not favourable to emigration. An author calling himself a Citizen of Edinburgh wrote an account of his experiences in North America during a trip there in 1834. He only seemed to have talked with and seen people who were unhappy and dissatisfied with conditions in North America.[57] In giving his views on Upper Canada, he described Toronto as "rather a dissipated place" and although men of capital were in great demand in the colony as desirable immigrants,he advised that "no one who has capital, and can live at home, ever to come here."[58] His comments about the United States are no more favourable than those about Upper Canada, and his concluding comment to persons intending to emigrate to North America was, "I would not advise any one, who can make even a bare living at home, to come here."[59]

A book which expressed very similar sentiments to the above, was written by James Inches, and published in Perth, Scotland,in 1836. He began by claiming that a great deal of false information and deceptive propaganda had been written recently about conditions in Canada and that,

> "the British, and more particularly the Scottish Emigrants, are now placed in such circumstances as to make them feel, with the most heartfelt sorrow and bitterness of soul, the loss they have sustained by having abandoned forever, for themselves and families, the grand and venerable Institutions of their Native Land."[60]

Inches listed fourteen main disadvantages that anyone farming in Canada must face, including, severe climate, distant markets, high price of

labour, high cost of consumer articles and the inadequacy of the education system.[61] He concluded that only the poor Irish would benefit from emigration to Upper Canada, but that "even to the poorest labourer in Scotland I do not consider it (emigration) to be at all advisable, excepting under some very peculiar circumstances."[62]

Several points should be made in concluding this section on books published during the 1830's. This decade saw the largest number of books published in Scotland dealing with emigration, particularly to Upper Canada and is an indication of the growing interest and awareness among Scots of the colony as a possible destination for emigration. There was also a greater tendency for the books published during the 1830's to provide detailed and useful information concerning the emigration and settlement process, rather than merely presenting generalities. Finally this period saw a growing number of books which spoke out against the advisability of emigration, both to Upper Canada and to other destinations. This development was due to several causes, including a general reaction to the growing volume of emigration from the British Isles as well as a realistic evaluation of the difficulties which had to be faced in the new world, particularly in the pioneer society of Upper Canada. However this growing discussion of the value of emigration among the authors of various books was not entirely negative, as it played a role in stimulating an awareness of the opportunities as well as the problems in Upper Canada.

1840's

In the 1840's fewer books were published in Scotland about emigration to Upper Canada than in either of the two previous decades. However those that were published appeared in the first years of the decade and are of considerable interest and value.

In Glasgow in 1841, there appeared an emigrant guide book to Canada written in Gaelic by a RobertM'Dougall entitled Ceann-Iùil an Fhir-imrich do Dh'America mu-thuath or The Emigrant's Guide to North America. The author was encouraged to write this book by Dr. Thomas Rolph, who for a time was appointed by the colonial government in Canada to act as their emigration agent in the British Isles.

M'Dougall's book is interesting both because it was the only major work written in Gaelic on this subject and because of the advice and information it provided to the emigrant. Although the title of the book referred to North America as a whole, the book only referred in detail to places in Canada. It contained a large amount of practical information on such topics as - the preparations and provisions to be taken, fares, choosing land, preparing and planting crops, and keeping animals.

M'Dougall was very much in favour of emigration both for the person who had a small amount of money as well as for the poor man. He stated that if a man had about £100 with which to buy land and was a hard worker, thrifty and sensible, that he would do very well. Any young person with a trade would find plenty of work at good wages.[63] He added however, that there was no work for herdsmen, weavers, fiddlers,

pipers, tinkers or beggars. M'Dougall's work is an excellent example of a small (143 pages), reasonably priced book (1/6d) containing practical information,aimed at attracting a certain group of emigrants (Gaelic speaking Highlanders) to Canada.

The next book to be examined is equally interesting as it was written by William Thomson who was a textile worker in Stonehaven, south of Aberdeen who travelled and worked in the United States and Canada between 1840 and 1842. His book is of value because of the insights he gained into pioneer life both as a result of his lower status on the social scale as compared to most writers of the period and also because of the length of time and the various jobs he held while in North America.

In many ways ,Thomson felt that emigration had been overrated in the British Isles. However he was aware of the opportunities in the New World and agreed that those emigrants who were young and industrious would do very well. He spent most of his time in the United States, including a visit to two brothers who were settled in South Carolina, but arrived in Upper Canada in the summer of 1841 where he worked at carding and spinning mills near Toronto. The author made a point of visiting in the homes of typical settlers and participated in several communal house-raisings, rather than being a mere bystander, as other writers had frequently been.[64]

He pointed out the homesickness that was felt by a great many of the settlers and added,"I only mention it to remark, that those who have arrived at middle life are not the best subjects for emigration. Those who had come out early in life, or been born here, all like it -

every body likes their native land."[65] His comparison of Upper Canada with the United States was favourable, particularly regarding better land prices and the system of laws. In conclusion, it can be said that Thomson's work was likely of more interest and value to intending emigrants to North America than books by more eminent writers.

Another book published in Edinburgh in 1842 did not show Upper Canada in as favourable a light. It was written by Captain Barclay of Ury, a landowner in Kincardineshire who travelled for three months in North America in the summer of 1841. He spent most of his short visit in the United States and went to Upper Canada in order to visit his daughter and son-in-law and to recommend a place for them to settle.

In discussing the differences between the two emigration fields he described conditions in the United States as active, cheerful and contented,while in Upper Canada he found "an almost universal gloom."[66] He described the difficulties and discouragements for settlers with moderate capital who emigrated to Upper Canada, with its large expanses of uncleared forest and poor transportation facilities. Although Barclay felt that the British government should assist in the emigration of excess population, he had to recommend the United States as the destination under the existing circumstances, even though Upper Canada would one day prosper.[67]

In 1843, two versions of a book written by Samuel Butler appeared in Glasgow, printed by William R. M'Phun, who was active in publishing information on emigration to various parts of the world.[68] In 1839 Butler had written a book favourable to emigration to Australia, and his book

in 1843, the Emigrant's Handbook of Facts, (240 pages, as well as maps) presented a positive survey of the colonial emigration fields. Canada was described as "the poor man's home" and was highly recommended over the United States. This book was mentioned favourably in several Glasgow newspapers of the time.[69] The portion of this book which referred to Canada, was reprinted in 1843 by M'Phun, and entitled the Emigrant's Complete Guide to Canada which sold for 6d, or 9d with a large map. Again it received favourable comment, including a recommendation by John Kirkpatrick, who was secretary of one of the emigration societies that emigrated from the Clyde to Upper Canada in the spring of 1843.[70] M'Phun,in publicising this book,stated that it was aimed at the industrious classes of the population,in order to give them accurate information in the cheapest possible form.[71] Another edition of this book (106 pages) was published by M'Phun in Glasgow and London in 1858.

In 1843, as well, there was published in Edinburgh and London a book dealing with the settler's life and conditions in Canada. The author was a Joseph Abbott who wrote under the name of an Emigrant Farmer of Twenty Years Experience. It was reprinted in Edinburgh in 1844. The author provided a great deal of detailed information which was encouraging to emigration to Canada, including extracts from settler's letters, fares, land policy and government emigration regulations. The Journal of Agriculture recommended it highly.[72]

The last book of any note published in Scotland during the 1840's concerning emigration to Upper Canada appeared in 1844. It was written by James B. Brown who signed himself, A Four Years' Resident

and was reprinted in 1851 in a revised and enlarged edition. Brown's book was perhaps the most balanced and reasonable work on emigration to Upper Canada during the entire period and was based on first hand observation and experience.

It provided detailed information on the various settlements in the colony, preparations for the voyage, advice on choosing a vessel, routes into the area, costs and wages. He also presented a very reasoned argument against the practise of 'shovelling' out paupers from the British Isles and suggested that more account should be taken of the factors of supply and demand for labour both in Britain and in Upper Canada. His main suggestion was for the establishment of greatly improved facilities for providing information about Upper Canada to the people prior to emigration and the author felt that the main responsibility for this lay with the British government.[73]

Brown did not try and conceal the difficulties and problems of an emigrant settler's life in Upper Canada, rather he felt that by recognizing them, that they could be met and overcome. He also stressed the rapid rate of improvements and progress which had been made in the colonies and which he felt would continue to be made.[74] The book received a favourable review from Chambers Edinburgh Journal, both because of the information it provided as well as for its honesty - for example, in stating that emigration was not suited to everyone.[75] The reprinting of Brown's book after seven years was an indication of its value and even though it was likely too expensive for the proper emigrants (first edition 266 pages, second edition 455 pages), it was available as an excellent guide book for emigrants to Upper Canada.

Although the decade of the 1840's contained a relatively smaller number of emigrant guides and travel books dealing with Upper Canada and published in Scotland, those that did appear were noteworthy both because of the background and interests of the authors as well as for their candid remarks and the useful information which they provided.

1850's

In 1850 a book written by the Rev. William Haw who had spent fifteen years in Canada, was published in Edinburgh. In it he attempted to give information about the early history and settlement of Canada, a comparison between the colony and the United States, and comments as to the advantages that the colony offered to emigrants.

He pointed out that a number of writers and visitors in the past had taken a rather superficial view of the situation, when they compared Canada unfavourably with the United States. This he claimed was an incorrect view and that the improvements and progress which had been made in Upper Canada during the previous twenty-five years were considerable.[76] The Rev. Haw then proceeded to discuss the various types of emigrants, as to their suitability in coming to Upper Canada and concluded that persons with a fortune ought not to come, although those with a small independent income would prosper particularly in the larger towns, while agriculturalists, mechanics and artizans would all do well. However, he felt that the colony would not be able to make use of or absorb too great an influx of poor working class emigrants from the British Isles, i.e. Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland.

Rev. Haw was a realist as shown by this warning which

describes very well the process of emigration from Scotland to Upper Canada at this time.

> "Do not expect to find the country an El Dorado, or that any of its reasonable advantages are to be secured without unceasing toil, and unremitting perseverance. When once the step is taken, you will be the subject of a class of difficulties, and perhaps privations, which you did not anticipate or foresee; and unless you are prepared manfully to rise above them all, you had better not emigrate. If, however, you have looked soberly at the question, and are so resolved (to emigrate), you will not be likely to meet with any thing but what energy of character, and fixedness of purpose, will enable you to overcome."[77]

In conclusion, it can be said that Rev. Haw's book provided interesting and useful information about emigration and settlement in Upper Canada, which for the price of 1s3d was readily accessible to the majority of emigrants from Scotland.

Three other books appeared at this time, and although they only dealt in a few pages with Upper Canada, they were generally in favour of emigration to North America as a whole. These were - Robert Baird, Impressions and Experiences of the West Indies and North America in 1849, (two volumes, Edinburgh, 1850); James F. W. Johnston, Notes on North America, Agricultural, Economical and Social (two volumes, Edinburgh 1851); and Charles K. Smith, Three Years in North America and Miscellaneous Poems (Glasgow, 1858, 240 pages.) A rather interesting, short (16 pages) pamphlet was printed in Montrose in 1851, published by the author (who was unknown) entitled The Emigrant's Friend - Spiritual Instruction for a Long Voyage. It consisted of a series of religious lessons for every week of a four months voyage, and although it was likely aimed at emigrants to Australia, it was no doubt of interest to emigrants to North

America as well.[78]

Reference has been made earlier in this chapter under the section dealing with periodicals, of the publishing activities of William and Robert Chambers. As well as their Chamber's Information for the People, they published in the early 1850's several books dealing with various aspects of emigration. In 1851 they compiled and published in Edinburgh with an introduction by John H. Burton, The Emigrant's Manual, which gave practical advice and information about the emigration fields in Australia, New Zealand, America and South Africa. In 1854 the section of this book dealing with America (the United States and British North America) was published separately and retailed at the ressonable price of one shilling. It surveyed the various British colonies giving detailed and useful information on government regulations, prices, routes, equipment and problems to be avoided. As stated previously the Chambers were very much in favour of emigration from Scotland and these emigrant manuals were further evidence of their interest in this field.

In the fall of 1853, William Chambers spent nearly four months travelling in North America and published in 1854 an account of his trip, Things as They Are in America. It was nearly 400 pages in length and sold for six shillings. Although he spent most of his time in the United States, Chambers commented favourably on Upper Canada as well and concluded by saying,

> "I am bound to recommend it (America generally) as a new home to all whose hearts and hands are disposed to labour, and who, for the sake of future prospects, as regards themselves and families, are willing to make a present sacrifice."[79]

Thus the attitudes and activities of the Chambers in their periodicals and books did much to assist and direct Scottish emigrants to Upper Canada.

In concluding this section on books published in Scotland between 1815 - 1855 dealing with emigration and settlement in Upper Canada, several overall points can be made. First, the majority of the books were in favour of emigration to North America although frequently there were differences of opinion as to the relative advantages between Upper Canada and the United States. A large number of the writers combined a trip to Upper Canada in conjunction with a longer stay in the United States, and the writers dealing solely with the situation in Upper Canada usually took it upon themselves to draw comparisons with conditions south of the border. The main features most often compared were the political institutions, agricultural attractions, general atmosphere of life, and the state of development. A number of the books came out strongly on one side or the other of the argument, but overall Upper Canada emerged in a positive light in the books published in Scotland during this period.

Of the two main types of books, emigrant guides and travel accounts, the emigrant guides, along with books written by experienced settlers, provided a great deal of valuable information and advice concerning the best methods of emigrating and setting in a new country. Indeed these were often the sole source of such information for many people and even those who had friends to advise them benefited from these books. Although the costs of these books varied considerably, efforts were made by various publishers to provide useful information at a low enough price in order to make them available to those people who really needed the assistance.

As well as providing information about emigration and settlement, the greater availability of books dealing with Upper Canada helped to create a growing awareness in Scotland of the attractions of the colony. This awareness helped to strengthen the element of "pull" in the emigration from Scotland during this period. However, it should be added that even by the 1850's the amount of knowledge about Upper Canada, and the opportunities and real conditions there, was still very minimal among the vast majority of the population in Scotland.

This chapter has attempted to examine in some detail the influence of various periodicals, newspapers and books, largely published in Scotland, in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855. In general, these publications were important in that they helped to overcome two of the obstacles in the emigration process, the lack of information about the destination and the hesitancy or inertia toward emigration generally.[80] Overall these publications provided useful and informative details and advice about the emigration process and Upper Canada in particular, as well as giving encouragement to their readers who might have been considering emigration.

The specific attitudes of and information supplied by these various publications have been given previously in this chapter. In conclusion, it can be stated that on the whole these publications were a very important and positive factor in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada during the period under discussion.

