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

VOLUME II

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CHAPTER 7

LANDLORDS

The attitude and activities of various landlords in Scotland during the period 1815 to 1855 was of considerable importance in directing and assisting Scottish emigrants to Upper Canada, particularly in certain areas of Scotland at particular periods of time. Nearly all of the material in this chapter deals with landlords in the Highlands and Islands as opposed to those in the Lowlands of Scotland. There are several reasons for this emphasis - first, many fundamental changes had occurred in Lowland agriculture before this period and as a result there was not as much pressure on the land and no prolonged crisis period developed as in the Highlands; second, in the Lowland area there were other opportunities for alternative employment, particularly in manufacturing industries; and third, in the Lowlands the greater number of medium sized landlords meant that the financial burden of supporting the population could be shared in times of crisis while in the Highlands this burden was frequently borne by one landlord who over time became increasingly unable to meet these demands. Thus overall during this period the volume and character of emigration from the rural Lowlands of Scotland was not of prime concern to Lowland landlords.

Chapter one of the present study provides some comments on the economic and social changes which were occurring in Scotland during this period. These comments will be repeated throughout this chapter only as they affected the landlords attitudes and policies on emigration. This relation between landlords and emigration will be discussed from two points of view - first, by examining the changes in the general attitude and approach to emigration of the landlords; and second, by examining the efforts of specific landlords in encouraging and assisting emigration from their properties to Upper Canada.

A. Changes In Landlords Attitudes Toward Emigration.

1. Pre 1815.

In order to fully understand the changes in the period 1815 - 1855, the situation prior to 1815 must be examined. From the mid-eighteenth century up to the Napoleonic Wars in the early nineteenth century, the first emigration of any volume occurred from the Highlands of Scotland, with the destination being the east coast of North America.¹ Before examining the attitude of the landlords to these emigrations, it is worthwhile quoting the following excellent contemporary (1791) comment on the reasons behind these emigrations.

"A variety of causes have contributed to produce that rage for emigration to America which now obtains in many parts of the Highlands and Islands. Among these are to be numbered, it is true, the causes commonly assigned viz: the dispeopling in great measure of large tracts of country in order to make room for sheep - the conversion of small into large farms, to the exclusion of the inferior order of tenants - the prejudice, almost invincible, which many Highland proprietors entertain against granting any leases, or leases of a sufficient

length to encourage the tenants to improve their farms - the eagerness with which some landholders raise their rents while they furnish neither the means nor instruction as to the manner by which the tenants may be enabled to pay them; the non-residence of the proprietors, and their total want of tenderness for or attention to their people, in consequence of which the ancient confidence and affection subsisting between chiefs and their clans are greatly weakened, in some parts of the country totally annihilated. And to these the claims of affection and kindred vehemently urged by those who have already emigrated on their friends and neighbours at home to induce them to follow their example; and the flattering, perhaps insidious, representations of agents employed by purchasers of land in America to engage settlers to remove to their estates; add likewise the contagion of example and the infectious spirit of wandering which often, without reason from the immediate presence of grievances felt, seizes upon a body of people, and you have a list of the commonly assigned, and in part true, causes of emigration. At the same time ... the great and most universally operative cause of emigration is that in comparison of the means of subsistence which they afford, these countries are greatly overstocked with inhabitants."²

During this period (late eighteenth century) the Highland landlords felt very strongly about the importance of retaining population on their estates for a number of reasons including the hope that industrial expansion would spread into the Highlands thus creating a need for a labour supply; the past memories of power and prestige; and finally a growing fear that growing emigration would end in complete depopulation of the Highlands.³ The landlords reacted initially to the problem of growing emigration and increasing population by the establishment of the crofting system and granting permission for the widespread fragmentation of holdings.⁴

This increasing concern on the part of the landlords about this depopulation in the Highlands was one of the main reasons for the formation of the Highland Society of Scotland (1784). At a

meeting of the Society in London in May 1786 a report was received that 500 people were preparing to emigrate from the estates of Mr. MacDonald of Glengarry. The meeting agreed,

"to recommend to the principal noblemen and gentlemen in the Highlands, to endeavour to prevent emigration, by improving the fisheries, agriculture, and manufactures, and particularly to enter into a subscription for that purpose."⁵

The result of this subscription was the British Fisheries Society, which has been described as a "strange mixture of philanthropy and capitalism" with the profit motive being secondary.⁶ It was incorporated in 1786 and proceeded to obtain land and build facilities at Lochbay in Skye, Tobermory, Wick and Ullapool. At the latter port over £10,000 was spent on building a pier, storehouses and some housing.⁷ Throughout its existence the British Fisheries Society was active in its opposition to emigration. George Dempster summarized its opposition in a pamphlet in which he stated, "the late and present emigrations from the Highlands which some view with pleasure and too many with indifference ought to be considered as a great national calamity."⁸

In December 1802, Dr. W. Porter submitted a Report on Emigration to the Secretary of the British Fisheries Society. He discussed a number of factors which he considered were causing the growing emigrations from the Highlands, including the fact of landlords who were anxious to increase their rent by substituting sheep for men, and therefore were not against emigration. Porter made two main suggestions in his report, firstly that the government should introduce a tax on emigrants and secondly that efforts should be made to provide

more employment for the people in the Highlands.⁹ For a variety of reasons the British Fisheries Society never fulfilled its early hopes of success and by 1842 all its west coast properties had been sold.¹⁰

The Highland Society of Scotland, many of whose members were also involved with the British Fisheries Society, took a number of active steps to limit emigration particularly in the period 1801 - 03 when emigration from the Highlands appeared to be increasing at a very rapid rate, much to the alarm of a large number of the landlords in the area. As the Highland Society was made up of many influential persons who had the ear of the British government through Henry Dundas who served as Home Secretary and Colonial Secretary, the government soon reacted to this concern about emigration felt by Highland landlords. In the summer of 1801 Thomas Telford was asked to undertake a survey of Highland communications, but his first report made in the spring of 1802 also covered the problem of emigration. Telford commented on the growing volume of emigration which he felt was to a great extent caused by the converting of large areas into sheep walks. He suggested that a government programme ^{to} improve and enlarge the communications network in the Highlands would provide both present employment as well as benefit any future developments in agriculture, fisheries or manufacturing in the area.¹¹

During this period the Highland Society established a committee dealing with the subject of emigration which made three reports in the period 1802 - 03. This committee considered the

various causes of the emigration and made suggestions as to the means by which it could be limited. It advocated increased efforts to provide employment in the Highlands, such as the development of flax and wool industries and improved communications. It also suggested that the government should pass legislation to regulate the emigrant traffic as this step was,

"absolutely necessary to the preservation of the health and lives of the emigrants, and which at present are so neglected as miserably to impair the one, and endanger the other."¹²

The enactment of the first Passenger Act (43 Geo III, cap. 56) in June 1803 to a great extent can be attributed to representations to the government on the part of the Highland Society. The main features of this Act were to make it an offence (penalty of £50) to transport in a vessel overseas more than one person for every two tons of the ship's burden or to depart without carrying a specified quantity of food for each passenger. There is no doubt that this Act greatly improved the chances of a safe and decent voyage for the emigrants, and that it was necessary in view of the frequently appalling conditions which had often been the situation previously. However, the Act also meant that the cost of the emigration was increased which was to be largely absorbed as an increase in the emigrant's fare. Thus although we can commend the humanitarian motives behind the activities of the Highland Society, at the time they were accused merely of attempting to stop the emigration by making the cost beyond the reach of the average emigrant. The

following extract from a petition to the Colonial Office in 1816 from more than one hundred families in the counties of Inverness and Ross is typical of this feeling.

"that your Memorialists consider the Act of Parliament of 1803 for regulating emigration to America, however well meant by the Legislature, as obtained by interested people to operate as a bar to emigration altogether by raising the freight to an amount the slender means possessed by the Inhabitants of the Highlands could not afford to pay and thus fixing them to the soil after they could not enjoy the comforts, nor possess even the necessaries of life."¹³

As well as the anti-emigration activities of the Highland Society, a large number of writers appeared in print during this period prior to 1815 expressing much the same views. Dr. James Robertson, minister of Callander, in his survey (1794) of agriculture in the southern part of Perthshire suggested that in order to prevent emigration the people must be provided with food and accomodation. He continued by stating the widely held view that,

"surely there is more patriotism in contributing to keep the people in their own country, to fight our battles, in the time of need, and defend everything that is dear to Britons, than to chase away the natural guardians of our privileges and independence, to seek an asylum on a foreign shore. Must Britain be a cruel stepmother to her children?"¹⁴

Alexander Irvine, in his book published in 1802 inquiring into emigration from the Highlands and Islands, urged both the government and landlords in the area to look more closely at this growing problem and to take positive steps to improve the situation in the Highlands so that emigration would not be necessary. Concerning the causes of the movement he stated that,

"not denying that some of them have no alternative but emigration, I maintain, that by far the greater number emigrate from the prevalence of passion and caprice."¹⁵

Irvine's utter contempt for emigration from the Highlands, is clearly shown in the following quota/^{tion} which appeared in the Scots Magazine which printed extracts in February and April 1803 from his work.

"Thus imagination, aided by misconception, with increasing force impels the vain, the foolish, the thoughtless, the credulous and enterprising, to pursue airy and impracticable schemes of happiness, and rather lose what they really possess, than forego what they imagine they may possess".¹⁶

Similar views to those expressed by the two previous writers were put forward by a number of other persons in the period before the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The general concensus of these views was that emigration was not the best solution to the problems of the Highlands, rather the answer lay in providing more opportunities for employment by developing the resources of the area.¹⁷

The one publication that appeared during this period advocating large scale emigration from the Highlands was written by the Earl of Selkirk who dealt in considerable detail with the changing situation in the Highlands and the necessity of emigration from the region.¹⁸ Selkirk's later colonization activities in British North America have been discussed previously in Chapter three. In his book Selkirk attempted to show the importance of emigration in promoting national prosperity in Britain; in maintaining the 'public peace' and in assisting the growth of the British colonies. He discussed the prejudices of the Highland

proprietors against emigration; the various means that were suggested to keep the Highlanders at home and the activities of the Highland Society with regards to emigration. Selkirk concluded however that the various suggestions for keeping the people at home, for example fisheries, manufactures, would not reduce the necessity of emigration and that the Passenger Act of 1803, while making emigration in some ways more difficult would not stop the emigrations. Selkirk was very much in favour of some form of organized emigration with assistance from the government, and as has been noted Selkirk was not satisfied to be merely a theorist but took active steps to put his theories to the test.