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5. Alastair R. Thompson "An enquiry into the reading habits of the working classes in Scotland from 1830 - 1840". Unpublished B. Litt. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1962.

6. For a number of comments on the type (class) of emigrants from Scotland to the Canadas during the period under examination, see chapter ten of the present study.

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   Alastair R. Thompson, op cit. p. 226-37.

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3. ibid, Vol. 37, June 1822, pp. 249-268.

4. ibid, Vol. 39, Jan. 1824, pp. 344-45.

5. ibid, Vol. 45, Dec. 1826, pp. 49-74

   ibid, Vol. 47, Jan. 1828, pp. 204-242.

6. ibid, Vol. 91, Jan. 1850, p. 29.

ibid, Vol. 92, Oct. 1850, p. 491.

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ibid. Vol. 56, Jan. 1833, pp. 460-81 "Stuarts Three Years in North America"

8. Henry F. G. Tucker, op cit. p. 14 - 15.

Frank W. Fetter "Economic Controversy in the British Reviews, 1802-1850"
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ibid. vol. 15, April 1824, pp. 433-40.

ibid. Vol. 20, Sept. 1826, pp. 470-78.

10. ibid, Vol. 23, May, 1828, p. 617.

ibid, 1827, from David S. MacMillan op cit, p. 77-8 article on "Home Colonization"

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14. ibid, Vol. 4 (1832 - 34) p. 220.

ibid, Vol. 4, p. 460.

15. ibid, Vol. 9 (1838-39) pp. 159-199.

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23. ibid, Vol. 5, 1837, pp. 38-9; 112.

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24. ibid, Vol. 10, 1842, p. 34.

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Emigration to Canada, 1835, 8 pages.
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b) AM FEAR-TEAGAISG (the Instructor or Preacher) Ontario, 1850.

Reference - Charles W. Dunn The Highland Settler
Toronto, 1953, p. 77-8, 171, and personal correspondence with Professor Dunn.

30. Rev. Donald Maclean (editor) Typographia Scoto-Gaelica Edinburgh, 1915, p. 311-14

31. Philip Gaskell Morvern Transformed Cambridge, 1968, p. 11.
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PP 1841 VI (182, 333).

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An Teachdaire Gaelach pp. 46-48, 185-6.

35. PP. 1841 VI (333) Q 919 Dr. Norman MacLeod

PP 1841 VI (182) Q 188 John Bowie who was Lord Macdonald's agent in the North-west Highlands commented that Dr. MacLeod's periodical had done a great deal to provide information about the various colonies overseas and to stimulate emigration.

36. Cuairtear Nan Gleann Vol. 1 (1840-41) p 25-9, 49, 145-9

ibid, Vol. 2 (1831-42) p. 75-8, 155-7

ibid, Vol. 3 (1842-43) p. 49-51, 335-6

37. Cuairtear Nan Gleann Vol. 1 p 8-9, 29-33, 77-81, 108-113, 187-8.

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Thomos Rolph Emigration and Colonization London, 1844, p 24-5

39. ibid, p 49 letter Norman MacLeod to T. Rolph June 16, 1840.

Glasgow Argus July 22, 1841

PP 1841 VI (182) Q 188

40. Caraid Nan Gaidheal, op cit. p. xxix

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7. ibid, June 19, 1848 from The Times of London.

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ibid, June 17, 1842 from a gentleman at Kingston, Upper Canada.

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15. ibid, Oct. 20, 1832; also May 2, 1832.

16. ibid, April 21, 1841; Oct. 16, 1841.

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John Prebble, op cit, p. 136-38.

Inverness Courier April 22, 1840 from Barron op cit, vol. II p. 273.

50. ibid, May 6, 27; Aug. 5, 1840 from Barron op cit, Vol. II p. 274-5, 280

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52. ibid, p. 280

53. ibid, p. 257 - 66, 272 - 3

54. Inverness Advertiser Jan. 27, Feb. 3, Mar. 30, April 13, 27, 1852.

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56. John O'Groat's Journal March 2, 1836; Apr. 22, July 15, 1842.

57. ibid, Feb. 25, May 6, June 3, 10, July 1, 1842; May 19, June 16, 1848.

58. ibid, Feb. 25, April 1, 22, June 24, 1842; April 30, 1852.

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2. Gerald Craig Early Travellers in the Canada 1791-1867 Toronto, 1955. XXX

Scots Magazine vol. 64, Aug. 1802, p. 706.
In describing the recent departure of three ships from Fort William to America, the magazine stated that the people had been "deluded" and that "before they had been three hours at sea, some of the poor creatures next morning came, and asked one of the sailors if the land they saw was America, which shows what an idea they have of their voyage."

John Howison Sketches of Upper Canada Edinburgh 1822, p. 9.
"the ignorance and misconception that have prevailed with respect to its (Upper Canada) real condition and local advantages".

3. The Scotsman Dec. 7, 1822.
"The Guides to Emigrants hitherto published, we regret to say, are either miserable booksellers' catch-pennies, or delusive descriptions manufactures by quackish speculators to entrap the unwary."

Charles F. Grece Facts and Observations respecting Canada, and the United States of America London, 1819, p. 1.
"The present rage for emigration to North America has been the means of eliciting much valuable information relative to that extensive continent. But it has also produced much merely literary speculation, numerous ridiculous blunders, and not a few wilful misrepresentations."

Patrick Shirreff <u>A Tour Through North America</u> Edinburgh 1835
p. 381-82

"The writers of private letters, the verbal tales of individuals, and the public hournals, are often called into requisition to laud and misrepresent the country (Upper Canada), and the people of Britain ought to consider the account well before giving them credence.

Many people emigrate to America who ought to have remained at home, having been inflated by the representations of others and their own imaginations."

John Howison <u>Sketches of Upper Canada, domestic, local and Characteristic.</u> Edinburgh, 1821 p. 61-2

"The slaves of vague reports, and false and exaggerated descriptions, they know not where to direct their steps; and after being alternately encouraged, depressed, and deceived, they perhaps prematurely determine to return to their native country."

John McDonald <u>Narrative of a Voyage to Quebec</u> Glasgow, 1822
p. IV.

"that all the truth which had been both written and printed respecting Upper Canada, would not cover one-half of the lies which had been told."

A Citizen of Edinburgh <u>Journal of an Excursion to the United States and Canada in the year 1834.</u> Edinburgh 1835 V.

James Inches <u>Letters on Emigration to Canada</u> Perth, 1836, p. 1, 14-15. pp 1841 XV (298) p. 71 Lord Sydenham to Lord John Russell

<u>Aberdeen Journal</u> August 31, 1853.

In commenting on Upper Canada the paper stated that there was still a lack of "general, sound and correct opinion of that country".

4. <u>Monthly Review</u> Vol. 10 NS 1829 pp. 368-9.

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6. For reference to the large number of emigrant guides and travel books published during this period see -

M. D. Wainwright unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1952 pp 247-282. This lists nearly 200 emigrant guides dealing mainly with emigrations from England to the United States.

H. I. Cowan op cit, pp. 305-10.

Norman MacDonald, Canada 1763-1841, pp 534-550.

W. S. Shepperson British Emigration to North America Oxford, 1957 pp 273-286.

7. James Strachan A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819 Aberdeen, 1820 p V.

8. ibid, p 197

9. The Scotsman May 13m 1820. See also Nov. 17, 1821.

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Glasgow Herald April 24, 1820.

Quarterly Review Vol. 23 (1820) pp 373-400

11. Glasgow Herald, March 11, 1822, see also June 7, 1830.

12. The Scotsman, Dec. 29, 1821.

13. John Howison Sketches of Upper Canada Edinburgh, 1821, p. 173-5.

14. ibid, p. 172-3

15. ibid, p. 238, 258, 260, 239.

16. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine Vol. X (Dec, 1821) p. 537.

The Edinburgh Review Vol. 37 (June 1822) pp 249-68

Glasgow Herald Jan. 21, 1822.

17. Willian and Robert Chambers (editors) Emigration to Canada No. 1 in Chambers Information for the People, London, 1835.

18. John McDonald op cit, iii

19. ibid, p. 20 also p. 26. "Those who obtain good lots, and are industrious in cultivating them, will be amply rewarded for their toil, and enjoy all the necessaries of subsistence within their own grounds."

20. James Flint Letters from America Edinburgh, 1822.

The Scotsman Oct. 12, 1822 - review of the above.

21. John M. Duncan Travels through part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819 2 vols. Glasgow, 1823, Vol. II p. 341, 338-39, 383.

The Scotsman Nov. 15, 1823 - large and favourable review of Duncan's book.

22. John M. Duncan, op cit, Vol II p. III.

In referring to the burning of York during the War of 1812-14 by the Americans, Duncan stated sarcastically that

"it certainly sounds like a matter of importance when we hear of the CAPITAL OF UPPER CANADA being destroyed ---- but when the Capital is found to contain little more than a single small street, and the Parliament house is discovered to have been only a wooden one, the transition is something like that from the sublime to the ridiculous."

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Neil G. Smith "Journal of William Bell" The Bulletin (United Church Publishing House, Toronto) No. 15 (1962) p. 22.

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25. ibid, 236

26. Hugh Murray Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in North America, with Observations on Emigration. Edinburgh and London, 1829, Vol. II pp 531-32.

27. ibid,II 491, 539, 532-35.

28. ibid, II, p. 538

29. Hugh Murray An Historical and Descriptive Account of British America 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1839 (Edinburgh Cabinet Library series).

Hugh Murray The United States of America Edinburgh, 1844, 3 vols.

30. Captain Basil Hall R. N. Travels in North America in the years 1827 and 1828. 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1829 I, 301.

31. Quarterly Review Vol. 41 (1829) pp 417-447.

The Scotsman June 27, and July 18, 1829.

32. Martin Doyle Hints on Emigration to Upper Canada, London and Edinburgh, 1831, p. 10.

33. ibid, p. 90.

33a. Thomas Fowler The Journal of a Tour through British America to the Falls of Niagara Aberdeen, 1832, p. 3, 250-3.

34. ibid, p. 279

35. John McGregor British America Edinburgh, 1832, Vol. I, p. 454-5, 450-51, 439.

36. ibid, Vol. I, 445-447.

37. Glasgow Herald, April 9, 1832.

Quarterly Journal of Agriculture Vol. 3 (1831-32) pp. 880-924.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine Vol. 31 *1832) pp. 907-927.

Quebec Mercury July 12, 1832.
"This is a valuable work. It is the production of a gentleman of practical knowledge and observation, who lived long in the land of which he writes."

38. Adam Fergusson Practical Notes made during a Tour in Canada, and a portion of the United States in 1831. Edinburgh, 1835, VII, 308-09.

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40. ibid, pp. 350-59; 363-370.

41. Quarterly Journal of Agriculture Vol. 3 (1831-32) pp. 571-620; 800-850; 939-976.

ibid, Vol. 5 (1834-35) pp. 529-31.

42. Chambers' Edinburgh Journal Vol. I (1834) p. 3, 29, 46, 55, 72, 86.

See also favourable reference in Chambers Information for the People No. 1 1835, London.

43/ Glasgow Herald, Nov. 21. 1831.

The Scotsman, March 13, 1833.

44. Edinburgh Review Vol. 56 (Jan. 1833) pp. 460-81.

The Scotsman Jan. 12, Jan. 16, Oct. 16, 1833.

45. Captain Thomas Hamilton Men and Manners in America Edinburgh and London, 1833. Vol. II, p. 359.

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49/ ibid, 378, 375-380

50. Chamber's Edinburgh Journal Vol. 4 (1836) pp 60-61.

Quarterly Journal of Agriculture Vol. 6 (1835-36) p. 128.

51. David S. Macmillan Scotland and Australia 1788-1850 Oxford, 1967 p. 269, 314-15 from CO 384/39 f236.

52. Counsel for Emigrants and Interesting Information from numerous Sources with Original Letters from Canada and the United States. John Mathison: Aberdeen, 1834, V.

53. Sequel to the Counsel for Emigrants John Mathison: Aberdeen, 1834, introduction.

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58. ibid, 104-05

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60. James Inches - Letters on Emigration to Canada, Addresses to Friend in Scotland. Perth, 1836, (second edition) p. 3, 15.

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63. Robert McDougall Ceann-Iuil an Fhir - inrich do DhL'America mu - thuath or The Emigrant's Guide to North America Glasgow, 1841, pp 8 - 17.

64. William Thomson A Tradesman's Travels in the United States and Canada, in the Years 1840, 41 and 42. Edinburgh, 1842, p. 95-99, 103-06.

65. ibid, 91

Thomson mentioned the following anecdote (likely a 'tall tale') to illustrate the lack of education, information, and religion often shown by settlers in the backwoods of Canada.

"In a conversation between two Canadian pioneers, one of them chanced to say something about the death of our Lord Jesus Christ, when the other exclaimed, 'Is he dead?' apologizing for his ignorance by saying that he had not seen a newspaper for a dozen of years." ibid, p. 102.

66. Captain Barclay of Ury Agricultural Tour in the United States and Upper Canada, with miscellaneous Notes. Edinburgh, 1842 p. 62.

Thomas Rolph The Comparative Advantages between the United States and Canada for British Settlers considered in a letter to Captain Allardyce Barclay of Ury London, 1842, p. 5.

"I offer no apology for directing the attention of the public to the many deficiencies and errors in your recent hastily-compiled publication".

67. ibid, XIII, 62. 72

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M'Phuns Australian News see Glasgow Herald June 2, 1854.

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72. Journal of Agriculture NS 1843-45 pp. 295-301.

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Views of Canada and the Colonists Edinburgh, 1844, pp. 246-49.

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76. Rev. William Haw Fifteen Years in Canada Edinburgh 1850 64-65.

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79. William Chambers Things as They Are in America London and Edinburgh, 1854, p. 344.

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CHAPTER 6

THE CHURCHES

Introduction

This chapter will examine the role played by the various Scottish churches in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855. This role has two important aspects, which will be emphasised in the following discussion. First is the efforts made by the churches in Scotland to provide religious instruction (ministers) to the emigrants in their new country. This provision was of considerable importance to many of the emigrants as it made emigration less of a dislocation by making their new life more like their old. The second is the various attitudes and actions on thepart of the churches and individual ministers in Scotland either in favour of, or against emigration. These aspects will be examined both under the heading of the various church organizations as well as individual ministers.

It is impossible to determine the specific religious denomination of the Scottish emigrants to Upper Canada during this

period, and it can be assumed, generally speaking, that they were a representative cross-section of the religious diversity in Scotland at the time. In 1851[1] the main denominations in Scotland were of the following size.

Church of Scotland	998 churches
Free Church	746 churches
United Presbyterian	443 churches
Episcopal Church .	131 congregations
Congregational (Independents)	100 churches
Roman Catholic	100 churches
Other Presbyterian	75 congregations

In 1851 the religious situation in Upper Canada was as follows[2] - (total population 952,004)

			Ministers
Church of England		223,190	140
Methodists		213,365	333
Presbyterians			
Church of Scotland	59,102		52
Free Church	69,738		59
United Presbyterian	*		40
Other Presbyterians	97,957		*
		204,148	151
Roman Catholics		167,695	79
Baptists		45,353	109
Congregational		*	35
		853,751	

(* numbers unknown)

Thus in 1851 in Upper Canda,Presbyterians made up twenty-one per cent of the total population, with twenty-nine per cent of these Presbyterians being members of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland.

The shifting organization and allegiances of Presbyterianism in Upper Canada were largely determined by influences originating in Scotland. The several Presbyterian sects in Upper Canada generally kept aloof from each other and made few efforts at cooperation. Indeed they often made competing claims regarding authority and number of adherents.[3] Although no detailed attempt will be made in the present study to describe or explain these various shifts, Table 6.1 will help to make a complication situation somewhat clearer.[4] Table 6.2 is also presented here to show the changes in the size of the ministry (based largely on the number of active ministers) carried on by the different Presbyterian denominations in Upper Canada, and will be referred to again later in the present chapter.[5] Fig. 6.1 shows the location of Presbyterian congregations in Upper Canada in about the year 1840.[6] The resulting pattern is partially indicative of both the generally better populated areas of the colony at this period (see Figure 3.1) and those areas with some concentration of Scottish settlers (see Appendix 3 maps II and III). The role played by the various individual Scottish churches in providing ministers and assisting emigrants will be discussed in more detail in the following sections of this chapter. However the large number of congregations without a minister shown on this map does indicate some of the problems which had to be overcome.

As mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, the role of the churches and their ministers was important for two main reasons. The provision of religious facilities in Upper Canada helped to attract emigrants from Scotland, who might view their absence

Table-6.1 MAIN PRESBYTERIAN DENOMINATIONS IN SCOTLAND AND UPPER CANADA (mid-nineteenth century)

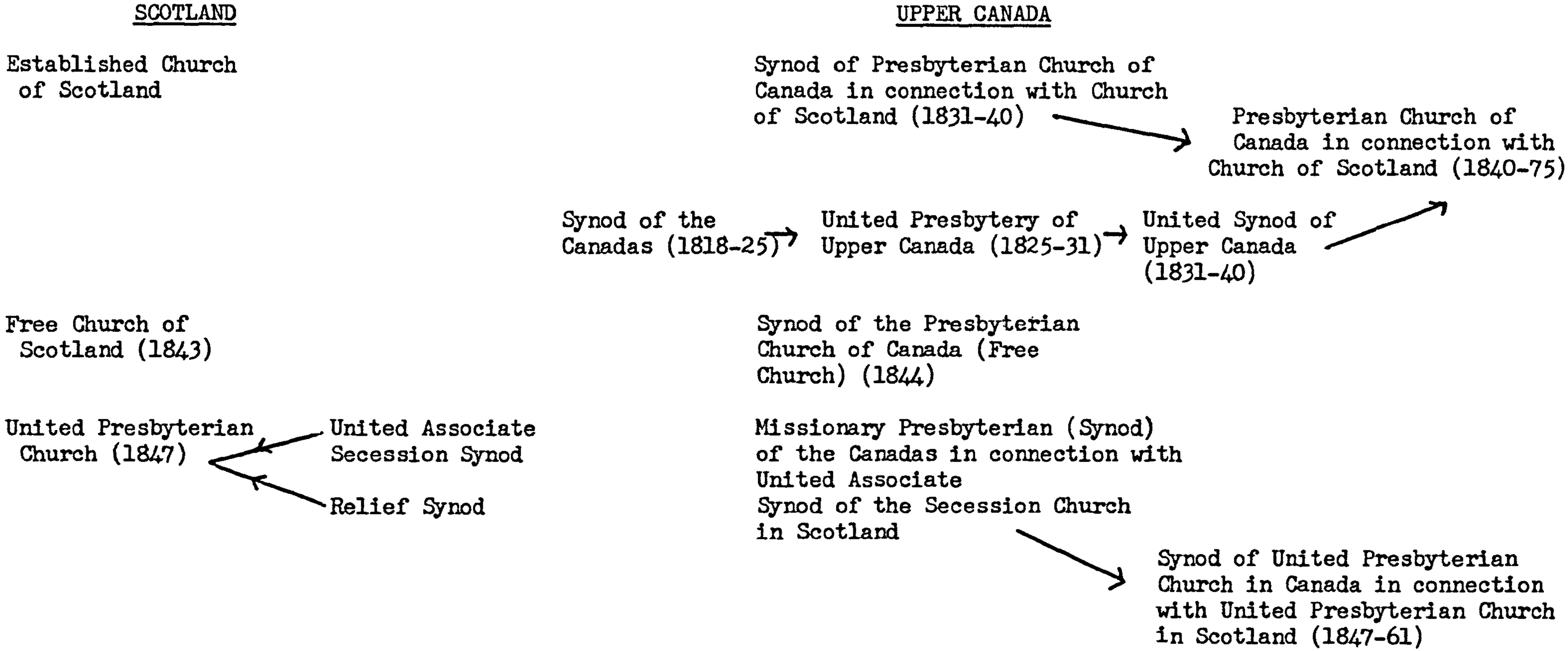
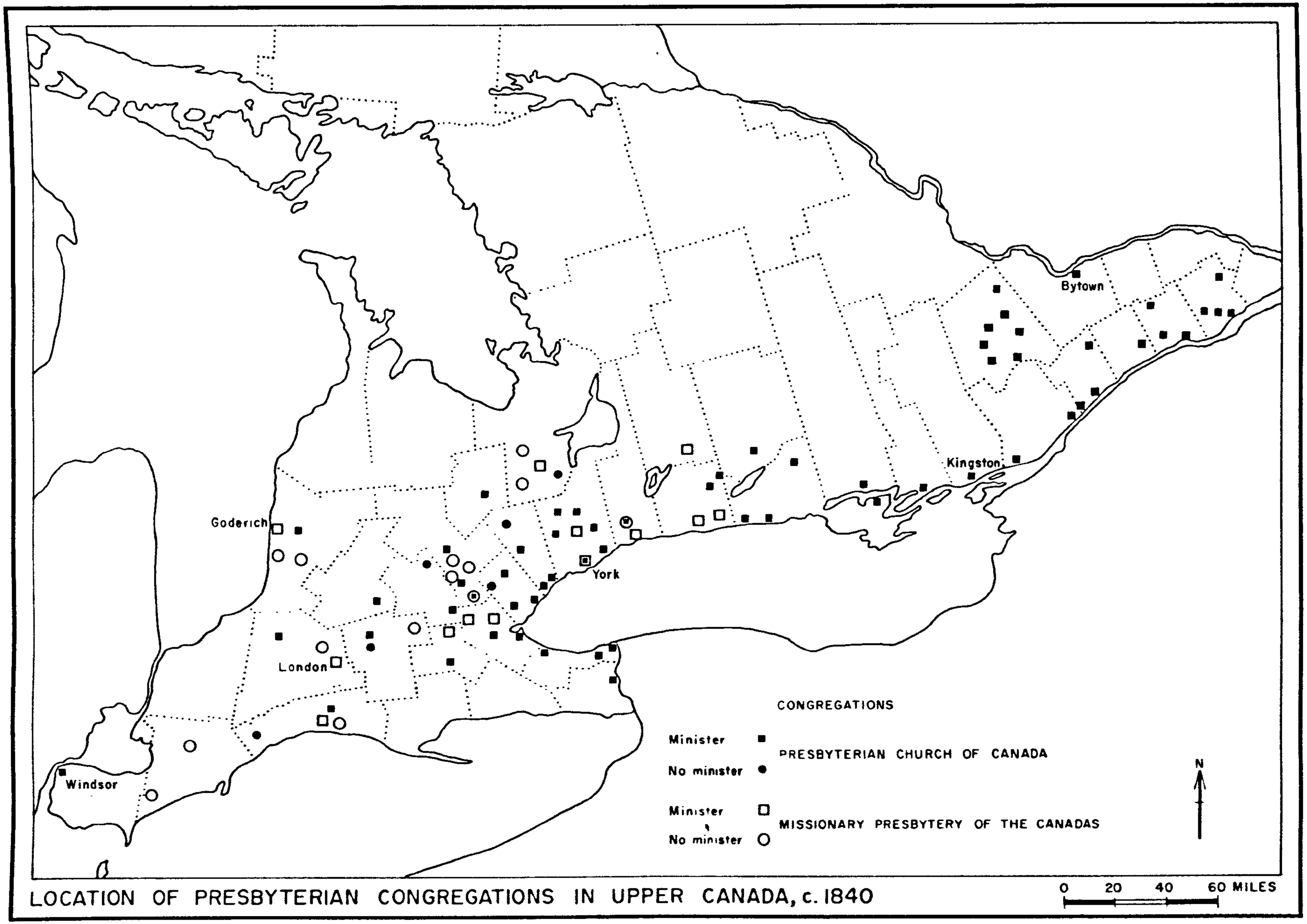


Table 6.2 MINISTERS OF PRESBYTERIAN (SCOTTISH) CHURCHES IN THE CANADAS (1817 - 1850)

	1817	1825	1834	1840	1841	1844	1850
Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with Church of Scotland	U.C. 0	U.C. 5 ord.	U.C. 25 ord. 7 miss. L.C. 12 ord.	U.C. 60 ord.	U.C. 64 ord. L.C. 18 ord.	Canadas 68 ord.	L.C. 16 ord. 1 miss. 5 vac. U.C. 46 ord. 4 miss. 35 vac.
United Presbytery (Synod) of Upper Canada	U.C. 2 ord.		13 ord.	16 ord.			
Synod of Presbyterian Church of Canada (Free Church)						Canadas 23 ord.	L.C. 6 ord. 11 vac. U.C. 59 ord. 44 vac.
Missionary Presbytery (Synod)		U.C. 2 ord.	Canadas 7 ord.	Canadas 11 ord.			L.C. 5 ord. U.C. 34 ord. 12 vac.

U.C. = Upper Canada
L.C. = Lower Canada
ord. = ordained
miss.= missionaries
vac. = vacancies

Figure 6.1



LOCATION OF PRESBYTERIAN CONGREGATIONS IN UPPER CANADA, c. 1840

with alarm. This point is clearly brought out in the following extract of a report sent to the Canada Company in 1831 from one of their agents in England. He referred to the Rev. Donald Fraser, a Methodist preacher who was planning on settling on the Company's land near Guelph, Upper Canada and suggested that the Company give Rev. Fraser a free lot of land and help him get settled as "it will give me (the agent) a strong argument with the simple many, who enquire is there any Gospel to be found in the back woods of America." and that when the Rev. returns in two years to Britain with favourable comments that "he could do for the cause (the Company) more (good) than 50 common agents."[7]

The second significance of the churches and their ministers was in their attitude toward emigration either favourable or unfavourable. As the minister was a very important figure in the community his opinion carried considerable weight, which is shown as well by the preceeding quotation. Another reference to this fact appears in correspondence in February 1848 between Charles Trevelyan of the Treasury Department and Miss Macleod of Macleod when he suggested that" it would be a great thing if some clergyman or other person in whom the people have confidence would set the example and head out the first emigration from that part (around Dunvegan) of Scotland."[8]

The problem of "Craobh-Sgaoileadh An T'Soisgeil Anns An Tir So"[9] or the spreading abroad of the gospel in this country (British North America) was an important one, and was keenly felt

by many of the early emigrants from Scotland to Upper Canada. These early settlers usually had little, if any, opportunity to hear the gospel, primarily because of the lack of ministers to preach it.[10] One of the first concerns in Scottish settlements in Upper Canada, usually after obtaining the services of a school master was to try and get a minister. Frequently this was done by contacting connections in Scotland who could recommend a suitable person or by writing a church body in Scotland who would then attempt to find a suitable and willing minister.[11] Many and varied appeals reached Scotland asking for assistance both in obtaining ministers and finances to support a church in Upper Canada. More details of the reactions of the various church groups in Scotland will be provided in the following sections of this chapter.[12]

Before beginning an examination of the part played by the various church denominations in Scotland, it is of interest to quote two extracts from a letter written in June 1820 by the Rev. William Bell to an associate in Scotland concerning the need for a Gaelic preacher to minister to the Scottish settlers in Beckwith Township, Upper Canada. "A plain, pious and diligent minister, is the one they want. Every minister coming to this country must have a missionary spirit or he will feel disappointed." The Rev. Mr. Bell then proceeded to warn of the many problems facing a minister coming to the colony and that the settlers, even if the government provided financial help, had to contribute to keeping the prospective minister. "To this they readily agreed, and a bond I sent to them has been returned with fifty-four names

subscribed to it, each for two bushels of wheat yearly."[13] No wonder indeed, that for many years there was great difficulty in recruiting enough suitable ministers to serve in the backwoods of Upper Canada.

The Glasgow Colonial Society (1825-1840)

Although the Glasgow Colonial Society (hereafter referred to as the Society) was not a separate religious denomination (it was associated with the Church of Scotland) it was a separate organization which played an early and important role in providing religious facilities to settlers in Upper Canada. Its full title was "The Society (in connection with the Established Church of Scotland) for promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America."

In April 1824, a number of ministers belonging to the Church of Scotland's Synod of Glasgow and Ayr met together to discuss how very little had been done "for the spiritual benefit of our brethern in these distant colonies (in North America)." They concluded that something positive must be done in this regard and appointed a committee of correspondence with the colonies, who published in the winter of 1824-5 extracts of letters from Scottish settlers in British North America that pointed out the great lack of religious facilities in those colonies. The Society was officially inaugurated at a meeting in Glasgow on April 15, 1825 with the Earl of Dalhousie, the Governor General of British North America as its Patron, and Kirkman Finlay, one time member of

Parliament and a prominent Glasgow businessman as its first president.[14]

The first annual report of the Society was published in Glasgow in 1826 and several of the Society's laws and regulations are of interest here.

> "Its object shall be to promote the moral and religious interests of the Scottish Colonies in North America, by sending or assisting to send out Ministers, Catechists, and Schoolmasters; by donations of Bibles; and by such other means as to the Directors shall seem most expedient."