The book met with some approval¹⁹, but in view of the general sentiment of the period the book prompted at least three other authors to reply in 1806 in rebuttal to Selkirk's views. J. Gordon of Craig, using the name Amicus, wrote a series of letters in the Edinburgh Herald and Chronicle which were then collected and published in a 59 page pamphlet. Amicus began by describing Selkirk's book as,

"little else than the fruit of a inconsiderate and juvenile enthusiasm, grounded on certain mistaken principles, and fraught with many dangerous consequences."²⁰

The author felt very strongly that the "peasantry" of a country was vital to its well being and that emigration was wrong as long as one unproductive acre remained to be improved. Britain needed soldiers, sailors and farmers so "is it possible to deny the importance of an abundant population?"²¹ Amicus also thought that emigration did not benefit those who left as he had heard from a "good source" that not

one in ten who had previously emigrated had survived after a few years "the calamities of his fate" and that very few had reached the third generation overseas.²² Such an outlook and opinions appear rather extreme today, but are very indicative of the anti-emigration feelings of a number of Scottish landlords during this period.

A much larger work of 353 pages appeared in Edinburgh in 1806, entitled Remarks on the Earl of Selkirk's Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland. There was no indication of the identity of the author, other than the fact that he did not agree with Lord Selkirk. The arguments in this book tended to be much more reasonable and detailed than those of Amicus, yet, the conclusions were almost identical.

"History teaches us, that the internal strength of a nation is in no case to be estimated by the extent of its territory, but by the number of its citizens, and the utility of their labours".

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

"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."²³

The author discussed a number of improvements that could be made in the Highlands and suggested that if the landlords decide to continue their clearances to make way for sheep, that these changes should be made gradually and with sufficient warning to the people. He also claimed that the activities of the Highland Society with regard to the Passenger Act of 1803 were not designed to stop the emigrations

but rather were meant to protect "the poor deluded creatures, who entrusted themselves to the designing artifices of speculators."²⁴

The third publication to appear in 1806 which was critical of Lord Selkirk's views was written by Robert Brown who at the time was a Sheriff Substitute of the western district of Inverness-shire and factor for Clanranald. Brown began by claiming that Selkirk's knowledge of the Highlands was very superficial and that rather than being overcrowded and needing emigration,

"these counties require the aid of new settlers to stock them properly, and to convert to profit all those sources of industry which nature presents."²⁵

The author suggested the improvement of agriculture and fisheries which would then provide a "comfortable subsistence" in the Highlands for "a brave and hardy race of men, who are both able and willing to defend their country, by sea, as well as by land."²⁶ This reference to the role of the Highlands as a nursery for the armed forces appeared frequently in anti-emigration arguments and is understandable as this was the period of the Napoleonic Wars, for example, the Battle of Trafalgar took place in 1805. Brown claimed that he had no objection to some people emigrating but felt that the real danger was the tendency "to emigrate en masse" as a result of "seductive representations."²⁷ Brown suggested that those people in the Highlands who were not willing to work, could very profitably be taken by Lord Selkirk, indeed he went so far as to claim that,

"It is generally the idle and indolent class of tenants who seem most anxious to emigrate. The steady and industrious, rather show a disposition to remain at home."²⁸

This last statement will be questioned later in the present study (see Chapter ten) and further reference to the views of Robert Brown will be made later in this chapter. The author provided an appendix which contained a detailed list of the emigrant ships leaving from the Highlands in 1801-02-03 as a means of reinforcing his opinion that emigration from the area was increasing rapidly with serious implications.

This large body of anti-emigration feeling expressed by a considerable number of Highland landlords and writers during the period prior to 1815 can be summed up as being derived from several factors - a continuance of the old feelings based on the clan system where a large number of followers were a chief's pride;²⁹ the need for a 'nursery' of soldiers to defend the country; the growth and importance of the labour intensive kelp industry; and the idea that there were resources in the Highlands that could be developed through improved methods of agriculture, fisheries and manufactures.

Before continuing into the period after 1815 to examine the changes that were to take place in the attitudes of the Highland landlords toward emigration, the attitudes of several specific landlords for this earlier period will be mentioned briefly. Efforts were made by the Duke of Gordon, Grant of Glenmorriston, and Chisholm of Chisholm to maintain the population on their estates by reducing the rents charged to their tenants.³⁰

On the Earl of Breadalbane's estate in Perthshire

considerable anxiety was expressed in 1785 by the trustees and chamberlain on the estate about possible emigration to Nova Scotia. By 1815 this attitude had changed slightly, as the Earl of Breadalbane in writing to his factor concerning the recent government encouragement for emigration to Upper Canada stated, "I do not wish...either to give encouragement to emigration, or absolutely discourage it, if it appears at all on my estate."³¹

Yet even in February 1817 references appear to efforts being made to keep the people on the Breadalbane estate. In that month, John Campbell W.S. who had been the government commissioner for emigration in 1815 and was also an agent for the Earl of Breadalbane, wrote to the Colonial Office concerning a recent petition by 450 people on the Earl's estates, asking for government assistance for emigration to Canada.³² Campbell expressed his and the Earl's concern about possible emigration from the area, and explained that the Earl did not want to replace his people with sheep but would rather see them remain and prosper on his estate. The Earl "with a due consideration to circumstances" had in 1817 granted a decrease of from 20 - 25 per cent in the rents on his estates. Campbell then described his view of the tenantry and their situation on the Breadalbane estates and finally in the rest of the Highlands.

"They (tenantry on Breadalbane estates) are, very generally, a sober, industrious and brave people, and of good morals, and much attached to their master; and have hardly ever, not even at the close of the American war, had to grapple with the pressure of the times, at least, such such an extent:-and hearing of the good treatment of a few neighbours, who

went to America (meaning here, Upper Canada), under the encouragement of Government in 1815, have had their minds perhaps, somewhat afloat upon this subject, not considering that the tenant must take his share with the master in the general distress - It is suspected, too, that some may have thought of this plan, merely from a restless spirit, or who may have met with misfortunes, not arising out of recent circumstances: and I have no doubt, that the greatest part of them, upon receiving your answer to the petition (the government offer of assistance had been withdrawn in 1816), and knowing of the abatements that are to be allowed in their rents, will have changed their minds, and sit down quiet at home - At the same time, I think, that such is the population of the Highlands, that there are few districts, from which some men may not be spared, for emigration to the low country of Scotland, as well as to the colonies."³³

Finally in the Macleod of Macleod manuscripts there is an interesting selection of correspondence about an incident which took place in the autumn of 1811 on the Isle of Skye. At this time the government regulations stated that no passengers were permitted to board a ship for emigration except at a port which contained a Customs House, although in this early period this regulation was often difficult to enforce. The result was that early statistics for emigration from the Highlands are often faulty or totally lacking. It came to the attention of J. N. Macleod of Dunvegan that the ship Catherine and Edward was in Loch Bracadale taking on emigrants for North America. Macleod began a correspondence with the customs officials at Fort William in order to try and prevent the ship from leaving and even suggested that the militia should be called out for this purpose. The reason behind Macleod's action was possibly to uphold the legal regulations but more likely was based on his concern to prevent emigrations from his estates on Skye. John Macdonald, the tidesman at Glenelg, referred to a great deal of resentment and

dissatisfaction among the people in Skye during this period, which was no doubt related to the growing urge to emigrate. The militia were not called out, and the incident ended when the ship left Loch Bracadale to be cleared by the Customs at Tobermory.³⁴

1815 - 1840

This second period, between 1815 and 1840, was one of considerable change in the attitudes of the landlords to emigration. At the beginning of this period the majority of Highland landlords were against emigration from their estates while at the end of this period the majority had accepted the necessity of emigration and many landlords were beginning to consider active methods of encouraging the movement overseas.

Quoting from Malcolm Gray's excellent work, The Highland Economy, 1750 - 1850,

"After 1815...in growing agrarian discomfiture landlords, administrators and social theorists succumbed to theories of over-population and began to look for improvement to the clearing of the land by emigration and to the damping down of population increase by more stringent control of land."³⁵

This then was the real beginning of the major period of clearances to make way for sheep and the consolidation of large farms in the Highlands, although the peak of the clearances was not reached until the 1840's.

However in the period prior to 1840 it is safe to say that only a small proportion of those who emigrated from western Highlands and Islands were forced to do so as a direct result of clearances by landlords. Where clearances took place from inland areas land was

often provided to the people along the coast and increased emphasis placed on kelping and fisheries. Indeed there is little evidence for the widely held belief (both then and now) that it was the introduction of sheep which caused the depopulation and decline in the Highlands of Scotland.³⁶ However such evictions did add to the real problem of the Highlands, that of congestion and overcrowding on an inadequate resource base.

"Such congestion was not created by any sudden switch of population; it was the outcome of age-old land poverty, of increasing population, of industries rising and declining, of the movement of prices."³⁷

In the period between 1815 and 1840 the increasing interest in emigration was evident among the tenants in the Highlands, as well as among the landlords. The several government attempts at assisted emigration in 1815 and in the early 1820's acted as a stimulus to a large number of people in the Highlands, initially to seek government assistance for emigration to British North America (which after 1815 was not offered to people in the Highlands) and finally to emigrate if possible on their own.³⁸

In 1836 and 1837 the already deteriorating conditions in the north west Highlands and Islands were further complicated by a failure of the potato crop which was rapidly becoming the staple food in the area. Public donations to a Highland Destitution Fund and the efforts of the various landlords succeeded in overcoming the crisis, which however, was merely a prelude to an even more severe famine in the late 1840's. The Glasgow Committee of the Highland Destitution Fund felt that assisting emigration was in

many cases particularly in Skye a more intelligent use of their funds than providing free food. This Committee suggested that if the proprietor made available £1 per emigrant, that the Edinburgh and Glasgow committees would each contribute ten shillings. The Central Committee in London was not prepared to assist emigration, feeling rather that their funds were only available for immediate relief. However, the Glasgow Committee decided to make some of their own funds available and provided a total of £1200 for outfitting emigrants, from the estates of Lord Macdonald and Mr. Mackenzie of Seaforth. The Glasgow Committee's total disbursement was nearly £29,000, almost entirely for oatmeal.³⁹ The Glasgow Committee also undertook a survey of fifty-two parishes in the northwest Highlands and Islands in 1837-38 from which a return was made for forty-five parishes concerning their disposition to emigrate: sixteen parishes stated that more than one third of their population or a great number were so disposed; twenty-one parishes stated less than one third or some; and eight stated that few or no people were disposed to emigrate. Seventeen parishes qualified their disposition to emigrate by the words "if means provided". In fifty-two parishes for which a return to the survey was made, most likely by the parish minister, emigration was given as the sole means recommended to permanently improve the situation in twenty-six instances, while ten others recommended emigration in conjunction with some other changes. It is also interesting to note that these fifty-two parishes were owned by 195 proprietors of which only forty-six proprietors (24%) were resident in the parish.⁴⁰ Thus by the late 1830's there was a growing interest

in emigration in the Highlands, but the actual emigrations were being restricted in many cases by financial considerations. The government was not prepared to finance emigration to British North America (the preferred destination of the majority of potential emigrants) and the landlords, while beginning to encourage emigration, were either unable or unwilling to provide financial assistance.

The changing attitudes of the landlords after 1815 was brought about largely by the growing pressure of population on the available resources and the generally declining economic position of the Highlands relative to Britain as a whole, further complicated by recurring crop failures and periods of famine. Also, after 1815, and reaching a peak in the late 1830's and early 1840's, a large number of estates in the north west Highlands and Islands were sold to new proprietors, who generally were not anxious to subsidize a growing number of dependent people on their estates.⁴¹

In March 1817, all of the proprietors of the Long Island (from Harris to Barra) petitioned the government for a loan in order that they could purchase relief food supplies, which were necessitated by a crop failure in 1816. The petitioners included such large and important landowners as Lord Macdonald, MacLeod of Harris, Macdonald of Clanranald, Mackenzie of Seaforth and MacNeill of Barra. The petition stated their belief that there was "a great surplus population in these Islands."⁴² The House of Commons Select Committee on Emigration which sat in 1826 and 1827, while

mainly concerned in Scotland with the possibility of emigration from the Lowlands, did receive some evidence that the landlords in the Highlands were becoming less averse to emigration from their estates.⁴³ In 1838, following the distress of 1836 and 1837, the government received a petition from landowners in Arisaig, Moidart and Morar requesting that the government provide assistance to emigration from these areas.⁴⁴

Although in the period 1815 to 1840 there was a growing acceptance on the part of landlords and various writers⁴⁵ the landlords made few efforts to financially assist these emigrants. Indeed in the next period to be discussed (1840 to 1855) the landlords continued to ask for government assistance (which generally was not forthcoming) until the late 1840's and early 1850's when a number of the larger landlords undertook to provide part of the cost of the emigrations.

One example of the landlord's attitude in the period immediately after 1815 is that of Sir Hugh Innes, Baronet, who was the principal proprietor in the parish of Lochalsh, Ross-shire. In July 1820 and February 1824 petitions were received by the government from a large number of families in the parishes of Kintail, Glenshiel and Lochalsh asking for assistance to emigrate to British North America. At that time Sir Hugh suggested to the government that it assist these people to emigrate. In giving evidence before the Emigration Committee in 1826 he described how a number of people with small capital had emigrated from the Lochalsh area two or three years previously, but many of the poor people who remained also wished

to emigrate. However, when asked how much the landlords were prepared to assist in this matter Sir Hugh stated that the landlords in Kintail and Lochalsh would not likely promote emigration by providing financial help.⁴⁶ A similar refusal on the part of many Highland landlords raised the whole issue of their responsibility to the people on their property - an issue that was to be perhaps the major point of conflict in the Highlands during the remainder of the period under discussion and, indeed the resulting bitterness has lingered on in many areas to the present day.

1840 - 1855

In the period from 1840 to 1855, the growing problem of poverty and distress continued to change the attitudes and actions of the Highland landlords with regard to emigration. Before continuing however, a few facts should be provided concerning the characteristics and operations of the Scottish Poor Law System, in order to provide background to the following period. The Scottish Poor Laws first appeared in the legal system in the sixteenth century and their basic structure remained almost unchanged until the year 1845. Prior to 1845 these Poor Laws had two primary characteristics which concern us here - first, although assessment was legal, most of the poor were supported by voluntary contributions in the parish churches with the relief being distributed by the Kirk session in each parish; second, relief was not available by right for the able-bodied poor (i.e. occasional poor who were affected by some temporary situation were forced to accept any form of charity they could get),^{but} only for the regular poor (i.e. the aged, infirm

and orphans).⁴⁷

On the other hand the English Poor Law provided legal relief for the able-bodied poor and following the Act of 1834 enabled English parishes to mortgage their rates in order to obtain money to assist emigrants from their parishes. The situation in Ireland was similar after 1837.⁴⁸ Although the average annual number from England assisted was not large, between 1834 and 1860 over 25,000 persons emigrated in this way.⁴⁹ It is interesting to compare the English and Scottish systems in 1840 regarding the percent of population receiving relief and the average rate per head of total population - England (7 3/4%, 5s 10½d) Scotland (3 1/6%, 1s3d). The average amount of relief provided to each recipient in Scotland was also about half the English amount.⁵⁰

The failure of the Scottish Poor Law to both provide an adequate amount of relief to the regular poor and no legal relief at all to the able-bodied poor, soon became a major issue with the deteriorating economic situation in the Highlands and growing pockets of urban poverty in the Lowlands, particularly in times of occasional industrial depression (e.g. the weavers). The chairmen of the Glasgow Highland Destitution Committee (1837) stated that,

"the poor law of Scotland, in fact, so far as the greater part of the Highlands and Islands are concerned, is little more than a dead letter."⁵¹

The early 1840's saw the appearance of a number of publications damning the operation of the Scottish Poor Law. Archibald

Alison, the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, in his Principles of Population stated,

"The voluntary charity of the affluent is utterly incapable of relieving distress where it exists in this extended scale (he was referring to the cities but it was shortly to apply to the Highlands). The accumulation of the poor in great numbers, in certain districts, banishes benevolence itself from their neighbourhood. The humane turn with horror from a mass of indigence which they find themselves utterly unable to relieve; the unfeeling forget the suffering of their brethren in their own selfish enjoyments."⁵²

Dr. W. P. Alison commented in 1840 upon,

"the insufficiency and inequality of the system by which the Scottish poor are supported. The allowance granted them falls miserably short of the sum necessary to support even a bare existence, and the burden of maintaining them lies to a great extent on the middle classes of society."⁵³

This growing opposition to the system⁵⁴ resulted in a review being made in 1843 which was followed by a new Scottish Poor Law Act in 1845. By this Act, an overall Board of Supervision in Edinburgh and local boards of managers (chosen by local land owners in relation to the value of their property) were set up to administer the Act. The new system still did not admit any legal provision of relief for the able bodied poor, although after 1848 the Board of Supervision ruled that this did not necessarily preclude the provision of relief to the occasional poor in exceptional circumstances.⁵⁵

The question of the landlords responsibility for providing relief to the poor, appeared in the Lowlands early in the period under discussion, occasioned by frequent depressions in manufacturing during the 1820's. During the winter of 1819-20, the government received

representations in Parliament from a number of Scottish Members of Parliament concerning the growing distress and unrest among the "labouring poor" and asking for government help in providing relief. Lord Castlereagh replied that while the government was aware of the problem, it felt that it was a matter of local distress and that the proprietors of the land in Scotland had the power, though not the obligation, of assessing themselves for the relief of the poor, as was done in England.⁵⁶

Generally speaking the Lowland landlords were concerned about the problem of poor relief in periods of distress and in emigration as a possible solution to the problem,⁵⁷ although the Select Committee on Emigration in 1826-27 was informed by several witnesses that the Lowland landlords were not prepared to assist emigration but were not against the government providing such assistance.⁵⁸ In March 1827, R. W. Horton at the Colonial Office received a letter from Robert Beath, the President of the Kirkfield Bank Emigration Society which contained some interesting comments on this situation. Beath stated that even with the recent hard times, no member of their Society was on "the regular Paupers Roll of the parish. Consequently the Heritors, except from Motives of humanity does not need to trouble themselves about whether we get to Canada or not." He suggested that the Scottish Poor Law should be made similar to that in England but added "We Sir would still prefer Emigration even to a very liberal Scale of poor Rates."⁵⁹

However the question of the landlords responsibility for

providing relief for the poor on their property did not become a major public issue until the early 1840's, when the deteriorating situation of the Highland economy and growing population pressure led to growing demands for more adequate provision for the poor. The Rev. Dr. Robert Burns, who was very active in helping emigrants from Scotland and in establishing the Scottish churches in Upper Canada, commented in 1841 on the inadequacy of the Poor Laws and the moral obligation on the part of the landlords to provide for the people on their estates, an obligation which he claimed was not being fulfilled. He added,

"I would plead for the imposition of a suitable assessment on the owners of land and other property in the highlands and islands of Scotland."⁶⁰

In 1841, Henry Baillie, M.P., tabled a motion in the House of Commons for the establishment of a committee on Highland Destitution. Lord John Russell, speaking for the government, stated that while he did not object to the establishment of such a committee, that Parliament was not bound to provide funds to assist emigration in order "to take care of all those whom the landlords declare to be a burden upon their lands".⁶¹ The Scottish Patriot, a Chartist newspaper, was even more severe in its criticism of the Highland landowners when it reprinted the following comments from the Morning Chronicle.