Other regulations stated that only ministers who had been licensed or ordained by a presbytery of the established Church of Scotland would be sent out by the Society and that the Society would only act in response to an application for help from British North America, after satisfying itself that the settlers were prepared to help sustain a minister from Scotland.[15] The establishment of the Society quickly led to a large number of applications (fourteen) for assistance in obtaining a regular minister, including several in Upper Canada from the Town of Niagara, Toronto Township and Dalhousie Township. Up to April, 1826 the Society had collected £ 457 to be used in furthering its aims.[16]

Perhaps the person who more than anyone else was instrumental in organizing and sustaining the Colonial Society was the Rev. Dr. Robert Burns of Paisley and later Toronto. He acted as the Society's Secretary for its entire life, and, as a leading member of the evangelical party of the Kirk, helped obtain financial and moral support for the Society's work. One of the early stimulus' to Dr.

Burns' efforts to establish the Society were appeals for religious facilities made to him by numbers of his former parishioners from Paisley who had emigrated to Upper Canada in the period 1815 - 1825. Although for a time the Society received little attention from the Kirk and little support beyond the western lowlands of Scotland, Dr. Burns continued his efforts, which in the end were to be more than justified. Dr. Burns himself emigrated permanently to Upper Canada in May 1845,where he took up a prominent role in the Free Church in the colony.[17]

The reasons behind the activities of the Society are well presented by several quotations from its reports over the years.

> "Hundreds and thousands of inhabitants may soon be dwelling where there is now little else than an unbroken wilderness. Oh! how important is it then to have the gospel firmly established amongst them at the outset. If the opportunity of laying a good foundation for religion in this Province (Upper Canada) which now presents itself, be neglected, in all likelihood it will be lost forever. Worldly-mindedness and practical infidelity, or practical heathenism, will soon gather such strength, that it will be tenfold more difficult to gain a footing for the gospel than it is now."[18]

> "British North America is already a most valuable appendage of the British Crown; and it may one day, become a great and influential empire. Shall it be to the credit of Scotland as a nation or as a church, that she has put forth no vigorous, no extended effort, to stamp upon this rising empire the seal of Christianity."[19]

Although the initial name (title) of the Society did not make use of the word Glasgow, it soon became known as the Glasgow Colonial Society or the Glasgow North American Colonial Society, in that, its headquarters and most of its early support came from Glasgow and the south west of Scotland. However a number of auxillaries to the Society were organized in other areas in Scotland, including

Edinburgh (at least by 1833), Dundee (at least by 1834), Paisley, Aberdeen and Greenock. Their main object was to stimulate a local awareness of the spiritual needs ofScottish settlersin British North America and to obtain contributions for the Society's work. In this way the financial situation of the Society rapidly improved and by March 1835 they had nearly £2300 on account.[20] The activities of the Society also received favourable mention in various Scottish newspapers of the period.[21] It is interesting to note that the Society's auxilliary in Greenock and Port Glasgow decided to continue on its own when the main society terminated in the early 1840's. Under the name of the Greenock and Port Glasgow Colonial Society it continued to collect funds, send out ministers and visit emigrant ships (to distribute Bibles and address the emigrants).[22]

Perhaps the greatest problem faced by the Society was in finding the quality and quantity of ministers to send to British North America. This fact was faced in its first report which stated that "the grand difficulty we anticipate will be the want of labourers suitable for such a vast field," particularly those speaking Gaelic.[23] The need of Gaelic preachers was mentioned frequently by the various Scottish denominations, who were greatly pressed to meet this demand, particularly as this shortage existed in Scotland as well.[24] An excellent quotation in this regard is by the Rev. William Proudfoot, formerly the minister at Carse of Gowrie, Perthshire, who was sent out in 1832 by the Secession Church in Scotland. He settled in London, Upper Canada, but served the surrounding district as well.

> "These Highlanders are a stiff-necked race. They will not understand anything that is not spoken in the Gaelic and they will not understand anything that requires thought. I felt very little interest in them today, chiefly because of their obstinate refusal to hear the Gospel because it is not in Gaelic....."[25]

Although the Society was organized in 1825, it did not send out its first minister until 1829 when the Rev. Alexander Ross, who spoke both English and Gaelic,was sent to Aldborough Township, Upper Canada. However, after this date the activities of the Society were greatly increased and by 1834, upwards of forty ministers of the Church of Scotland were sent to British North America, with Upper Canada receiving the majority. Generally speaking,the Society provided funds to pay for the travelling expenses to their destinations and remuneration at the rate of £50 annually for three years. The remainder of the ministers' salary was met by the local congregation or Presbytery in the colony, usually £100 per year. The Society also attempted to fill requests for religious tracts and Bibles.[26]

Besides the important work done by the Glasgow Colonial Society in sending ministers and missionaries to British North America from Scotland, its real significance lay in the fact that its organizers and supporters were among the first people to realize the important religious work to be done in the British colonies and the responsibility of those remaining at home in this regard.[27] The Society was supported by members of the established Church of Scotland long before the Kirk began active steps on its own toward the churches in British North America as a whole. The last major report of the Society appeared in May,1837,after which time its work was largely incorporated in the

Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Presbyterian in the British Colonies, whose first report was made in May 1839.[28] The following section of this chapter will examine the changing attitude and growing activities of the Church of Scotland in Upper Canada.

Church of Scotland

The changing attitude of the Scottish churches towards the spreading of the gospel overseas was very well described by John Cunningham in his book, The Church History of Scotland.

> "At the beginning of the century (the nineteenth), almost every Church in Scotland regarded foreign missions as utopian and absurd. Before the first quarter of the century had run its course, almost every Church had made up its mind that foreign missions were obligatory and right."[29]

Generally speaking this change applied both to the churches activities toward the heathen as well as toward Scottish emigrants in British colonies overseas.

The introduction to this chapter described the destitute state of religious instruction in Upper Canada during the early years of the nineteenth century. Several other instances will be mentioned here relating specifically to the Church of Scotland. Dr. John Strachan, the prominent colonial Church of England clergyman, although not an unbiased observer, did state in 1829 with some justification "that while the Province was poor and almost a dreary winderness, no inquiry was made by the Kirk of Scotland respecting the spiritual wants of her people in Upper Canada, now said to be so many."[30]

In the early years, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, although showing a growing awareness of the situation did little toward providing ministers. This task was left to the activities of the Glasgow Colonial Society or to those Presbyterians of the Kirk who were prepared to help in this way.[31]

The policy of the Church of Scotland toward Presbyterian churches in the colonies can perhaps be best seen by examining the proceedings of the General Assembly which was held annually in Edinburgh. In 1818, the Assembly, "considering how very desirable it is that a close connection should be kept with the ministers of this Church" in the British Colonies and other areas, appointed a committee of correspondence to keep in communication and contact with these ministers and their congregations. By 1826-27, this earlier committee was dealing mainly in correspondence with Scottish churches in British North America. In June 1830, this committee made a full report of its activities to the General Assembly, who in turn sent three main recommendations to the committee, being; that they should continue their efforts to get the British government to provide more assistance for their churches; to continue correspondence with the congregations in the colonies and to enquire from the various Scottish Presbyteries how many ministers they had sent overseas. This committee of correspondence continued in existence until 1836 when a standing committee was appointed, entitled "The General Assembly's Committee for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Presbyterians in the British Colonies." (hereafter referred to as the Colonial Committee). The Assembly of 1836 also recommended that parochial collections be

taken for this colonial work, and that the Colonial Mission be adopted as one of the schemes of the church. Finally in 1837, the Assembly instructed the Colonial Committee,

> "to pay special attention to the emigration at present taking place from this country, with the view of providing the emigrants in their new country with the ministrations of the gospel, and proper teachers, as speedily and extensively as possible."[32]

It was at this time, during 1836 and 1837, that discussions were taking place between theGlasgow Colonial Society and the Colonial Committee with a view to obtaining increased public support for the colonial churches as well as placing the relations between the Presbyterian churches overseas and Scotland more under the supervision of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. During the year 1837,the Colonial Committee had provided £650 (about 25% of its total expenditure for the year) towards the work of the Glasgow Colonial Society. Although the last major report of the Society appeared in May 1837, reference to its continued existence appeared in the deliverances of the General Assembly in May 1839 and its final (12th) report was made in March 1841, after which time it was entirely superceded by the Colonial Committee.[33]

The growth and activities of the Colonial Committee was very rapid from 1833 when a regular committee was appointed to take charge of selecting and sending out ministers to the various colonies. By 1840 there were ten sub committees (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Perth, Dundee, Inverness, Dumfries, Dunse and Kelso, Stirling, Ayr), whose purpose was to raise funds, to collect and disseminate information

and to select and recommend candidates for the colonial churches.[34] The annual income received by the Colonial Committee, largely from church collections and subscriptions generally, increased over the years from £1350 in 1837, to £2905 in 1840, to £3388 in April 1847 and £2856 in June 1850. It is of interest to examine the Committees' financial situation for a typical year, ending April 1847. Income for this year was £3388, the total money available amounted to £8006,and,after £2142 was expended,the balance stood at £5864. Forty per cent of the above expenditure was directed to Upper and Lower Canada.[35]

The Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland had three main aims for its activities - first, to provide ministers to meet the growing demands from the colonial churches; second, to provide religious advice to emigrants prior to leaving Scotland and third, to petition and encourage the British government to ensure that the Church of Scotland received equal benefit and treatment as the Church of England received in the colonies.[36] Each of these aims and how they were met will be briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

As described previously, in the years before 1833 Church of Scotland ministers going to Upper Canada were usually examined and recommended by individual Presbyteries. After 1833 a committee, which eventually became a sub committee of the Colonial Committee of the Kirk, met to consider the suitability of individuals for work in the colonies. By 1840,a prospective candidate, in addition to providing references to his character and qualifications, had to appear before this sub committee and preach a sermon as well as undergo a

questioning. This resulted in a higher standard of person being sent overseas, although it tended to decrease the number of successful applicants.[37]

The money spent by the Colonial Committee in Upper Canada was for two main purposes, first to provide part of the salaries of ministers or missionaries who could not be supppрted fully by their church in the colony and second, to provide grants to assist in the construction of church buildings where such help was necessary. The Committee decided early in its operations to try and obtain only the most suitable and qualified persons to send to the colonies as "it is better that no minister be sent out at all, than that there should be men of inferior qualifications" and realized that they had to be adequately financed.[38]

The salaries paid by the Colonial Committee varied from person to person depending on the circumstances but attempts were made to be as liberal as possible. Allowances were made for the cost of the voyage and outfit, provision of a supply of Bibles and tracts and frequent small sums to allow the minister to add to his personal library of necessary books. The following are a number of typical examples of grants made in Upper Canada - in 1840,a Mr. Mainn, to be a missionary receiving £70 per annum for two years with an equal amount to be provided by the colonial Presbytery; in 1846,a Rev. Colquhoun received a grant of £100 while a Mr. Penney, a Catechist received an allowance of £80; a Rev. Munro,appointed in 1849 a missionary in the Presbytery of Glengarry, a grant of £50 for one year but in 1850 this was continued with an increase to £70 ,

> "to enable him to keep a horse, which is indispensably necessary for enabling him to officiate in the various places under his charge, some of which are from twenty to thirty miles distant from each other.[39]

In the Colonial Committee's Report of May 1846 (page 6), they stated that they required at least fifty ministers for various vacant congregations in the colonies which were in connection with the Church of Scotland. They therefore decided to offer £100 a year for five years to at least five missionaries who were willing to serve in the colonies, and they further agreed to pay the passage back to Scotland at the end of five years if these ministers did not want to remain abroad.

Grants were made as well to assist in building and repairing churches in Upper Canada - for example, in 1849, four grants totalling £225 were made, while the amount in 1850 was four grants totalling £230. As well as assisting to supply ministers, occasionally funds were provided to send out a schoolmaster as in 1849 when a Mr. J. G. Maclaren received £40 towards the cost of his and his family's journey to Toronto. Reference is also made in the Committee's reports in 1848 and 1849 of grants of £30 each per year for two Canadian students studying for the ministry at the University of Aberdeen.[40]

In order to obtain first hand information about the conditions in British North America and the needs of the churches there and to show that the Kirk was interested and concerned about the colonial churches, two delegations appointed by the Colonial Committee were sent to British North America. This idea was first mentioned in 1840 and again in 1841 but the first group did not depart until 1845. The

delegation travelled widely throughout British North America and reported to the General Assembly in 1846. They were very well received in the colonies, but concluded that "the religious aspect of the country presents one continuous scene of destitution, varying only in degrees of intensity: and commented in particular on the spread of Popery which must be combated by

> "the zeal of our Church to supply the means of teaching there the truth in its purity and simplicity, ---many ---are in imminent danger of being seduced into the paths of error and delusion."

No sooner had this deputation returned to Scotland, when requests arrived from the colonies for another such visitation, which took place in 1847.[41]

Before concluding this section dealing with the provision of ministers by the Church of Scotland for Upper Canada, there should be noted the establishment in 1840 of Queens College, Kingston, Upper Canada. The Colonial Committee stated in their report of 1839 that,

> "It is beyond controversy, that these provinces (The Canadas) cannot continue to derive an adequate supply of ministers from this country, and that they must, ere long, depend on their own resources for the means of religious instruction. It is therefore necessary that means be employed, without delay, for providing them with well informed instructors from among themselves, and furnishing those institutions by which they may command a high and sound education at home."[42]

With the establishment of Queens College as a theological school, based on the principles of theChurch ofScotland, the Colonial Committee guaranteed to provide a sum of £300 per year for the theology professorship, an amount which was continued for a number of years. In

the school year 1848-49 there were fifty-two students enrolled in the preparatory school, while the college proper consisted of fifteen divinity students and thirteen training as high school teachers. The Colonial Committee's Report in 1850 continued to stress that,

> "till a native ministry is reared up in Canada, it will be impossible to meet the wants of the Presbyterians of that country",

and decided to renew their grant of £300 to Queen's College.[43]

In concluding this section on the activities of the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland in sending ministers to Upper Canada some comment should be made as to the difficulties it encountered in this task. The minutes and correspondence of the Committee on Colonial Churches and a church publication entitled The Home andForeign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland contained frequent references to the need for both ministers and financial assistance for the Presbyterian churches in Upper Canada.[44] The Committee and the Church of Scotland as a whole were continually reminded of the importance of their work, for example the Rev. Principal MacFarlane,convener of the Committee, said in 1840,

> "I have to remind you, that but little has yet been done in comparison with what remains to be accomplished in proportion to what is required, greater exertions and larger means will be necessary. Our own countrymen have a greater claim on us than any other inhabitants of the globe. They are our brethren, our countrymen, our kindred, our children, and we cannot look to them with indifference, wandering in solitude, deprived of the means of religious instruction and consolation. Surely they are entitled to our best efforts to save them from sinking into ignorance, barbarism, and vice."[45]

Yet, despite considerable effort the Committee was unable to provide enough ministers to supply the growing demand from the

colonies. Its report in May 1849, provided the following very pessimistic description of the situation at the time.

> "They (Committee) have frequently made urgent appeals on this subject through the Missionary Record, and otherwise; but hitherto, they are sorry to say, with little effect. Former applications are urged with increasing anxiety, and new ones made from time to time; but the Committee have been unable to find Ministers or Missionaries to answer them."[46]

While in the early years the lack of funds was often given as a reason why more ministers could not be sent to the Canadas, it was soon recognized that the real basis of the problem was insufficient ministers who were qualified and willing to undertake a mission 'in the wilderness'. The Committee's Report in May 1848 stated this very clearly when it said, "a mission to Canada seems to be viewed very much in the light of a sentence of banishment from one's native land."[46A] No attempt has been made to count the exact number of ministers supported or assisted by the Colonial Committee but the growth of those Presbyterian churches in Upper Canada shown in Table 6.2 gives an indication of the importance of theCommittee's work in this regard.

The second main aim of the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland was to provide religious advice and help to emigrants both prior to their leaving Scotland and during their voyage to the colonies. The report of the Colonial Committee in May 1839 and its appendix are very useful in explaining the steps taken by the Kirk in this matter. A sub committee on Emigration was convened and it in turn reported to the Colonial Committee. The sub committee made a number of suggestions. First, that efforts should be made to provide

chaplains for emigrant ships. The average length of the voyage to Quebec was about six weeks and to Australia much longer. The General Assembly had proposed to the British government that the government finance the cost of chaplains on emigrant ships, particularly those to Australia, but this idea was unacceptable to the government as no funds were available for this purpose.[47] The sub committee suggested that perhaps the church should finance a small number of chaplains but again the main problem was one of finance. However eventually the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners did make financial provisions for religious instructors on their emigrant ships to Australia.[48]

The second suggestion of the sub committee was that a pastoral letter or address in English and Gaelic should be printed for circulation to emigrant ships

> "warning the emigrants of the dangers to which they are subjected during the voyage; and giving them hints respecting their duties, both during their voyage and after arriving at their destination."

Such an address was prepared and warned the emigrants against the vices of "drunkenness, licentiousness, quarrelling" and advised them to read the scriptures and pray daily. Their third suggestion was that Bibles and "small libraries of well selected books" should be provided for the voyage. Finally the sub committee stated the Church of Scotland should appoint an agent to visit the sea-port towns during the emigration season and that a correspondence should be established with Presbyteries where emigration was likely to be active.[49]

A circular letter was prepared and sent to a number of Presbyteries and, by 1840, Emigration Committees had been formed in

the Presbyteries of Glasgow and Aberdeen and the various sub committees of the Colonial Committee were in operation, being mainly located in sea - port towns from which emigration was taking place. The Presbyteries were asked to see "that an address should always be delivered to the emigrants on shipboard, immediately before the vessel sails" and that Bibles and testaments were available at a reduced price or free of charge.[50] As mentioned previously the Greenock and Port Glasgow Colonial Society was active in this regard. Mr. Thomas Hart who was involved both with this Society and the Greenock United Bible Society and Association, was in communication in the period 1841 to 1843 with the convener of the Colonial Committee concerning emigration from the Clyde. During 1842 Mr. Hart visited twenty emigrant ships (thirteen to the Canadas) and distributed 781 Bibles and 480 Testaments, which were "received with much gratitude." He also stated that with one or two exceptions, he was accompanied on board by a clergyman who preached a sermon to the passengers.[51]

The third main aim of the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland was to petition and encourage the British government to ensure that the Church of Scotland received equal benefit and treatment as the Church of England received in the colonies. The one important area where the Church of Scotland felt that it was being unfairly dealt with concerned the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada.

The Clergy Reserves were established by the Constitution Act of 1791 which stated that one seventh of all the surveyed lands in the colony were to be set aside to support "a Protestant Clergy".

The whole story of the Clergy Reserve question is a long and complicated one and only the main points will be presented here.[52] The main problem lay in the fact that the Church of England in Upper Canada claimed that the Reserves were solely for its use and benefit, while the Church of Scotland claimed that as they were one of the two established churches in Great Britain that the Kirk was due its share of the Reserves as well. The Church of England was in a commanding position particularly as the establishment and colonial administration in Upper Canada forwarded and defended its claims against both the Kirk and other denominations.

As Table 6.1 at the beginning of this chapter shows the Church of England was in a definite minority position in the colony, based on the number of its numbers. However, the financial benefits received over the years were definitely in its favour. Church of Scotland ministers in Canada received from the colonial government as salaries a total of £750 in 1827, increasing to £1350 in 1839, as well as some grants to aid in the building of new churches. In Upper Canada in the period 1833-35 the Church of England received £27,705 while all the other denominations received only £17,414. This situation was slightly improved by the Canada Clergy Act of 1840, but still weighted very much in favour of the Church of England which during the period 1840 - 1852 received £140,252, while the Church of Scotland received £63,451 and all other denominations £48,645.[53] The matter was finally settled in 1854 with all future revenue from the sale of the Clergy Reserves going not to the churches but for the use of country and city municipalities in Upper and Lower Canada.

From the beginning, the Kirk in Scotland strongly defended the claims of its brethern in Upper Canada for a share in the revenue from these Reserves. The General Assembly commented on these claims in 1823, 1824, 1827 and 1828 after which time their Colonial Committee carried on an active correspondence with the British government, as well as sending delegations to London to advance their claims.[54] As we have seen, the situation generally improved over time in favour of the Church of Scotland in Upper Canada, which can be attributed in large part to the efforts made by the Kirk in Scotland on its behalf.

In concluding this section on the role played by the Church of Scotland in dealing with emigration from Scotland and the religious situation in Upper Canada, it can be said that the Church of Scotland as a whole in the early period (pre 1830) was slow in recognizing its responsibilities to these emigrants and the colonial church in Upper Canada. The Kirk left much of this early work to the Glasgow Colonial Society, which it eventually absorbed. However, as time passed, the Kirk increased its efforts to fulfil its three main aims with, on the whole, beneficial results, although as pointed out previously in this section, the needs and demands of the colonial churches were never fully satisfied during this period. It should be remembered however, that emigration and colonial churches were but a small part of the Kirk's many concerns, which were primarily focussed at home in Scotland.

Free Church of Scotland

The previous section of this chapter dealt with the established Church of Scotland and no particular mention was made of the year 1843.

This was the year of the Disruption in which 450 of the Kirk's 1200 ministers left the Kirk in disagreement with the State's role in the affairs of the Church. This event had a profound influence in all the colonies where the Church of Scotland had connections with the colonial churches and in each of these the local ministers and congregations had to decide which body they would now support.

At the Disruption,the Free Church in Scotland sent an address to all the colonial Synods asking for their support. The Synod of Canada, covering the two colonies, did not commit itself immediately as there was doubt as to what affect a change of denomination would have on the continuance of government allowances. It was finally decided that if the vote in favour of the Free Church was unanimous, the grants would be continued to the new body, but if the Synod was divided all the grants would to to those in connection with the Church of Scotland. On July 3, 1844, the vote of the ministers was thirty-nine for the Kirk and twenty-one for the Free Church. The minority group withdrew and established themselves as the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Free Church of Scotland. The new church had twenty-three ordained ministers in the two colonies while the Kirk had sixty-eight.[55]

In many ways the Free Church of Scotland was more active than the Church of Scotland in meeting the demands and needs of the colonial churches. It is difficult to say whether those people who formed the Free Church in 1843 had been among the most active while they were members of the Kirk. However one example does stand out in this respect. The Rev. Dr. Robert Burns of Paisley,who had been the chief organizer of the Glasgow Colonial Society, joined the Free

Church in Edinburgh in 1843 and in 1845 settled in Toronto as minister and teacher in the theological college there.[56] The first General Assembly of the Free Church in Edinburgh in 1843 set up a Committee on Colonial Churches (referred to throughout this section as the Colonial Committee) which stated in their first report that

> "Your Committee are most desirous that this Scheme should be takn up instantly" and referred to "the great national duty of extending our anxious care to the vast multitudes who, from necessity or choice, yearly go forth from our shores."[57]

It was claimed that between 1846 and 1863 more than 300 missionaries were sent by the Free Church to various stations in the colonies. The very active positive role played by the Free Church in Scotland can be readily seen in Upper Canada by comparing the number of ministers in 1844 and again in 1850-51. While following the Disruption the Kirk had sixty-eight ministers and the Free Church twenty-three in the two colonies, by 1850-51 the Kirk had fifty-two ministers and the Free Church fifty-nine in Upper Canada alone. Also by 1851 the Free Church had more members in Upper Canada than the Kirk, although the Kirk had the greater support in Lower Canada. It should be noted also that the Free Church had more support than the Kirk in the Maritime colonies of British North America.[58] The efforts made by the Free Church in Scotland especially in the period before 1850 played a large part in creating and maintaining a strong Free Church in the colonies.

In the years immediately after the Disruption, as well as

being called upon to assist the colonial churches, the Free Church of Scotland was faced by great financial, administrative and personnel problems in Scotland itself. Thus in many ways they could ill-afford to provide assistance to the colonies. As they could not afford to send permanent ministers, they did send out "occasional supplies" who served in British North America for a season of six to twelve months. These were ordained ministers "whose talents and experience might fit them both for private counsel and public service."[59] By 1846 eighteen such people had been sent to the British colonies, as well as several on a permanent basis. However, within a few years, the situation rapidly improved and in 1851, fifteen permanent appointments were made, and only six on a temporary basis to the various colonies.[60]

The Free Church of Scotland faced the same problem as the Kirk in attracting a sufficient number of suitable and willing ministers to serve in the colonies. The Free Church continued to make appeals similar to the following from their General Assembly in May 1848.

> "From the most distant places a cry for help has reached us, and in every place a cordial welcome is ready to greet our ministers and our missionaries. Never had a Church such opportunities; never was a Church laid under such responsibilities."[61]

Yet even though in 1854 the Colonial Committee sent out to the Canadas six preachers and two students, they were forced to state that "we are anxiously seeking for more such to follow them."[62] The demand seemed to be insatiable, and the supply far from sufficient.[63] Adequate finances never appear to have been a problem as within nine months of its formation in 1843 the Colonial Committee had collected £3619 to support its work. For the financial year 1850-51 the Colonial

Committee had a balance on had at the end of the year of £1821/16/5 after having spent £1660/10/10 on salaries and £491/15/8 on travelling expenses relating to the British North American colonies. These sums were nearly 50% of the total amount spent for these purposes by the Committee.[64]

The Free Church of Scotland also realized early in its activities the need for the churches in the Canadas to be supplied as soon as possible with new ministers who had been trained in the colonies. With the Disruption in the Canadas in 1844, six of the seven theological students who had been studying at the Church of Scotland's, Queen' s College, Kingston chose to join the Free Church and continued their lessons in Toronto, where soon there was established a theological school known as Knox College. By the season 1849-50 there were upwards of fifty divinity students taking classes and in 1849-50 six native preachers were licensed and five more were ready to be licensed for the ministry.[65] The College received financial support (£290 in 1850) and professors from the Church in Scotland but by 1855 the College was being fully supported by the Church in Canada.[66]

Before concluding this section on the Free Church of Scotland some comments should be made as to its attitude towards emigration from Scotland. In this chapter dealing with the various churches in Scotland, it is very difficult to say that a particular church was definitely in favour of emigration or definitely against emigration. No Scottish church took either of these stands but in

many ways this decision was taken by the individual ministers of the various denominations, who were then free to express their opinions and take what actions they felt were necessary under the circumstances. The role and influence of these individual ministers will be discussed in some detail in a later section of this chapter. The above point has been raised at this stage partly as a result of a quotation in a letter from an Edward Gibbons writing to Miss Macleod of Macleod informing her of events on Skye during the Summer of 1852. A number of meetings were held on Skye in June 1852 in an effort to organize a scheme of emigration to Australia. Gibbons claimed that

> "A great part of the people have been kept in ignorance of what was going on, for their Ministers, the free church Ministers, do all they can to prevent emigration and keep the people in darkness regarding it."[67]

This point of view was also held by Evander McIver a factor on the Duke ofSutherland's estates. McIver commented in April 1847 that Free Church ministers who had to depend on their congregation for a living (as opposed to the endowed Kirk) were not likely to give much encouragement to emigration from their areas.[68]

While not denying the fact that many individual Free Church ministers could be or were against emigration (see Appendix Two of the present study), several facts can be presented to show that such an attitude was not a general policy of the Free Church of Scotland. As early as 1843 a group of Free Church men began to advocate the establishment of a Scottish Presbyterian settlement in New Zealand and by 1848 a lay association of the Free Church had

established a settlement at Otago, New Zealand which grew slowly at first but eventually prospered.[69] The Rev. John M'Millan of Cardross, who ministered in British North America temporarily in the spring and summer of 1845 stated on his return to Scotland that,

> "if any calamity should here befall individuals, families, and perhaps communities ((British North) America is the land in whose bosom all might seek, as assuredly all would find, an asylum."[70]

The statement by the Free Church Committee for the Highlands given before the Napier Commission in 1884 comes closer than any to presenting the views of the Church concerning emigration. Even then the Committee is forced to state that, "no one is authorized to say what precise doctrine on the subject of emigration represents most nearly the views of the Free Churchmen in the Highlands." It then proceeded to say that the Free Church was generally against any forced emigration for the purpose of making the land available for other uses, but they felt that a spontaneous emigration would take place from crowded districts as education improved.[71] Thus in many ways the general attitude of the Free Church left considerable scope for individual ministers to take quite independent stands on the question of emigration.[72]

In concluding this section,it can be said that considering the many problems which the Free Church had to overcome in Scotland during its first years, it made substantial and useful contributions to the growth of Presbyterianism in Upper Canada in order to serve Scottish settlers in the colony.

United Presbyterian Church of Scotland

The United Presbyterian Church which in 1851 was the third largest Presbyterian denomination both in Scotland and Upper Canada was formed in 1847, as a result of the union of the United Associate Secession Synod (hereafter referred to as the Secession Church) and the Relief Synod. Prior to their union, each of these churches tended to have a different approach toward mission work in the colonies. The Secession Church tended to favour the organization of direct church missions under the organization of the church, while the Relief Church was more disposed to support the various mission societies which were in existence at the time. Thus before 1847 most of the direct work in Upper Canada was done by the Secession Church.