"we cannot conceive that any good can benefit from the inquiry...that the Highland Lairds would be very glad to shift the burden of maintaining the destitute reared on their estates from their own shoulders, we can easily understand; but it becomes a serious matter to embark the nation in affording them relief by a wholesale emigration".⁶²

By the end of the 1840's and early 1850's a growing number of people were commenting on the reluctance of the landowners in the Highlands to provide adequate relief from their own resources; on the landlords demands for government assistance; and finally on the belief that the landlords were forcing the people on their estates to emigrate so that the landlords would not be liable to provide such relief.⁶³ Indeed in 1844 and again in 1851, references were made to the possibility of compulsory assessment and legal provision for the able bodied poor. Such a possibility could not but make proprietors eager to be rid of a surplus and destitute population on their estates.⁶⁴

Returning to the early 1840's, we will continue the examination of the changing attitude of the Highland landlords to emigration. In January 1840, a meeting of the Highland Society in Edinburgh requested that the government should provide financial assistance toward emigration. By April 1840, the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission which had been in contact with the Highland landlords put forward a scheme for emigration to Canada whereby the total costs of the emigration would be shared - one quarter by the British government, one half by the various parties in Britain and one quarter by colonial resources. The Commission stated that,

"The Highland proprietors assured us that they would readily assent to the scheme and would subscribe largely; that they were now at a large annual expense for the maintenance of the unemployed peasants and fishermen who remained on their estates, and that they would gladly relieve themselves from this charge, which yearly became more onerous, by a considerable outlay at once."⁶⁵

This attitude on the part of the Highland landlords is definitely confirmed by the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee on Scotland which sat in 1841. Several witnesses stated that proprietors would pay one third of the cost if the remainder was obtained from the government or elsewhere.⁶⁶ There was general agreement on the part of the witnesses, who included a large number of landlords and factors from most areas in the west Highlands and Islands, that emigration was both desirable and necessary. Suggestions were also made as to the number of people that should be removed from certain areas.⁶⁷ One exception appeared to be the mainland area of south west Argyllshire where a number of the proprietors were not in favour of emigration, perhaps because this area had already lost considerable population to the adjacent Lowlands.⁶⁸

It was during the period of the early 1840's that Dr. Thomas Rolph, M.D., came to play an active role in encouraging and directly Scottish emigration to British North America, particularly to Canada. He is described by Helen Cowan as combining "the qualities of an energetic emigration agent, an avid land salesman, and a tireless manipulator of settlement schemes."⁶⁹ Rolph's activities are presented in considerable detail in books by himself, Cowan and Shepperson and only the main points relating to Scotland will be presented here.⁷⁰

Soon after his arrival in Upper Canada as an army doctor in 1833, Rolph became interested in the settlement and colonization of the colony, which he considered the critical factors in its growth. He was particularly anxious that emigration from the

United Kingdom should be directed to British North America and not to the United States. Rolph left the army in June 1839, and from that time until the end of 1842 devoted his complete energy to the above objective. Rolph travelled to Britain in the late summer of 1839 in conjunction with Bishop Macdonell (see Chapter six). From London, Rolph travelled to, and spoke in Inverness (October 4), Glasgow (October 18) and Cork, Ireland. He was well received in Glasgow and stated at the public meeting which was chaired by the Lord Provost, that,

"The Highland proprietors, suffering from great redundancy of population, and inadequate means for their subsistence, are willing to spare us some of their faithful, and, to us, invaluable, settlers."⁷¹

Following this meeting a local committee of prominent individuals was formed in Glasgow to provide money, and encouragement for emigration to Canada from Scotland.

Rolph continued travelling and speaking in Ireland and England, returning to Scotland in January 1840 to attend a meeting in Edinburgh called by the Duke of Argyll who acted as chairman. The meeting was attended by a large number of prominent landowners and Scottish members of Parliament including the Earl of Dunmore, Lord Macdonald, Sir J. M. Riddell, Sir George Sinclair M.P., T. Mackenzie of Applecross M.P. The Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod, who was the first speaker, described the distressing situation in the Highlands and stated that although he deplored the fact that the Highlanders should be from necessity removed from their homeland he was forced to state,

"that the only and most effectual cure of the great evils under which the people were suffering, was a well organized system of Emigration; and in that opinion, he stated, he was borne out by the sentiments of almost all the well-informed individuals in the country."⁷²

This meeting concluded by resolving to petition both Houses of Parliament for the adoption of a plan for systematic emigration with the help of government funds. A meeting of the Highland Society on January 12th agreed on a similar resolution and on the establishment of a permanent committee for promoting emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland to Canada. This committee met for the first time on February 8th in London, at which time Rolph was elected to it, as an honorary member. It was during this same period, in the spring of 1840 that the North American Colonial Committee was formed in London, consisting of members of the Highland Society and representatives of the Canada Company, the British American Land Company and the North American Colonial Association of Ireland. The objective of this impressive committee was to lobby the government concerning the merits of obtaining government financial assistance for emigration to British North America, in the form of a free passage to emigrants and ensuring some provision being made by the colonial governments for their reception.

At a meeting of the North American Colonial Committee in London on May 9th, 1840, those in attendance included the Duke of Argyll, Lord Macdonald and Dr. Rolph, the following resolution was passed,

"viewing the awful and appalling condition of the

of the Inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, their vehement desire to remove to Canada expressed in numerous petitions to both Houses of Parliament, and the earnest desire of the Proprietors to save their people (it might have added, to save themselves as well) from destruction by promoting measures for their judicious removal - this Committee will confer and cooperate with those Proprietors or their agents most interested in the removal of their overpeopled lands."⁷³

Rolph returned to Upper Canada in September 1840 where he helped form the Canadian Emigration Association in October and was appointed by the Governor General as emigration agent for Canada in November.⁷⁴ He sailed for Britain in January 1841 where again he was active in stimulating and organizing interest in emigration to British North America. Rolph gave evidence before the Select Committee on Emigration from Scotland in March and May 1841 as well as travelled to Scotland where he spoke at public meetings concerning support for various emigration societies in Glasgow and Paisley on March 16th and 17th respectively. At the meeting in Paisley, Rolph stated that,

"He did not come here to advise any person to emigrate, but to give such advice as he thought would be beneficial to those who had a desire to do so, and give them all the information he possessed."⁷⁵

This statement by Rolph is in many ways deceptive, in that far from taking a neutral stand on emigration to Canada, his glowing accounts and organizational activities did much to encourage emigration. Such actions soon brought complaints from the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, which combined with his considerable involvement with various land companies led to his appointment as emigration agent for Canada being terminated in December 1842.⁷⁶

It should be added that throughout this period Rolph was writing a considerable amount of material dealing with Canada and emigration from Britain.⁷⁷

Before leaving the discussion of the role played by Thomas Rolph in encouraging emigration from Scotland and his relations with the Scottish landlords reference should be made to the British American Association for Emigration and Colonization. In 1621 King James I granted Sir William Alexander, who was to become the Earl of Stirling, lands in North America in the area that was to become the colonies of Nova Scotia (New Scotland) and New Brunswick. An order of baronets was established with each baronet paying a fee and agreeing to settle the lands granted to him. Attempts were made to begin a settlement but these failed, partly due to the disruptive affects of the English-French wars of the period.⁷⁸

The whole question of the rights and objectives of the Baronets of Scotland and Nova Scotia lay more or less buried until revived in 1837 by Sir Richard Broun, who had been instrumental in the formation of the Central Agricultural Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Broun soon involved Rolph in a scheme whereby each thought their own objects would be obtained - Broun in reviving the land claims of the Baronets and Rolph in the systematic colonization of British North America. Thus the British American Association was formally established in the spring of 1842 with the Duke of Argyll as president. The main objectives of the Association as stated in April 1842 were the relief of the distressed population

of Scotland; the strengthening of British influence in the North American colonies; the introduction of a well organized system of emigration under the direction of the Consultative Council of the Association and the retention of "the connecting tie between the landlord and his tenantry which has hitherto formed the characteristic of the Scottish people."⁷⁹ The Association's prospectus contained the names of one duke, four marquesses, four earls, seven barons, thirty-nine baronets, the Lord Provosts of Edinburgh and Glasgow and numerous other Scottish men of prominence.⁸⁰ During the spring and summer of 1842 plans were laid for the purchase of large tracts of land along the lower St. Lawrence River, in Prince Edward Island and in Upper Canada. A deputation from the Association, including Rolph, travelled to Scotland in May 1842 to attract support both for emigration and the Association. Well attended meetings were held in Edinburgh (May 24th), Glasgow (May 27th) and Paisley (May 27th).⁸¹

However the Association's situation was not as favourable as it appeared on the surface. The Association began to come under public and private criticism during the summer of 1842 and following the fiasco of the ship Barbados which was chartered by the Association to transport emigrants to Prince Edward Island, the bubble burst. It would appear that, while the sponsors of the Association were full of ideas, its nominal backers were mostly interested in what they could get out of the situation and as a result put nothing into it. The collapse of the Association in the winter of 1842-43 was accompanied by a considerable public outcry and many recriminations within the

Association.⁸² Although the Duke of Argyll had managed to resign in October 1842 the press were far from gentle in their criticism of his role in the Association. The Duke stated his position in 1842 by saying,

"I certainly took a deep interest in the British American Emigration Society, having upon my estates in the Western Highlands and Islands too large a population for the space inhabited by them, and wishing, of course, that many of them should have the opportunity, if they wished it, of emigrating to North America, in such a manner as would be most advantageous for themselves, I consented to be named president of the society."⁸³

However many people viewed the matter from quite a different perspective.