The Secession Church (formed in 1820 by the union of Burgher and Anti-Burgher Synods) had been involved in a small way in mission work in the United States and Nova Scotia since 1753. Indeed in 1828, Dr. M'Culloch claimed that the stated and active missionary policy of the Secession Church in the Maritime colonies of British North America had produced far more results than the few efforts of the Church of Scotland.[73] The Secession did not become involved in Upper Canada however until 1817 when two ministers, partly subsidized by the Church, sailed from Leith. Little more was done until April 1829, when a committee was appointed to prepare a scheme of permanent missionary operations in the colonies.[74]

At the Synod meeting in April 1832, it was decided that

British North America should be the first area to receive support and in the same year three ministers were sent to the Canadas. By 1847 the Secession had sent twenty-two more ministers to Upper Canada, in response to the many appeals for assistance from the colonists.[75] The Secession faced many of the same problems as the Kirk and the Free Church including shortage of ministerial applicants to serve in the colonies, occasional lack of funds and the early importance of establishing a church college in Upper Canada which was done in London, Upper Canada in 1844.[76] As well, the Secession realized the value of sending a deputation to the Canadas, which it did in the summer of 1846. On its return to Scotland the deputation reported on the continuing and urgent need of ministers but were optimistic in the views of the economic progress which had taken place in the colonies.[77] By 1835 the Secession Church mission to Upper and Lower Canada had expenditures of about £600 per year which was increased to £713 in 1848-49 and £830 in 1850-51. It is interesting to compare these figures with the amounts spent on missions to the heathen, for example in Calabar in 1848-49 £2032 and 1850-51 £2144. Thus while the mission to Canada received more financial support than that to any other basically European colony, it compared poorly relative to missions to the heathen.[78]

In May 1845,the Secession Synod established a Foreign Mission Board to take charge of its various activities overseas and appointed the Rev. Andrew Somerville as its first secretary. The Board soon decided that missionaries would only be sent to Canada in response to specific requests from the Synod there and that the

Board was anxious that it should be kept informed of progress and changes in the Canadian Missionary Synod.[79] The Board offered reasonably generous terms to missionaries going to Canada - an allowance for passage and outfit (£80 for married man, £50 for single man) and agreed to guarantee a salary of £100 sterling for three years from the date of landing.[80] On the other hand it was generally not prepared to provide grants for new church buildings in Canada. The Board also felt strongly that the self-supporting churches in Canada should make as large as possible a contribution to the mission work in Canada, both as part of their duty and because it would be good publicity to use in the Scottish churches in collecting donations to show that the colonists were trying to help themselves.[81]

In concluding this section it can be said that the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland played an active role in assisting the development of the Presbyterian Church in Upper Canada. Indeed by 1851 it had made a relatively greater contribution than the two larger Scottish Presbyterian Churches.[82]

Roman Catholic Church

In many ways the role of the Roman Catholic Church with regards to emigration from Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century centers largely around one man, the Rev. (later Bishop) Alexander Macdonell, who was instrumental in settling a large number of Catholic Highlanders in the eastern part of Upper Canada in the years 1803-04. The first major emigrations of Catholic

Highlanders to North America took place in 1773 to Prince Edward Island and to the State (then province) of New York. During the American War of Independence this group of Highlanders in New York, who had been mainly from Glengarry and Knoydart, remained loyal to the British Crown. Following the cessation of the hostilities, land grants were made in Upper Canada to those Highlanders who had served in the British army and these were taken up, some in the Niagara Peninsula and others at the eastern end of Lake Ontario and along the St. Lawrence River, with one particular concentration in what was to become Glengarry County.[83]

These early Highland settlers were soon joined by others - over 500 in 1785-86 from Glengarry accompanied by their Catholic priest, forty families in 1793 from Glenelg and in 1799 a party of Camerons from Lochiel.[84] The next major emigration in this series to Upper Canada took place in 1803-04 and was led by the Rev. Alexander Macdonell, who had been the Catholic chaplain of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, which had been raised in Scotland in 1795 and disbanded in 1802. Macdonell, after considerable effort, persuaded the British government to make land grants available in the colony to the former soldiers and much to the consternation of a large number of Highland landlords, over 1000 people emigrated, mainly to the area of Glengarry County, Upper Canada in 1803-04, accompanied by Rev. Macdonell.[85]

In 1804, there were only two Catholic ministers in Upper Canada (one Irishman, one Frenchman) but by 1839 their number had increased to thirty-five, which however was still short of the needs. Upper Canada was created a Bishopric in 1826 with Alexander Macdonell

as the first Bishop. Macdonell was a continual advocate of the rights of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada and of the merits of emigration from the Highlands of Scotland to the colony. He made several trips to Britain in 1816, 1825-25 and 1839-40 to put forward both of these points to the British Government.[86]

In 1824 he wrote to the goverrment describing the great distress and sufferings among the poorer Highlanders and in 1825 when in Fort William,he asked the government to take active steps to retain the Highlanders in the British Empire rather than have them settle in South America or the United States.[87] Macdonell's visit to the British Isles in 1839-40 was made "principally with the view of encouraging Emigration upon an extensive Scale."[88] He encouraged and travelled with Dr. Thomas Rolph who was soon to become the agent appointed by the government of Canada to stimulate and direct emigration to the colony. They toured Scotland and Ireland where "the spirit of Emigration is abroad" and described "the advantages which Upper Canada holds out to emigrants of small capitals."[89] These were Macdonell's last efforts as he died in Dumfriesshire, Scotland in January 1840.

Overall,the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland did not play a major role in relation to emigration from Scotland during this period nor did it assist greatly the Catholic Church in Upper Canada. The main reason for this was that in these years the Catholic Church was relatively not very strong in Scotland, for example in 1842 there were only eighty-six missionary priests in

Scotland. Indeed it was only as recent as March 1829, with the passing of the Emancipation Act, that the remaining disabilities affecting Catholics in Britain were repealed.[90] There were Roman Catholic areas in the Highlands in the 1840's - for example, Benbecula, South Uist, Barra, Knoydart, Moidart and Glengarry, yet there was no Roman Catholic Bishop of Argyll and the Isles from 1553 until 1878. This however did not mean that the Catholic Church was not strong in certain areas in Scotland (including parts of the north-west Highlands, the mid Spey valley and upper Banffshire and among large numbers of Irish in the Scottish Lowlands) or that individual ministers did not assist emigrations and become missionaries to the colonies. By 1854, fourteen Highland priests had served in the missions in the Maritime colonies of British North America and a number of others in Upper Canada.[91]

Other Churches

This short section will examine several other Scottish churches in their relation to emigration to Upper Canada. Generally these churches were smaller in size than those discussed earlier in this chapter.

a) The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland (1680-1876) decided to establish a mission in Canada in 1834 when its first agent was sent to Upper Canada. By 1846, three other ordained ministers had been sent out. These ministers were partly supported by the Church in Scotland and party by the colonists. On the whole however the Reformed Presbyterian Church took very little interest or made much effort

in Canada. These ministers developed a close connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Church of the United States and by 1851 had ended their contacts with the Church in Scotland.[92]

b) The Baptist Church in Scotland during this period was small and loosely organized,largely based on individual congregations. Rev. George Yuille,in his History of the Baptists in Scotland,described how a number ofBaptist congregations (Bowmore, Islay; Bunessan, Ross of Mull; Lochgilphead; Breadalbane and Rannoch) were weakened or broken up by emigrations to Canada. Yuille then cites four instances where Baptist preachers followed members of their congregations to Canada.[93]

c) The Congregational Union of Scotland was formed in 1813 beginning with fifty-five churches with the object of spreading their evangelical work in Scotland by providing assistance to churches and preachers in need. Generally speaking the Congregational Union was more interested in those Scots who remained in Scotland, rather than in those who emigrated. The Union's annual meeting in 1853 passed a resolution stating" that this meeting, viewing with deep interest, and with much sympathy, the facts relating to the emigration to distant lands of many members of our churches, with their families" and that those who remained should be helped and encouraged by the Union.[94]

James Ross,in his history of Congregationalism in Scotland commented on the difficulties faced by many of their churches, particularly in the Highlands, as a result of emigration. He also referred to the case of one preacher,who,in order to preserve his

congregation, emigrated with them.[95] In 1840, the Union's Annual Report printed an address which it had received from the Congregational Union of Upper Canada asking for suggestions and advice on church matters and thanking their Scottish brethern for help in the past and "to whose liberality we must continue still, for a time, to look for much of the means requisite for the carrying out of our plans."[96] In 1848, a sub-committee was appointed to correspond with the Canadian church with a view to future co-operation. The Congregational Union's annual meeting in 1849 was addressed by the Rev. Henry Wilkes of Montreal who represented the Canadian church.[97]

In connection with the Congregational Union of Scotland should be mentioned the London Missionary Society (1793-4) and the Colonial Missionary Society (1836) both of which were supported in part by Scottish Congregationalists. In 1816, William McKillican who was the pastor of a Congregational Church at Acharnn, near Loch Tay emigrated to Canada where a number of his congregation had already settled. In July 1817, McKillican wrote to the London Missionary Society from Montreal asking for a supply of Bibles for Scottish settlers in Glengarry County where he had taken up land and stating that

> "A few gaelic Bibles have been sent to this Country, at different times - but most of them sold at a high price. But I am sure that there is a defficiency in regard to Bibles yet. I have got none yet nor have any certainty of getting either Bibles or tracts from Scotland."[98]

In 1841, the secretaries of the Colonial Missionary Society submitted a memorial to the public concerning the claims of the Society

in which they stated,

> "the Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotsmen must emigrate, and that in growing numbers. The Colonies will be the safety of Britain, as they are the hope of the world.
> No class of persons can be placed in circumstances where the ministry and Observances of religion are more obviously and pressingly required than the British Emigrants...."[99]

d) The Scottish Episcopal Church would appear to have generally played a very minor role in the process of Scottish emigration to Upper Canada during the period 1815 to 1855. It did maintain an association with the American Episcopal Church and with the appearance of the potato famine in 1847 the American church chartered a ship, loaded it with food and sent in in care of the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, "recommending that he should send it back to Portland, laden with Scottish emigrants."[100] No further reference has been located which would indicate whether or not the recommendation was followed.

The Episcopal Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, James Ewing, did however speak on behalf of the Highland Emigration Society and his sermon in London in June 1852 did raise £36 1s 11d for this cause. He recommended,

> "the emigration to more fertile regions in another portion of the globe, of such part of Her Majesty's subjects, in these islands, as are now unhappily in a destitute condition from the poverty of the districts which they inhabit."[101]

Individual Ministers

The final section of this chapter will examine briefly the role played by individual ministers as apposed to official church

policies and activities regarding emigration and Upper Canada in particular. The earlier sections of this chapter provided details of the numbers of missionaries and ministers who left Scotland for Upper Canada, some on a temporary basis, but the majority emigrated permanently. The difficulties faced by the churches in Scotland in finding suitable ministers for the colonies have also been mentioned. However once a minister had been chosen and sent out to Upper Canada, he served as an active and continuing link between the colony and Scotland, both in his official capacity in the church and through his personal contacts on both sides of the Atlantic.

Perhaps the most obvious case of individual ministers influencing emigration from Scotland was when they actively led and accompanied such an emigration. This took place on a number of occasions. In 1829 the Colonial Office received two separate petitions from dissenting clergymen asking for land grants in British North America for themselves and members of their congregations and neighbours.[102] In the late 1830's, the Rev. John Ross collected fifty emigrants at Cromarty (possibly LaGuayra emigrants - see chapter eight), and, under the auspices of land speculators in London, assisted in an unsuccessful emigration to South America.[103] In April, 1830, the Glasgow Herald commented on the intended departure of thirty-two families, from Glasgow and vicinity for Prince Edward Island under the superintendence of Mr. M'Donnell, the assistant clergyman in the Catholic Chapel in Glasgow.[104]

In 1831, the Rev. Dugald Sinclair, the Baptist preacher

at Lochgilphead Argyllshire emigrated with sixteen members of his church to Upper Canada where they joined a number of their friends who had emigrated previously.[105] In May, 1848, the Government Emigration Agent at St. John, New Brunswick noted the arrival of a Rev. Hunter an independent (congregational) clergyman and William Dunlop an Ayrshire farmer who were "the leaders or pioneers" for a group of about sixty reasonably prosperous Ayrshire farmers who wanted a suitable area in which to take up land in the colony.[106] Perhaps the most interesting instance of a minister's continuing leadership of a group of Scottish emigrants is that of the Rev. Norman McLeod who emigrated with a group of Highlanders from the Loch Broom area, Wester Ross, to Pictou, Nova Scotia in July 1817. In 1820, nearly 200 people moved with McLeod to Cape Breton Island where they remained for thirty years. In October 1851, again under McLeod's leadership another and even larger emigration took place first to Australia and then to New Zealand (January 1853). By 1860, nearly 1000 persons from Cape Breton had joined McLeod in his new settlement on the other side of the world.[107] There are other references to ministers who were prepared to emigrate with their people.[108]

Other than actually leading emigrations various ministers were active in encouraging emigration and providing information about the situation in the colonies.[109] The New Statistical Account of Scotland written in the 1830's, largely by the various parish ministers, provides a great deal of useful information, both about the character of the emigrations from Scotland during the period and the individual

ministers' attitudes toward these emigrations (see Appendix two). In the late 1830's,the Glasgow Highland Destitution Fund undertook a survey among Highland clergymen on the question of emigration. The result was that forty-four of the forty-nine clergymen questioned recommended extensive emigration as a remedy for the poverty and distress which was widespread in the area.[110] Several other references to the role of various ministers appear in the records of the Colonial Office who received recommendations from ministers supporting the requests of persons in their area for grants of land in the colonies.[111] The Quarterly Journal of Agriculture published two articles in 1838-39 and 1840-41 written by Alexander MacGregor,who was the Church of Scotland licentiate at Kilmuir, Skye. MacGregor advocated extensive emigration based on government finance and felt that Canada was a poor man's country where there were opportunities for a better standard of life than was possible in the Highlands of Scotland.[112]

The role of individual ministers in assisting emigration from Scotland is particularly evident in an examination of the activities of the numerous emigration societies formed in the 1820's and early 1840's. Many ministers provided testimonials and acted as members of the committees in order to support the efforts of these societies to raise funds with which to emigrate to Canada. Many references to their role appeared in handbills and newspaper reports of the period.[113] Sermons were preached and collections made on behalf of various societies.[114] In the spring of 1821, the Rev. George Buchanan wrote to the Colonial Office asking for government

support in order to allow him to accompany the members of the Glasgow Parkhead Emigration Society to Upper Canada as their minister. In April 1828,the Rev. Brewster, who was the treasurer of the Paisley Emigration Society Committee,went to Greenock to arrange for the emigrants passage and provisions. As late as 1862 a different Paisley Emigration Society was managed by the Rev. John M'Lean of South Church, Paisley.[115]