"It is really surprising how men of honour and rank will (allow) designing...persons to traffic to the injury and loss of other people with their names; it is not more surprising than it is scandalous."⁸⁴

"certain Scottish baronets, laudably employed in seducing, or seeking to seduce, thriving and industrious men from their business, transporting them to Prince Edward's Island with money which never existed, and bargaining to sell them land which the baronets aforesaid never had, or were likely to have."⁸⁵

It is interesting to note that despite this major setback, the Scottish baronets continued to press their claim for lands in Nova Scotia. A committee was set up in November 1844 with Sir Richard Broun, again as Secretary and as late as 1850 the Journal of Agriculture contained the following remarks on their claims.

"The Nova Scotia Question is one which concerns the domestic welfare of every family of Scottish blood, high or low, rich or poor. It is interwoven with the nobler national reminiscences of the past, and bears upon the higher national destinies of the future."⁸⁶

However in spite of this patriotic appeal, nothing came of these claims,

primarily because the government and the general public felt that the baronets were over two hundred years late in trying to revive their hopes of making a financial gain at someone else's expense.

In concluding this section which has dealt with Dr. Thomas Rolph and his relations both with the Highland landlords and Scottish emigration generally, it can be said that his energetic activities and organization did much to stimulate emigration as well as to create a growing awareness of the advantages of emigration from Scotland to the British North American colonies, particularly Canada.

Up to this point we have seen the changing attitudes of the Highland landowners on the subject of emigration, until by the early 1840's a majority of these landowners were in favour, to some degree, of emigration from their estates. Individual unassisted emigration continued to take place and the landowners continued to ask for, and in many ways expected the government to provide financial help for large scale assisted emigration. This attitude, however, was finally shattered by the events and conditions beginning with the potato famine in the years 1845-47.

Malcolm Gray's description of the deteriorating Highland economy describes the situation very clearly.

"All the world is aware of the calamities of the potato famine of the forties, in Ireland and in the Highlands. What is less well known is that this was but the culmination, in the Highlands at least, of three decades of creeping hardship and despair."

"Through the twenties, thirties, and most of all the forties, falling incomes, undiminished monetary needs and intermittent increase in the demand for imported food pressed hard upon any realisable stocks; a

penurious aristocracy could scarcely bear the burden of adaptation, by rent remission and import of meal, and almost certainly peasant stocks of cattle, their sole realisable store of wealth, were being shaved down...thus were greater and greater numbers of crofters deprived of their chief means of earning money income and forced back to a simple subsistence standard with only casual earnings to meet debts and recurring and insistent needs."⁸⁷

Although the potato was not generally adopted in the Highlands until the later part of the eighteenth century, its spread was so rapid that by 1846 potatoes formed between three-quarters and seven-eighths of the diet of Highland families.⁸⁸ It was stated with considerable accuracy in 1794 that "the potato has done more to prevent emigration than any device whatever."⁸⁹ Thus it was not suprising in view of the dominant position the potato was to achieve, that the potato famine in the late 1840's led to a severe crisis in the Highlands of Scotland and a resulting increase in out migration from the area both to the Lowlands and overseas.⁹⁰

The spectre of widespread of famine and destitution led to the formation of several destitution committees (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Free Church) which came together in February 1847 under a Central Highland Relief Destitution Board. The object of the Relief Board was to make public appeals for donations, which would then be distributed by the Board in the form of food stuffs. In May 1847 the Central Boards Sub-Committee on Emigration decided that the Board should not become involved in encouraging emigration or in providing any funds to assist toward the passage money of emigrants. However it suggested that if emigration was being

carried on by proprietors the Board should supply provisions for the passage of such destitute persons to the amount that they would have received during the season if they had remained in Scotland. This suggestion was not accepted by the British Association (Relief fund) in London which was providing much of the Central Board's funds, so the idea was not acted upon. The general feeling was that any provision for emigration was outside the scope of the Destitution Fund, and that emigration should be left solely to landowners and the government.⁹¹

Appeals continued to be made to the Relief Board by landowners for some assistance in the form of food supplies for the voyage.⁹² In the spring of 1849, the Board decided that if it was satisfied that those being helped were already getting aid from the Destitution Fund and that "when they (emigrants) possess land, the proprietors do undertake to employ such land in extending the crofts of those who remain." Thus £43/1/9 was provided by the Board to tenants on the Lochalsh property of J. W. Lillingston.⁹³

The famines of the late 1840's and early 1850's were the final crushing blow to the already weakened economy particularly in the Northwest Highlands and Islands and emigration from many areas became a necessity both in the eyes of the landowners and the people. Sir Edward Coffin in his report in 1847 on the growing destitution stated that "among the resident gentry emigration to the colonies seems to be the sole remedy for the impending evil."⁹⁴

By the late 1840's many of the landowners in the Western

Highlands and Islands were in a very poor financial situation, as the result of large arrears of rent from many of their tenants and increasing expenditure to provide employment and relief on their estates. During the period under discussion, (1815 - 1855), the majority of estates in the Highlands had changed hands, largely for financial reasons.⁹⁷ One typical petition which was received by the government at this time, (August 1846), came from the landowners and businessmen on the Island of Skye asking that the government should make available money for loans at a low rate of interest, so that the landowners could provide employment for the people on their estates through the undertaking of various improvements, for example, drainage and road building.⁹⁸ The government agreed to this and legislation was passed, known as the Drainage Acts of 1846 (9 and 10 Victoria cap 101) and 1847 (10 and 11 Victoria cap 11). A large number of loans (interest rate $6\frac{1}{4}\%$) were made by the government under the terms of this Act to landowners in the Highlands.⁹⁹

Sir John M'Neill, in his Report to the Board of Supervision of the Scottish Poor Laws in 1851 on ^{the} Western Highlands and Islands, commented strongly regarding his belief in the necessity and advantage, (to emigrants, proprietors, government and general public), of emigration from the area. He suggested that if the government would not directly assist in the emigration to Canada, that it should extend the terms of the Drainage Acts to allow the loans to cover the costs of emigration as well.¹⁰⁰ The government accepted this suggestion and in August 1851, by the Emigration Advances Act, (14 and 15 Victoria cap 91), loans were made available for emigration, also at the interest rate of $6\frac{1}{4}\%$. The Act began by stating,

"Whereas great Distress prevails in certain Parts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, which would be most effectually relieved by affording Facilities for the voluntary Emigration of a Portion of the Population of these Districts."¹⁰¹

Before a loan could be given, the Act stipulated that the Poor Law Board of Scotland had to approve that such an emigration was expedient and that details of the proposed emigration had to be sent to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission in London . In 1852, the Poor Law Board approved of loans for emigration purposes to the trustees or proprietors of the following properties - Coll (Maclean of Coll), Lewis (Sir James Matheson), Ardnamurchan (Sir James Riddell), Lochsheil (Mr. Macdonald), Strathaird (Mr. McAllister) Harris (Lord Dunmore) and Duirnish and Bracadale (MacLeod of MacLeod). Similar approval was given in 1853 to Lord MacDonald for property on the east coast of Skye, Skeabost (Mr. Donald MacDonald) and the Glengarry property in the parish of Glenelg.¹⁰² It should be noted that the money obtained under this Act was used by the proprietors to assist emigration both to the British North American colonies as well as to Australia. Although the Act appears to have been reasonably useful in its first two years, an examination of its effectiveness in relation to the problem and to the total amount of money spent on emigration shows that it was on the whole not widely used by the landowners. There are perhaps three reasons for this - first, many of the proprietors were already in very poor financial circumstances and were not prepared to increase their liabilities further; second, the fact that approval for, and details of the emigration, had to be examined by government bodies acted as a discouragement; third, during

the period 1848 - 1852 over seven thousand persons were assisted to emigrate to the port of Quebec by Highland landlords and as a result of several instances of forced emigration and harsh treatment by landlords a considerable anti-landlord and anti-emigration feeling developed among a vocal section of public opinion, which tended to act as a deterrent to further landlord assisted emigration.

It was during this period of the early 1850's that the Highland and Island Emigration Society was formed, with the object of assisting and organizing emigration from the Highlands and Islands. The Skye Emigration Society was formed in the summer of 1851, largely through the efforts of Thomas Fraser, Sherriff Substitute of Skye and this Society acted as the nucleus for the later organization. The Highland and Island Emigration Society, (His Royal Highness Prince Albert was a patron), made public appeals for funds which it then spent on organizing, selecting and outfitting emigrants to Australia. While the Society could have assisted emigrants to Canada it did not do so for several reasons - first, there were already large numbers emigrating from the Highlands to Canada, either on their own or with landlord assistance, and second, several of the organizers of the Society felt that Australia was a more suitable destination, and third, government financial assistance was provided to Australia emigrants but not to those going to Canada.¹⁰³ These funds were made available to the emigrant with the emphasis on assisting whole families rather than merely the able bodied, in the form of a loan, to be repaid to the Society following the emigrant's settlement in Australia. The proprietors of the estates

from which the emigrants were selected had to contribute one-third of the total cost, or no persons were taken from their estates. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, in conjunction with the Colonial authorities in Australia provided a free or assisted passage to those eligible under the scheme.¹⁰⁴ Between the years 1852 and 1857 5000 people emigrated in this way to Australia with the help of the Society. It is interesting to note that the type of people not eligible both for the assisted passage and the Society's loan were -

"Families in which there are more than two children under seven, or than three under ten years of age, - or in which the sons outnumber the daughters; - widowers and widows with young children; - Persons who intend to resort to the gold fields, to buy lands, or to invest capital in trade; - or who are in habitual receipt of parish relief; - or who have not been vaccinated, or not had the small pox; cannot be accepted."¹⁰⁵

Although this emigration from Scotland to Australia is outside the scope of the present work, a number of interesting observations on attitudes and conditions in the Highlands occur throughout the various correspondence and dealings of this Society. The General Acting Committee of the Skye Emigration Society made the following comments in September 1851 in a pamphlet appealing for funds from the general public.

"There are many people in every part of Skye who are now desirous to emigrate, and who are kept in this country only because they have not the means of providing for their removal to another, and many others to whom, though they have not at present the wish or the ability to emigrate, removal to the Colonies would be an exchange of wretchedness and danger for comfort and independence. The disinclination alluded to arises partly from want of information on the subject, partly from distrust of the motives of those who recommend the measure, but

principally from the apathy and indifference to the future which is perhaps the most melancholy of the consequences of the long continued distress which they have suffered."106

Frequent references appear in this correspondence to the fear and distrust felt by many of the people concerning emigration, which they thought would only benefit the landowners. Indeed, Sheriff Fraser, in writing to the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners in November 1851, stated that one of the main advantages to the formation of a large emigration association, representing all classes would be that this organization would be more likely to receive the confidence of the poor Highlanders.107

One final point which emerges from this correspondence was the initial hesitancy on the part of a number of the proprietors to financially assist emigration from their estates, although they were quite prepared to see the government or public donations pay for these emigrations.108 This was particularly true of properties which were under trusteeship as a result of continuing financial difficulties. Sir John M'Neill wrote to Sheriff Fraser in December 1851 stating that,

"The creditors on properties in Skye have no right to come before the public in forma pauperis and expect to be relieved of the whole cost of a change from which they are to derive a pecuniary advantage."109

The considerable divergence of opinion on this matter is clearly shown in the following correspondence between Sheriff Fraser, representing the Highland and Island Emigration Society and Robert Christie, agent for the Skeabost Property on Skye. In January 1852,

Sheriff Fraser wrote to Christie asking him again for a contribution to the emigration fund and commenting on the responsibility of the proprietors. Fraser stated that if "those creditors (who held much of the country) think themselves entitled to exact to the utmost all the rights of proprietorship without fulfilling the duties attached to that relationship" then perhaps the government would intervene, to make them accept these responsibilities, for example, with an able-bodied poor law. In his reply Mr. Christie did not attempt to evade the issue but came directly to the point by stating,

"I do not conceive there is any obligation, either legal or moral, upon a proprietor to support the able-bodied poor upon his estate, more particularly when, as is the case with Skeabost, these parties have been in possession of the estate for several years without paying any rent."¹¹⁰

There is an interesting footnote to this exchange of letters, as in 1853 the Poor Law Board of Scotland approved an application for a loan under the Emigration Advances Act for the Skeabost property on Skye.¹¹¹

One further theme under the general heading of the landlords should be discussed briefly here before concluding this section and proceeding to examine the role played by individual landlords in the emigrations. The development among the landlords, government and the general public over the period 1815 to 1855 of a feeling that emigration, from the Highlands and indeed many other parts of Scotland, was a normal, indeed often a necessary phenomenon has been presented previously in this study. However, there was a small vocal group particularly in the 1840's who spoke out strongly both against the necessity of emigration and the way in which emigration was carried on by landlords from their estates.

The first objection that emigration was not necessary and was a positive loss to the nation has been discussed previously in this chapter, particularly with reference to the attitudes of the Highland landlords in the period before 1815. Similar views continued to be expressed after this period as well. For example, James Browne wrote a lengthy reply in 1825 to Dr. John MacCulloch's book of 1819 which had been very much slanted in favour of the landlords and their views. Browne on the other hand, took up the case of the tenants and felt that emigration,

"could afford no sensible relief from the pressure of a disengaged population; it could only remove a drop from the bucket; it could only inflict a great evil on individuals without alleviating the general distress."¹¹²

Although by the early 1840's the Highland Society had greatly altered its earlier opposition to emigration, as late as 1837 it offered a prize for the best article by a proprietor on the subject of "the settlement of crofters" on ground which had not been previously cultivated due to the "natural barrenness and expense of cultivation."¹¹³ The early 1850's saw the appearance of several publications written by Donald Ross, a Glasgow lawyer, who felt very strongly that emigration was not necessary because as far as he was concerned there was no surplus population in the Highlands. Indeed he claimed that,

"Thousands besides me are satisfied, that were proprietors and people to do their duty, there is room enough, soil enough, and resources enough in the highlands of Scotland for double the population which they at present contain."¹¹⁴

From the vantage point of the mid-twentieth century it is plain to see that Ross' claims erred considerably on the side of over-optimism, yet his views were shared by others at the time. For example, George Mackay,

a land agent and surveyor in Inverness, writing in 1858, argued that it was often the best people who emigrated and that "every able-bodied labourer we lose is a loss to this country and a gain to the colony (Canada)."¹¹⁵ The second objection voiced against the growing emigration from the Highlands was largely concerned with the feelings that the landlords were not making sufficient efforts to help their people, (both in good and bad periods), but rather wanted to be rid of the growing population on their lands, both by encouraging emigration as well as actually driving the people from their homes. In many ways it is the memory of these emotions which are continually invoked in any discussion of this period in the Highlands, even to the present day.¹¹⁶

Referring again to Fullarton and Baird's comments on the Highland situation following the famine of 1837 where they state,

"we must express our conviction that, with few exceptions, they (landlords) have not done justice to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. It remains to be seen how far they are now prepared to repair their past errors."¹¹⁷

These comments were very mild in nature compared to those expressed by Donald M'Leod, both in his writings and public statements. Macleod was born in Sutherland where he was a stone mason by trade in Strathnaver. His opposition to the clearances, resulted in he and his family being forced to leave the area in 1831, but he was not to be silenced and his vocal anti-landlord feelings began to appear first in the Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle and then in book form in the early 1840's. At a public meeting held in Edinburgh late in 1846 to discuss possible relief measure for the growing destitution

in the Highlands, a speaker (thought to be Donald M'Leod) stated,

"Highland landlords are the legitimate parents and the guilty authors of this and of former distress and famine in the Highlands of Scotland, and should be made responsible for it and for future calamities which they are storing up for the unfortunate victims of their boundless avarice....Highland aristocrats, who were bent for years upon the destruction of Highlanders, and upon the extermination of the race from the soil."¹¹⁸

Another person who spoke out strongly against the growing number of clearances in the later part of the 1840's and early 1850's, was Thomas Mulock. He had been involved in a variety of activities including being a lawyer, pamphleteer, public speaker, and Baptist minister, prior to his arrival in Scotland in 1849. Mulock was for a time an editorial writer and then temporary editor for the Inverness Advertiser, a new Highland paper, which gave him an excellent opportunity to express his opinions on the Highland situation.¹¹⁹ During 1849 and 1850, Mulock wrote a series of articles in the periodical press, mainly the Inverness Advertiser, which were then published in book form. He laid the majority of blame for the deteriorating state of the Highlands upon the landlords and singled out certain of them for particular comment; for example, Mr. Lillingston of Lochalsh, Col. Gordon of Cluny, Mr. Baillie of Glenelg, Mr. A. M'Alister of Strathaird and Lord Macdonald. In fairness to Mulock, it should be noted that he recognized that the "miserable peasantry" were not without their faults, however he added, "the sinnership of the poor does not extenuate the sinful oppression of the rich."¹²⁰ Although Mulock's views were definitely biased against the landowners his writings do contain many insights into the social and economic conditions of the period. He began by

stating that he had no objection whatever to "natural, wholesome, voluntary emigration" in which case it is "with themselves (that) rest all the responsibilities of so grave a determination." However he felt that such a situation was very rarely the case in the Highlands during the 1840's. His analysis of the situation included the following comments -

"What I assert is this - that, in nine cases out of ten, the emigration of a large number of families is, however, cloaked, in fact and truth, a compulsory proceeding. The poor exiles are not captured, chained, driven to the coast, and forcibly shipped, like gangs of negroes on the slave share; but their condition is rendered miserable and hopeless in their native land."

"Men's minds were harassed - their lives embittered - their expectations totally crushed, by the persevering impolicy of their formerly kind landlord; and when a letter arrived from some refugee in America, recommending expatriation, the prospect then held out was seized on, as a raft is betaken to by shipwrecked mariners."

"The real drift of those proprietors who would force an emigration, is not to abridge the number of the peasantry, but to sweep all population from off their estates. Not a single croft would be enlarged, although hundreds of expelled crofters should be carried across the Atlantic, and die of famine or fever in the wilds of Canada."

"It is to the gross mal-administration of property in the Highlands that we must look for the solution of that want, and wretchedness, and oppression which, when hideously matured, make way for the expatriation of despairing, mourning multitudes."¹²¹

It is clear from the above comments and references, that the remedy of large scale assisted, (or forced, depending on one's point of view) emigrations as a major solution to the problems of the Highlands during the late 1840's, met with considerable opposition. As mentioned previously, this entire episode in Scottish history is so clouded by emotion that any clear conclusion is difficult to arrive at. There

is no doubt that many of the clearances and emigrations involved misery, hardship and heartbreak. It should be noted in this connection that living and working conditions in the industrial areas of Scotland were far from satisfactory during this period and that the philosophy of the day was not based on broad principles of social welfare for the population as a whole, which we have come to accept today. In view of the excessive population pressure on the available resources, and the resulting decline in the moral and physical situation of the Highland population, the present writer cannot but feel that these emigrations were both necessary and inevitable. This in no sense is meant to excuse or condone those landowners who did little or nothing to help their people cope with the deteriorating situation. Yet, it is difficult to refute the view that the situation and future prospects of those Highlanders who emigrated to Canada, and perhaps more particularly the prospects of their children, were much better than if they had never emigrated.

B. Individual Landlords.

The Highlands and Islands of Scotland have always exhibited a considerable degree of regional and local diversity in the factors and problems affecting the area, a fact that has been pointed out by a number of writers.¹²² There also existed a diversity in the type of landowners and their responses to the deteriorating economic situation which has been described earlier in this chapter. Perhaps the best description of the various dispositions shown by the Highland proprietors was given by Captain Poole R.N., who travelled throughout the area in 1846-47 as one of the government agents in charge of distributing relief supplies. He listed the following five types.