Several writers went so far as to denounce both individual ministers and ministers throughout the Highlands generally for supporting oppressive measures used by the landlords. For exampke, Donald M'Leod described the Rev. Henry Beatson, minister of Barra as an "infamous hireling" and"the most vigilant and assiduous officer Colonial Gordon has".[116] The clergymen in the Highlands were also described as follows,

> "but I am convinced that had they done their duty, in denouncing the wrongs perpetrated before their eyes, instead of becoming auxiliaries, the other parties would, in most cases, have been unable to proceed. The oppressors always appealed to them for sanction and justification, and were not disappointed. The foulest deeds were glazed over, and the evil which could not be attributed to the natives themselves, such as severe seasons, famine, and consequent disease, was by these pious gentlemen ascribed to Providence, as a punishment for sin - the other parties who were enriching themselves, of course never sinned, for they were rolling in wealth and luxury at the expense of the poor sinners."..... "they had always the ear and confidence of the proprietors, and I put it to their consciences to say how often, if ever, they exerted that influence in favour of the oppressed."[117]

It should be noted however that all ministers were not in favour of emigration from Scotland during this period. In 1802 the Rev. Alexander Irvine, the minister of Rannoch, Perthshire,wrote a

book examining emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, in which he argued that emigration was unnecessary and wrong, and that efforts should be made by the government and landlords to improve the area in order to keep the people at home.[118] The Rev. Dr. Thomas M'Lauchlan, a Free Church minister in Edinburgh, wrote two pamphlets in 1849-50 in which he condemned what he saw as the forced emigration of Highlanders, who were being pushed from their homeland by their cruel landlords. He felt that the Highlanders who had gone to Canada previously were living in very poor conditions and that the Highlanders should be kept in Scotland, through the efforts of landlords and the government, in that "it is far easier to reclaim an acre in Uist than in Canada."[119] Sir John McNeill, in his correspondence to Sir Charles Trevelyan concerning the Highlands and emigration in the early 1850's, referred to Rev. Maclean of the Free Church at Tobermory, Mull, who McNeill suggested would preach against emigration to Canada.[120] Reference has been made earlier in this chapter to the comments in the Macleod of Macleod muniments concerning the proposed emigration from Skye to Australia in 1852, "the free church ministers, do all they can to prevent emigration and keep the people in darkness regarding it."[121] Thus by no means did all individual ministers favour emigration from Scotland.[122]

In concluding this chapter there are several points which should be stressed. First, ministers during this period were important and often dominant individuals in their communities both in Scotland and in Canada. Second, the efforts made by the various Churches in Scotland, to provide finances, ministers and moral

support to the colonial Churches were of great assistance to the Scottish emigrants in adjusting to their new surroundings. Third, a number of individual ministers were active in encouraging and assisting emigration, although the Churches as a whole never formally came out in favour of emigration. Too much importance should not and cannot be placed on the role played by the Churches in Scotland and individual ministers in regard to emigration, yet to forget their influence is to lose sight of an interesting and occasionally significant facet of Scottish emigration to Upper Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century.

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Rev. John M'Kerrow History of the Secession Church Glasgow, 1841 p. 715.

William Gregg, op. cit., 492-3, 586.

James B. Brown, op. cit., 352-3.

The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland Vol. I 1850-51 p. 313.

6. Harry E. Parker "Early Presbyterianism in Western Ontario" Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society Part xlv 1930 London, Ontario p. 66.

Synod Roll of 1841 for Presbyterian Church in Canada in Rev. A.F. Bennington op. cit. p. 209-21.

7. Canada Company, Commissioners' Reports, letter from Mr. Cattermole April 26, 1831 p. 778.

PP 1847 LIII (788) p. 158 Earl Grey to Sir George Grey November 16, 1846.

Earl Grey suggested that the government should assist in the establishment in Canada of villages (100 to 200 families) made up of people from the same area in Britain and placed under the care of clergymen whom they knew.

Dunrobin Muniments Letterbook McIver to Loch 1846-49 pp. 141-4 January 13, 1847.

McIver suggested that it would be a good idea to get respectable clergymen chosen by the people to go with the emigrants. It "would be an immense stimulus and inducement."

Cuairtear nan Gleann Vol. 1 (1840-1) p. 187

It described Upper Canada as a place "where (the Gael) would be among Christians and his own people". Translated from the Gaelic.

8. MacLeod of MacLeod Box 36 #2 C. Trevelyan to Miss MacLeod February 18, 1848.

9. Hymns by John McLean Edinburgh, 1880 page 106.

10. Glasgow Herald March 12, 1827 copy of letter dated Ramsay, Upper Canada September 15, 1826.

"We very seldom have a sermon from a minister".

John McDonald, op. cit., 27-8 referring to Lanark, Upper Canada in 1821.

"They want one great cordial, one of inestimable value in the time of distress, and that is the gospel."

"I hope their Christian brethren will feel it to be their duty to send them ministers."

Second Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society Glasgow, 1828 pp. 14-15.

See also page 17 of the same report for a letter from Niagara, Upper Canada January, 1828.

It gave an account (June 1826) of a settler at Caledon, Upper Canada in whose general area there were a large number of Scottish families, who had only heard one sermon in seventeen months.

In 1836/37 in the Synod of Canada it was estimated that there were fifty-two congregations in Upper Canada and thirty-one in Lower Canada in immediate want of ministers.

Tenth Report of Glasgow Colonial Society 1837 p. 39-40.

11. Andrew Haydon Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst Toronto, 1925 Vol. I 106-07.

He describes the efforts made by the Scottish settlers at Lanark-on-the-Clyde, Upper Canada in obtaining a minister in 1821-22.

J. MacGregor Observations on Emigration to British America London, 1829 p. 33.

Wilfred Campbell The Scotsman in Canada Toronto, p. 323-5.

He describes the efforts made by the Scottish settlers at Lancaster, Upper Canada in obtaining a minister in 1836.

Charles W. Dunn Highland Settler - A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Nova Scotia, Toronto, 1968 p. 93-5.

He comments on the importance of religion to the Scottish Highlanders.

12. SRO GD 112 Box 61/1 Two letters from settlers in North and South Easthope, Upper Canada to ministers in Perthshire in October 1835 asking for financial help in building a church and in obtaining a Presbyterian minister.

SRO GD 45 3/72 Duke of Hamilton to Earl of Dalhousie October 3, 1821 deals with the need for a church and school in the Lanark settlement in Upper Canada.

SRO GD 112 Box 61/1 Petitions to the Marquis of Breadalbane from settlers in Osgood Township, Upper Canada (November 1836) and Reach Township, Upper Canada March 1848) asking for financial help in building established Presbyterian churches.

Glasgow Herald May 22, 1835 Notice of a sermon to be preached in St. George's Church, Glasgow, where a collection would be made in aid of funds to build a church in Tyendanaiga Township, Upper Canada.

13. Isabel Skelton, op. cit., p. 180.

14. First Annual Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society Glasgow, 1826 pp. 14-15, 17.

Rev. A.F. Bennington, op. cit., 3, 10, 16.

Glasgow Herald, April 11, 1825.

15. First Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society, 1826 p. 6-7.

16. Ibid., 18-29, 33.

17. Rev. Dr. Thomas Brown Annals of the Disruption, 1843 Edinburgh, 1893 p. 560, 564.

Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1855 appendix p. 27-8.

Rev. R.F. Burns The Life and Times of the Rev. Robert Burns D.D. Toronto, 1871 p. 95, 154, 209.

Robert Burns D.D. A Plea for the Poor of Scotland and for an Enquiry into their Condition Paisley, 1841.

This small publication contains the substance of two lectures given before the Philosophical Institution of Paisley in February 1841.

18. Ninth Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society, 1836 p. 22-23.

19. Eighth Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society, 1835 p. 38.

20. Reports of the Glasgow Colonial Society Nineth (1836) pp. 65-74; Tenth (1837) p. 33; Eighth (1835) p. 84.

21. Glasgow Herald August 27, 1830, March 13, 1835.

Aberdeen Journal, quoted in Glasgow Herald February 6, 1835.

Paisley Advertiser, September 7, 1833.

22. The Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland Vol. I (1841) p. 408, 416.

23. First Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society, 1826, p. 31.

24. National Library of Scotland ACC 3993 Minutes of General Assembly's Committee on the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers February 28, 1843.

25. Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records Vol. XXVI (1930) p. 566.

26. Rev. A.F. Bennington, op. cit., 59, 62-3, 146, 148.

Church of Scotland Magazine Vol. I No. XI January 1835 p. 426.

Tenth Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society, 1837 p. 33.

27. The Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland Vol. I (1839-41) p. 296.

It contained a quote from a Rev. Wilson of St. John, New Brunswick.

"This Society has been the honoured instrument of stirring up the National Church herself to a deep sense of her duty towards those distant children who were reared under her protection."

28. Ibid., p. 296.

The last report (Twelfth) of the Glasgow Colonial Society appeared in March of 1841 and announced the final end of its existence as a separate society.

29. John Cunningham The Church History of Scotland Edinburgh, 1882 Vol. 2 p. 443.

30. A Letter from the Hon. and Venerable Dr. Strachan, Archdeacon of York, Upper Canada to Dr. Lee D.D. Convener of a Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Kingston, Upper Canada 1829.

31. Second Report of Glasgow Colonial Society, 1828, p. 35

Presbytery of Aberdeen sent Rev. Sheed to Ancaster, Upper Canada in the Fall of 1827.

J. Carruthers Retrospect of Thirty-Six Years' Residence in Canada West Hamilton, 1861 p. iii.

An application was sent to the Church of Scotland in 1825 for help in obtaining ministers but it met with no success.

Thomas McCulloch D.D. op. cit., (1828) p.17. He claimed that the Church of Scotland had generally done very little work in British North America.

Co 384/33 Thomas Clark to Colonial Office June 1, 1830 Reference to the help given to the United Emigration Society of Glasgow and Neighbourhood by Church of Scotland Presbytery of Glasgow.

32. Rev. John Wilson D.D. Index to the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Edinburgh, 1863 pp. 59-61, 115-16.

Rev. A.F. Bennington, op. cit., p. 20.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for 1830 Edinburgh, 1830 p. 59.

33. Tenth Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society, 1837 as Appendix to the Report of the Committee of General Assembly on Colonial Churches, 23 May 1837, Glasgow 1837 p. 29-30.

Report of the Colonial Committee, May 1838 p. 12 and May 1839 p. 3.

National Library of Scotland Acc.3993 Minutes of the Committee on Colonial Churches June 1, August 9, November 15, 1836.

34. Report of the Colonial Committee May 1840 p. 33-5.

Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1840 p. 41.

35. Ibid., p. 41-2.

Report of the Colonial Committee May 1847 pp. 9, 13-15 and May, 1850 p. 11.

36. National Library of Scotland Acc. 3993 Minutes of Committee on Colonial Churches January 31, 1839.

37. Report of the Colonial Committee, May 1840 p. 21.

38. Ibid., p. 21-22.

39. Ibid., p. 8, 22.

Report of the Colonial Committee May 1846 p. 7 and May 1850 p. 4-5.

40. Report of the Colonial Committee May 1849 p. 5 and May 1850 p. 4.

Report of the Colonial Committee May 1848 p. 12-13 and May 1849 p. 5.

41. Proceedings of the General Assembly, Church of Scotland 1840 p. 44.

Report of the Colonial Committee 1841 p. 15.

Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1846 by the deputation to British North America in 1845 p. 28.

Report to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1848 by the deputation to British North America in 1847

The Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland Vol. III (1845-46) p. 175; Vol. IV (1847-48) p. 116, 134, 179, 195, 313.

42. Report of the Colonial Committee May 1839 p. 10-11.

43. Report of the Colonial Committee May 1840 p. 6-7; May 1849, p. 6; May 1850 p. 4.

44. National Library of Scotland Acc. 3993 Minutes of Committee on Colonial Churches.

Regarding A) money to build churches in Upper Canada - Aug. 18, 1837, May 16, 1838, Dec. 27, 1838, March 4, 1845.

B) need for ministers in Upper Canada - March 3, 1840, Feb. 28, 1843, March 4, 1845.

The Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland

Regarding A) need for ministers in Upper Canada - Vol. II p. 366 Caledon Twp., p. 444 Elmsley Twp., p. 32 Hamilton Vol. III p. 151 West Gwillimbury Twp.

B) general situation in Upper Canada -

Vol. I p. 121, 174, 227-8, 332, 389
Vol. II p. 9, 192, 227
Vol. III p. 52
Vol. IV p. 100-01.

45. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Edinburgh 1840, p. 42.

46. Report of the Colonial Committee May 1849 p. 3-4.

For the needs of the Canadas and the problems of obtaining ministers see Report of the Colonial Committee May 1840 p. 9, May 1841 p. 14 and May 1848 p. 7-8.

46A. Report of the Colonial Committee May 1848 p. 8.

National Library of Scotland Acc. 3993 March 20, 1850.

An interesting footnote should be added here to show that while some qualified ministers were anxious to go, other obstacles stood in their way. In March, 1850 the Colonial Committee received a letter from the Rev. John Lamont, minister of the Church of Scotland at Waternish, Skye. He suggested that one or two ministers from his neighbourhood should go to North America from time to time, in order to spend six to nine months preaching in the "most destitute areas" and he offered his services on this basis. The Committee replied that there were many difficulties involved in this scheme, the most fundamental being that ministers in Scotland should not leave their own congregations for such a length of time.

47. D.S. MacMillan, op. cit., p. 286 from Co 384/47 f. 256.

48. Emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland to Australia London, 1852 p. 124.

49. Report of the Colonial Committee May 1839 Appendix V p. 54-56, 56-60.

50. Report of the Colonial Committee May 1839 pp. 60-62; May 1840 pp. 22-23, 33-5.

51. The Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Church of Scotland November and December 1841; Vol. I p. 408, 416, Vol. II p. 217.

Glasgow Herald June 15 and 22, 1849 ministers of other denominations were also involved in preaching to emigrants prior to their departure. The Rev. A. Farquharson the Congregational Minister on Tiree spoke in Gaelic to 580 natives of Tiree and the Ross of Mull as they were leaving from the Clyde in June 1849.

52. For a more complete discussion of the Clergy Reserves see the following:

G.M. Craig op. cit., 134-37; 171-79.

Norman MacDonald op. cit., 417-438.

G.C. Patterson op. cit., 209-217.