"The proprietor who was jealous of his people's sufferings, and claimed the right of providing for them without possessing the ability to do so efficiently; the proprietor who was able to provide for his tenants, and was doing so on principle not derived from hereditary impulse; the proprietor who was willing to provide for his people and being unable would not confess it; the proprietor who was willing and admitted his inability; and lastly, the proprietor who, with the power, was neglecting to provide for his people."¹²³

Although the above quotation does not refer solely to the Highland landowners' attitude toward and ability to assist in emigration, it does illustrate the considerable diversity in the situations and attitudes of the proprietors at that time. While the previous sections of this chapter have described the general changes in the landlords attitudes toward emigration in the period before 1855, the following sections will examine specific landlords. The prime focus will be on those landlords who provided assistance for people to emigrate from their estates to Upper Canada.

Clanranald (Macdonald of the Isles)

The first landowner to be examined is Clanranald (Macdonald of the Isles) who, at the end of the eighteenth century held large areas of land including Arisiag, Moidart, parts of the Small Isles, South Uist and Benbecula. Clanranald did nothing to assist emigrations from his lands, (by the time some landlords began to provide assistance he had no lands or people to assist), but will be discussed briefly here as an excellent example of the decline of the old hereditary Highland landowners and the changing landlord attitude toward emigration brought about by the changing economic and demographic conditions in the Highlands.

These changes appear quite clearly in the correspondence and activities of Robert Brown. Brown has appeared earlier in this chapter with regard to his book written in 1806 which was very critical of Lord Selkirk's writings and activities in the Highlands, and in particular of Selkirk's encouragement of emigration. In 1806, Brown was Sheriff-substitute of the Western District of Invernessshire, as well as acting as factor for a large number of Highland landowners. He served the Clanranald Estate as factor (1798-1811) and was a trustee (1811-1848). In 1855 he acted as factor as well, for Mr. Hume of Harris, Lord Seaforth, Mr. Macdonald of Vallay and Lady Campbell, Dowager of Lochneil.¹²⁴ After 1811 he moved to the Lowlands and settled permanently at Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire where he was Chamberlain to the Duke of Hamilton from 1811 to approximately 1845, but he continued to be both active and interested in Highland affairs.

In 1806 Brown stated that the Highlands and the Islands were

not overpopulated and did not need emigration, rather he felt that more people were required to develop the resources of the area. However in a report he prepared for the Clanranald trustees in 1801, dealing with emigration from Clanranald's Estates, he suggested that different attitudes and steps should be taken by the landlord to suit a particular locality. For Clanranald's mainland property, "were a partial emigration to take place these countrys would be much the better of it - but the danger is that it might become too general" , he recommended that emigration be allowed to continue "without seeming to pay any attention to it (for to try to stop it unjudiciously would only be to promote it)" and that fewer new tenants should be given larger holdings. His analysis of the situation in Uist and Benbecula however was very different.

"There any Emigration of any extent less or more will materially injure the Estate and of course must be carefully guarded against. The people of Uist have as yet no intention of emigrating unless it be a very few. I am confident however that there has of late been emissarys amongst them and who I suspect have been very busy ---I likewise suspect that one of our clergy there may join in the recruiting of Emigrants."

"In Uist I am not afraid that this Emigration will go on to any considerable extent but we ought to trust nothing to chance where there is a possibility of making matters certain. The poorness of the people and the highness of the freight to America (North America) are our greatest securities there from the prevailing rage for emigration."¹²⁵

Brown then proceeded to recommend for Uist estates leases, regulations and penal clauses in order to "fix the tenants for effectively that it would be out of their power to move during the currency of the lease."¹²⁶ This differentiation drawn by Brown between the

situation on Clanranald's property on the mainland as opposed to Uist is verified by John Macdonald, a Clanranald tacksman at Borrodale (Arisaig), when he wrote to Brown in February 1805: "it is a well known Fact that the Estate is at this moment rather overstock'd with People." ^{126a}

The difference in Brown's views on emigration as expressed in his report to the Trustees and those in his book is very striking. In his report he recognized the importance of emigration yet was afraid of the consequences if emigration took place on too great a scale. Thus in his book he was forced to condemn emigration totally, (although he suggested that lazy useless people could emigrate if they wished) and Brown himself was very active in conjunction with the Highland Society in encouraging the government to enact the Passenger Act of 1803 which tended to act as a temporary check on emigration from the West Highlands.¹²⁷ It is also interesting to note another discrepancy between Brown's report and his book. In his report with reference to Uist he stated "if any of the people were to go (emigrate) it would be the richest and most substantial of the tenants, the poorest would remain."^{127a} But, in his book he stated "it is generally the idle and indolent class of tenants who seem most anxious to emigrate. The steady and industrious, rather show a disposition to remain at home."¹²⁸ The present writer feels that the first analysis was closer to the actual situation, (for a fuller discussion of the type of emigrants see Chapter ten), but that Brown was forced to distort the facts somewhat in order to make the anti-emigration case stronger in his book.

The Clanranald Estate (particularly the island properties) was badly affected by the decline in kelp prices in the early 1820's. This fact in conjunction with rising expenses and recurring demands for relief from an expanding population in times of distress, led to growing debts, an estate under trusteeship and finally to the necessity of land sales which by 1838 left Ranald George Macdonald of Clanranald with nothing of his former possessions but the castle and island of Tirrim.¹²⁹ During this period unassisted emigration continued from these islands.¹³⁰ This deteriorating economic situation on the Clanranald Estates led inevitably to a change in the estate's attitude toward emigration. The correspondence and reports of Duncan Shaw, who was Clanranald's factor in South Uist and Benbecula from 1811 to the sale of these properties in the late 1830's show very clearly this change. In May 1828 Shaw wrote to Robert Brown stating,

"What am I to make of the Tenants to whom I cannot give kelp to manufacture this season. You know it is worse than useless to manufacture kelp which will not pay the expense, it is far better to employ the people in making roads etc. and let them next year go to America."¹³¹

By the late 1830's Robert Brown himself was considering writing to the Colonial Office asking the government to make land available in Canada for Highland emigrants in that, "it is a false economy to retain immense tracts of land in a barren state, when they could be turned to a useful purpose, on the present emergency."¹³² Thus within the space of thirty years Brown was forced to alter drastically his views of Highland emigration, a change which mirrored the attitudes of landowners generally in the Highlands and Islands during this period.

The Duke of Argyll

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Duke of Argyll's estates were one of the largest in Scotland and were located mostly in mainland Argyllshire, but also included the island of Tiree and the Ross of Mull. The fifth Duke, who held the title from 1770 to 1806, gave no encouragement to emigration. He felt instead that the growing population on his estates could be employed with improved agricultural techniques and in new industrial developments. Indeed as President of the Highland Society he had been active in encouraging the government to enact the Passenger Act of 1803. Yet even at a time when anti-emigration feelings among the landowners were growing, the Duke's factor, James Maxwell of Aros, in 1802 made a report on conditions on the island of Tiree in which he stated that 319 tenants had holdings which were too small to adequately support a family and Maxwell recommended that 1000 persons should be assisted to emigrate from the island. Although the Duke apparently considered the proposal and prior to his death (in 1806) came to accept the fact that a certain amount of emigration was necessary to solve the growing population problem, nothing positive was done by him to encourage emigration. The sixth Duke (1806-1839) attempted to meet the problem by breaking up larger farms into crofts to make room for the increasing numbers of crofters and cottars dependent on the laird, yet such measures were to prove unsuccessful and indeed they helped to contribute to the growing population pressure on a static or even declining resource base.¹³³

It was the seventh Duke of Argyll (1839-1847) who was forced to reexamine the situation and reached the conclusion that emigration assisted both by the government and the landlords was the only answer particularly in certain localities. It should be noted here that emigration from the Argyll estates had been taking place for years, but this movement usually consisted of those people who could afford to pay their own passage to North America. By the 1840's, this earlier exodus of those people with means, in conjunction with the declining economic situation meant that most of the people who could benefit most from emigration were unable to do so.¹³⁴

The attitude of the seventh Duke toward emigration is shown very clearly in an examination of his evidence given in May 1841 before the Select Committee on Emigration from Scotland. He began by stating, "I think they (landed proprietors in the West of Scotland) all unite in this, that emigration, if well managed, would be the most advantageous mode of relieving the population."¹³⁵ The Duke acknowledged the fact that the landlords would benefit from any removal of the surplus population and therefore they should be prepared to assist financially in any proposed scheme. Under questioning he agreed that one third of the expense would not be an unreasonable proportion for the landlords to contribute. He qualified this by adding that any costs and therefore any emigration might have to be spread over several years, as many landlords were already in poor financial circumstances. The Duke then stated that on his estates he thought that the amount of emigration which would benefit both

the estate and the people themselves would be 2000 from the island of Tiree and 1000 from the Ross of Mull.¹³⁶

As has been pointed out earlier in this chapter, the Duke of Argyll was very involved at this period both with the Highland Society and with the British American Association (as its president) in encouraging emigration and seeking government assistance for emigration schemes, particularly to the Canadas. The following extract of a letter from the Duke to Dr. Rolph in June 1840 clearly presents his views on emigration -

"I am deeply interested in the promotion of Emigration of the superabundant population of many of the Highland Districts of Scotland" and "in promoting a regular and beneficial Emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland to the Canadas, as long as they may require, and we be able to furnish, a supply of steady and respectable Emigrants to bring those extensive tracts into profitable cultivation."¹³⁷

It is interesting to note here that only two generations previously most references by Scottish landowners to bringing "extensive tracts into profitable cultivation" referred to areas in the Highlands of Scotland and not to the forests of the Canadas. Although the Duke of Argyll's public image was slightly tarnished by his involvement in the failure of the British American Association, he continued to be active in the field of emigration but confined his activities to his own estates. It was not long before this help was badly needed as 1846 brought the re-appearance of the potato disease to the Highlands.