G.A. Wilson "The Political and Administrative History of the Upper Canada Clergy Reserves, 1790-1854" unpublished Ph.D. thesis University of Toronto 1959.

53. Norman MacDonald, op. cit., 423, 436, 459, 461.

54. Rev. John Wilson D.D., op. cit., 59-60.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for 1830 p. 59.

Report of Committee of General Assembly on Colonial Churches

1836 p. 6.
1837 8-9, 14-17
1838 p. 7
1840 p. 5-6.

CO 42/382 Memorial from Colonial Committee of Church of Scotland to Colonial Secretary June 8, 1827

For memorials from Presbyterian churches in Upper Canada to the British Government regarding claims to Clergy Reserves see -

CO 42/391 from ministers of United Presbytery of Upper Canada York, Upper Canada, September 4, 1830.

GD 94 from United Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Upper Canada Cavan, Upper Canada, September 12, 1839.

National Library of Scotland Acc. 3993 March 6, 1838, March 5, 1839.

PP 1852-3 LXV (85) p. 2-3.

55. Rev. Dr. Thomas Brown Annals of the Disruption, 1843 Edinburgh 1893 p. 561.

Glasgow Herald August 12, 1844.

56. Rev. Dr. Thomas Brown, op. cit., p. 560, 562, 564.

Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 1845, p. 166.

57. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843 p. 156.

Rev. Norman L. Walker Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland Edinburgh 1895 p. 181.

58. Ibid., 187

Table 6.2 of this thesis.

59. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1846 p. 119-20.

60. Ibid., p. 119-20.

Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1855 Appendix p. 28.

61. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1848 p. 165.

See also Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1845 p. 167.

62. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1855 Appendix p. 33.

63. The Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Free Church of Scotland

Vol. I (1843-44) p. 246; Vol. II (1845-46) p. 47, 183, 464,508;
Vol. III (1847-48) p. 70, 283, 261, 350, 370, 392, 541
Vol. IV (1849-50) p. 22-3, 64-5, 80, 257.

Free Church Magazine Vol. III (1846) and Vol. IV (1847) A series of seven articles by the Rev. Dr. James Begg on social and religious conditions in British North America.

64. The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland Vol. I 1850-1851 July Supplement 1851 p. 7.

Rev. Dr. Thomas Brown, op. cit., 562.

65. Rev. Dr. Thomas Brown, op. cit., 563, 565.

Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of of Scotland 1850 p. 61.

66. The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland Vol. I 1850-51 July Supplement 1851 p. 7.

Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland 1855, p. 282.

67. MacLeod of MacLeod Muniments Box 36 No. 2 Edward Gibbons, Ebost to Miss MacLeod 17 June 1852.

68. Dunrobin Muniments Letterbook E. McIver to James Loch 1846-49 p. 347-51 April 2, 1847.

69. W.A. Carrothers Emigration from the British Isles London, 1929 pp. 139-40.

Rev. Norman L. Walker, op. cit., 183.

Glasgow Examiner February 23, 1850, March 2, 1850, April 24, 1852.

70. The Home and Foreign Missionary Record for the Free Church of Scotland Vol. II 1845-46 p. 221.

71. PP 1884 XXXII Appendix A p. 408.

Napier Commission (XXXII - XXXVI).

See also Napier Commission, Evidence Vol. II Q 17034 remarks by Rev. James Greenfield, minister of Gaelic Free Church, Stornaway who spent nearly forty years in Canada. "If anyone says in regard to Canada that parties who went there and got lands are not in more comfortable circumstances than those in this island /Lewis/, he is misinformed, or did not know much, or did not keep his eyes open."

72. (Hugh Miller) Sutherland As It Was and Is; or, How A Country May Be Ruined Edinburgh, 1843 39 pages.

Very much pro Free Church and anti Duke of Sutherland and clearances.

R.M.W. Cowan The Newspaper in Scotland Glasgow, 1946 p. 366.

Cowan stated that the Free Church press (Inverness Advertiser was partly a Free Church journal) was generally not in favour of emigration as it felt that some economic and social improvements could and should be made in the Highlands.

John Prebble, op. cit., p. 231.

John O'Groats Journal February 6, 1852.

The Rev. W. Henderson of the Free Church, Wick delivered a lecture on the advantages and favourable situation in Australia to a large audience.

73. Rev. George Patterson A Few Remains of the Rev. James MacGregor D.D. Edinburgh 1859 p. 193.

Thomas M'Culloch D.D. op. cit., p. 17.

74. Rev. Dr. John M'Kerrow History of the Foreign Missions of Secession and United Presbyterian Church Edinburgh 1869 p. 107, 112.

David S. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 122-3.

The Secession Church sent the first Scottish minister to Australia in 1822.

75. Rev. Dr. John M'Kerrow, op. cit., p. 115-16.

76. Ibid., p. 157, 197-199.

Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church

Vol. I (1846) p. 98; Vol. II (1847) p. 18, 66;
Vol. III (1848) p. 35, 51, 147.

77. The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church Vol. I (1846) p. 98, 21.

78. Ninth Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society 1836 p. 18.

The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church Vol. IV (1849) p. 158, Vol. VI (1851) p. 156.

79. N.L.S. Manuscript Vol. 7638 (March 15, 1850) Rev. A. Somerville to Rev. A.A. Drummond and May 23, 1851 Rev. A. Somerville to Rev. William Frazer.

80. N.L.S. Manuscript Vol. 7638 page 308 June 6, 1849.

81. N.L.S. Manuscript Vol. 7638 September 29, 1848 Rev. A. Somerville to Rev. William Proudfoot.

N.L.S. Manuscript Vol. 7639 October 8, 1852 Rev. A. Somerville to Rev. Robert Torrance.

82. See Table 6.2 in present thesis.

83. A Short Account of the Emigration from the Highlands of Scotland to North America; and the Establishment of the Catholic Diocese of Upper Canada Kingston, Upper Canada 1839 p. 3-4.

Norman MacDonald, Canada 1763-1841, op. cit., p. 44-49.

Bernard W. Kelly The Fate of Glengarry or the Expatriation of the Macdonells Dublin, 1905 p. 1-15.

84. W.A. Carruthers, op. cit., p. 12.

Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., 19-20.

85. A Short Account of the Emigration from the Highlands, op. cit., pp. 5-11.

W.A. Carruthers, op. cit., p. 12-13.

J.A. Macdonell A Sketch of the Life of Alexander Macdonell Alexandria, Ontario, 1890 pp. 8-19.

86. A Short Account of the Emigration from the Highlands op. cit., 12-13.

87. CO 42/374 Macdonell to Wilmot Horton April 30, 1824.

CO 42/376 Macdonell to Bathurst September 20, 1825.

88. Charles R. Sanderson The Arthur Papers 3 volumes Toronto, 1957.

Vol. II item 747 Macdonell to Sir George Arthur April 22, 1839

Vol. II item 1063 Macdonell to Arthur December 22, 1839

89. Ibid.

J.A. Macdonell op. cit., p. 50-51.

Bernard W. Kelly The Fate of Glengarry or the Expatriation of the Macdonells Dublin, 1905.

90. Glasgow Herald January 10, 1842.

A. Bellesheim History of the Catholic Church of Scotland 4 volumes Edinburgh, 1890 Vol. IV p. 276.

91. Rev. Angus A. Johnston "A Scottish Bishop in New Scotland". Innes Review Vol. VI pp. 107-124.

O. Blundell The Catholic Highlands of Scotland 2 volumes Edinburgh 1917. Vol. II p. 74-76, 182, 185.

Rev. J.F.S. Gordon (editor) The Catholic Church in Scotland Aberdeen, 1874 p. 437.

92. Rev. Matthew Hutchison The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland - Its Origins and History Paisley, 1893 p. 277, 303.

The Scottish Presbyterian Magazine Vol. II (June 1849) p. 203-04.

93. Rev. George Yuille (editor) History of the Baptists in Scotland Glasgow, 1927 p. 112-117, 70, 267.

94. Forty-first Annual Report of the Congregational Union of Scotland, 1853 p. 6.

95. James Ross A History of Congregational Independency In Scotland Glasgow, 1900 p. 111, 229, 239.

96. Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Congregational Union of Scotland, 1840 pp. 34-36.

97. Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Congregational Union, 1848 p. 6.

Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Congregational Union, 1849 p. 7.

Glasgow Herald April 27, 1849.

It referred to a meeting in Glasgow on colonial missions spoken to by Rev.Wilkes.

Aberdeen Journal April 11, 1849.

It referred to the meeting of the Scottish Congregational Union meeting in Aberdeen where the Rev.Wilkes of Canada spoke "eloquently" on the importance of colonial missions.

98. James Ross, op. cit., p. 229

Congregational Council for World Missions (London) - Manuscript letter in their library.

W. McKillican to London Missionary Society July 31, 1817.

99. Ralph Calder One Commonwealth for God London, 1966 p. 15.

100. C.E. Carrington The British Overseas Cambridge, 1950 p. 499.

101. The Bishop of Argyll and the Isles A Sermon on Emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland to Australia London, 1852 p. 1-2.

Scottish Record Office Highland Emigration Society, Letterbook No. 1 p. 42 May 11, 1852.

John Prebble Highland Clearances, op. cit., p. 215-16.

102. Co 384/21 p. 405 James Gamble, dissenting clergyman, Strabane December 8, 1829.

Co 384/21 p. 247-48 Peter Fisher, dissenting preacher, Breadalbane, Perthshire May 16, 1829.

103. Rev. Donald Sage Memorabilia Domestica; or Parish Life in the North of Scotland Wick and Edinburgh, 1899 p. 321.

104. Glasgow Herald April 5, 1830 from Glasgow Chronicle.

105. Rev. George Yuille, op. cit., p. 70, 116-17.

106. PP 1847-48 XLVII (50) p. 439.

107. Rev. John Murray History of the Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton Truro, Nova Scotia, 1921 pp. 20-34.

A.J. Clark "The Scottish-Canadian Pilgrims of the Fifties" in Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records Vol. XXVI (1930) pp. 5-15.

108. Thomas Rolph Emigration and Colonization London, 1844 p. 24.

A letter from the Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod to Rolph dated March 13, 1840 mentioned that the whole Parish of Croick, Rossshire was ready to emigrate to British North America with their minister.

Macleod of Macleod Muniments Box 36 No. 2

In a letter (March 17, 1848) to Miss Macleod, the Rev. N. Mackinnon of Bracadale, Skye stated that he encouraged emigration whenever he had the opportunity and that he was considering emigrating to Australia with some of his congregation.

109. Brown Correspondence Robert Brown to Hector M. Buchanan June 17, 1801.

Brown made mention of a clergyman in South Uist who might join in the recruiting of emigrants.

Charles W. Dunn, op. cit., p. 16 from Robert Brown Strictures and Remarks, 1806.

Brown made reference in 1806 to self appointed preachers who were active along the Caledonian Canal preaching the gospel of the equality of men and recommending emigration as a cure for the social ills of the Highlands.

Extracts from letters transmitted by Clergymen, Magistrates and others, relative to the present Destitution in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland London, 1837 8 page pamphlet found in SRO GD 46/13/199 (7)

Quoting the Rev. John Cameron, minister at Stornaway on the subject of emigration to British North America "No means of relief would be more effective." (p. 5).

John O'Groats Journal February 6, 1852.

Reference was made to a lecture on Australia given to nearly 1,200 people by the Rev. W. Henderson of the Free Church in Wick.

See Chapter Seven of the present study, footnotes 157-159 for activities of ministers on the Duke of Argyll's estates.

Poor Law Inquiry (Scotland) Appendix Part II 1844 p. 144.

The Rev. Donald Maclachlan, Church of Scotland minister at North Knapdale was asked by Neil Malcolm in the period 1840-3 to recommend "able-bodied and fit persons who wish to emigrate." The minister did so.

Glasgow Herald August 7, 1848.

Mr. Robert Neilson, an emigration agent in Glasgow was in written contact with the parish priest in South Uist regarding emigration.

Rev. William Bell, op. cit., and see Chapter Five present thesis.

See the activities of the Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod (Chapter Five).

See the activities of the Rev. Dr. Robert Burns (Chapter Four).

110. PP 1841 VI (182) Q 1156.

111. CO 384/7 pp. 699-700 from Rev. A. MacGregor, minister of Balquhidder, Perthshire April 20, 1821.

Written on behalf of several industrious small farmers wanting land in Upper Canada.

CO 384/21 pp. 327-29 from William Fraser of Grantown, Morayshire May 18, 1829.

Asking for land or a loan, including the recommendations of three ministers in Invernesshire.

112. Alexander MacGregor "On the causes of the destitution of food in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland in the years 1836 and 1837."

Quarterly Journal of Agriculture Vol. 9 (1838-39) pp. 159-99.

A. MacGregor "On the advantages of a government grant for emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland."

Quarterly Journal of Agriculture Vol. 11 (1840-41) pp. 257-97.

113. Co 384/20 p. 297-98 Handbill of Glasgow Emigration Society, 1827.

Thomas Chalmers D.D. Statement in regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow from the experience of the last eight years Glasgow, 1823 p. 38.

Mention of a church collection in one of the poorest districts in Glasgow to assist emigrants.

Scottish Patriot December 12, 1840.

Glasgow Argus May 23, 1842.

Glasgow Courier April 28, 1842.

Glasgow Herald May 27, 1842.

114. Glasgow Herald March 5 and March 12, 1842.

115. Co 42/367 March 3, 1821 from Rev. George Buchanan.

Paisley Advertiser April 19, 1828.

Paisley Pamphlets PC 298 Vol. 39.

116. Donald M'Leod Gloomy Memories in the Highlands of Scotland Glasgow, 1892 p. 134, 137, 139.

117. Donald M'Leod The Sutherlandshire Clearances and M. de Sismondi Celtic Tenure of Land Greenock: A. Mackenzie, 1856.

John Prebble, op. cit., p. 71-2, 81, 109, 135, 279-80

118. Rev. Alexander Irvine An Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, with observations on the means to be employed for preventing it. Edinburgh, 1802.

119. Rev. Dr. Thomas M'Lauchlan Recent Highland Ejections Considered Edinburgh, 1850 p. 15.

See also his The Depopulation System in the Highlands by an Eye-Witness Edinburgh, 1849.

120. McNeill Letterbook, Mitchell Library, Glasgow July 15, 1852.

121. MacLeod of MacLeod Muniments, Edward Gibbons to Miss MacLeod June 17, 1852.

122. John Prebble, op. cit., p. 311-12.

Rev. Eric J. Findlater Highland Clearances the Real Cause of Highland Famines Edinburgh, 1855 16 pages.

A sermon preached March 21, 1855 in the Free Church, Lochearnhead.