In 1847 the seventh Duke died and his son who until then had been the Marquis of Lorne, became the eighth Duke of Argyll (1847-1900). In the summer of 1846, as soon as the scope of the distress on

the Argyll estates, particularly in Tiree, Ross of Mull (united parish of Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon) and Iona, became evident, the Marquis of Lorne took charge of the relief measures, as his father was in failing health. This distress in Tiree and the Ross of Mull in 1846 was not a particularly new development in the area but was merely the nadir of many years of gradual decline.¹³⁸ On a visit to Mull in August 1846 the Marquis spoke to the people recommending emigration particularly for the poorer class.¹³⁹ The major difficulty, as the Marquis well knew, was that it was the poor class who would benefit most from emigration who could not meet the expenses of emigration on their own. The Marquis carried on an extensive correspondence with the government in the fall of 1846 and the spring of 1847 in an attempt to obtain government financial assistance for the emigrants, government ships for transportation or free land in Canada for the new settlers. The government's answer was that they had no money available to help emigrants get to Canada; that the colonial lands in Canada were under the jurisdiction of the colonial government and that many people were able to get to Canada on their own resources so there was no need for government involvement, except on a regulatory and supervisory level.¹⁴⁰ As well, the Marquis was in contact with several Scotsmen in Canada with the surname of Campbell who made enquiries as to the possible assistance which would be available for new emigrants in the colony.¹⁴¹

Writing during the winter of 1846-47 the Marquis of Lorne described the situation on parts of the Argyll estates in the following manner,

"the laziness, ignorance, and intractability induced by an over-population subsisting on potatoes, and having

small possessions of land is such as to increase one's dread of the system, and one's anxiety to put an end to it, the more one sees of its effects."

"On our estates I am convinced that no such relief can be given without extensive emigration, and to this I am directing every effort. I look with the greatest alarm on the prospects of the future year, unless there is such an emigration in the spring."¹⁴²

He added that on the Argyll estates on Tiree, Ross of Mull and Iona, there were 567 crofter families paying under £12 per year and 563 cottar families who paid no rent to the landlord and in most cases paid no rent to anyone. Both of these groups were now affected by growing distress and 968 families required assistance.¹⁴³ Although in normal years the Marquis would have encouraged the emigration of the crofter class, in 1847 he realized that although they could not pay any rent due to their economic situation at least they had enough surplus of one sort or another to live. It was the cottars and squatters who were on the verge of famine and it was these groups that should be encouraged and assisted to emigrate as quickly as possible.¹⁴⁴

It was to the credit of the Marquis of Lorne (eighth Duke from 1847) that, after attempting without success to obtain help from the government for emigration to Canada, he immediately began to organize and finance emigration on his own. It should be noted here that 160 people had been provided with some assistance in 1846 at the cost of about £240 (30s each).¹⁴⁵ The eighth Duke of Argyll was mainly interested in sending the emigrants to the Canadas as this was where many of them had friends and relatives who had emigrated previously. However, he was also in communication with the

Colonial Office regarding lands in Australia and considered buying lands there with the Duke of Sutherland on which to settle their emigrants. Argyll had also been considering Prince Edward Island where Samuel Cunard, the ship owner, had land as a possible destination, but these ideas came to nothing and the Canadas were the area where most of the emigrants assisted by the Duke in the succeeding five years settled.¹⁴⁶

In the spring of 1847 the Marquis was in contact with the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, Lieut. Forest and the Government Emigration Office at Glasgow, enquiring about the probable cost of transporting people from his estates to Canada and was told that it could vary from £3/10/0 to 4/15/0 but would likely be closer to £4/10/0. The Marquis was also informed that only in cases of extreme necessity would emigrants be forwarded from the emigration ports in Canada (Quebec and Montreal) to their destinations inland and that, if at all possible, the emigrants should have some funds on their arrival in Canada at the rate of £1 for each adult and 10/- for children.¹⁴⁷

Early in March 1847, the Marquis contacted Alexander Thomson, a Greenock banker, enquiring as to the availability and costs of chartering a ship to Canada. Thomson had previously acted as agent for Neil Malcolm of Poltalloch who had assisted people from his estate (Kilmichael and Kilmartin parishes, Argyllshire) in the early 1840's. By March 13, Thomson had arranged for a ship to carry 300 statute adults at the rate of £4 each from Tobermory to Quebec. The passengers however would leave from the Clyde, with a steamer being sent at the ship's expense to pick them up at Tobermory.¹⁴⁸

John Campbell of Bunessan, who was the Argyll Chamberlain for the island estates (Ross of Mull, Iona, Tiree), was in charge of organizing the emigration on the spot and his correspondence with the Duke provides considerable insight into the conditions on the estate and the difficulties of arranging for such an emigration. Campbell felt very strongly that large scale emigration was essential and urgently needed both for the people at present living there and for the development of the estate in the future. By this period the general type and quality of the people had fallen, largely as a result of the out-migration over the years of the better qualified and more enterprising. Campbell's description therefore of the people is far from flattering - "naturally slothful and indolent", and he certainly would have agreed with John Stewart's (another of the Duke's agents) comments to the Duke regarding the people of Tiree,

"They are too indolent and idle to move, but move someday they must, and the less given them here the sooner they will better themselves, not, but many will be on the eve of starvation ere they move, indeed many actually starve before they move, but this must come some day and the sooner they are prepared for exerting themselves the better."¹⁴⁹

Campbell told the people that every assistance would be provided them in emigrating and that whatever stock and crops they might have would be valued and they would receive the money after deducting their arrears in rent. The Duke was willing to assist financially to the extent of 30/- or 40/- those who needed such aid. At the end of April 1847 Campbell felt however that most of the people who had agreed to emigrate with the Duke's assistance were those who could pay their own way. A list of 761 emigrants (127

families) of all ages from Ross of Mull and Iona, compiled in March 1847, was broken down by the Chamberlain into the following classes - destitute 460; able to pay part 189; able to pay a little 77; able to pay in full 35.¹⁵⁰ The result was that a large number of the approximately 300 people who were assisted in part by the Duke to emigrate to Canada in 1847, had contributed something to the cost themselves and were therefore not the most destitute crofters or cottars. John Campbell made this point in a letter to the Duke in June 1847 and added that,

"It would be of the greatest possible advantage to the Island (Tiree) that a selection were made of the really destitute and worthless characters on the Island who must inevitably become a burden and sent off, keeping those who although poor, are somewhat industrious, and less likely to break out into open violence which I feel confident many of them will do, as soon as the (Relief) Committee supplies are done and steal and rob from their neighbours."¹⁵¹

As far as possible when land was vacated by those who emigrated from Ross of Mull and Tiree, the houses were immediately pulled down and neighbouring crofts enlarged. At the same time there were some removals (clearances). In June 1847 the tenants of Shiaba, Ross of Mull petitioned the Duke asking him why they were being removed as they had paid their rent and stating that they would like land somewhere else on the Argyll estate. Thus by no means all of the people were willing to accept emigration as a solution to their problems. The feelings of most of the people in this regard were well described by the Marquis of Lorne in the fall of 1846, when he wrote,

"the desperate attachment of the people to the patches on which they annually are half-starved is something so wonderful that emigration to any place is really their last resource."¹⁵²

Unfortunately people generally find it very difficult to live on sentiment alone and by the late 1840's, the majority of the people on the Argyll island estates had little else left.

During June 1847 at least three and perhaps four separate groups of emigrants travelled from Tiree, Iona and Mull to the Clyde by steamer. They were met by Alexander Thomson, who had made arrangements with various shipping brokers for their passage to Canada, on the ships Jamaica, Britannia, and AnnRankin. Thomson concluded the financial arrangements with the emigrants and gave them letters of introduction to Mr. Ramsay Orr of Montreal who would advise them as to the best way of reaching their friends in the Canada's. Thomson arranged that the group from Iona who sailed on the Britannia from Greenock on July 2nd be allowed to live on board the ship for about ten days prior to the departure so as "to keep them out of reach of the fever so common in all the poor lodging houses in the town."¹⁵³ Altogether the Duke assisted, to some extent, in the emigration of about 325 people (65 families) in 1847 at a cost of £1700.¹⁵⁴

The present writer has been unable to locate much information concerning the role played by the Argyll estate in 1848, other than the fact that the estate spent £513 on assisting emigration.¹⁵⁵ In January 1849, John Campbell wrote to the Duke that there were many people on Tiree who would be willing to emigrate to Canada (they were not anxious to go to Australia) in the spring if they were to receive some assistance. By this time the deteriorating

situation had placed the crofters and cottars in an even more unfavourable position as far as being able to bargain with the estate. This is shown very clearly in the following correspondence from Campbell to the Duke,

"I have intimated to the poorer Crofters and particularly those in arrears that they must prepare to remove themselves to Canada or Australia, but that I would not take their stocks or crops under valuation as formerly, but would take their Stock and Crop at the price I considered they were worth."¹⁵⁶

Again Alexander Thomson was in charge of the shipping and financial arrangements at the Clyde where in June 1849 580 people from the Ross of Mull and Tiree gathered prior to emigrating. Two ships Charlotte and Barlow were to leave for Quebec and Montreal on June 20th but finally did not depart until the 25th. The people were accompanied to Glasgow by John Campbell and the Rev. A. Farquharson, the Congregational minister on Tiree, who preached to them in Gaelic prior to their sailing.¹⁵⁷ It is worth noting here as well that the Marquis and the Duke had been in close contact with various local ministers in the islands from 1847 concerning the desirability of and the arrangements for the emigrations. The Rev. Alexander MacGregor of Iona organized a meeting in January 1847 at which emigration was discussed and he took a poll to see which destination was preferred by the people. The Rev. D. McLean wrote to the Marquis in February 1847 that,

"I have long been in the habit of advising such of the people as I thought should do so to emigrate" but "those who will be the first to show a willingness to move, are the very persons that I am sure your Lordship would wish to be the last."¹⁵⁸

While the Rev. Donald Campbell, minister at Assopole, stated in a letter to the Duke in April 1847 that he tried to impress upon the people,

"The advantage of emigration and of themselves making every possible exertion" and stated further "our prospects are altogether very gloomy, and unless there is emigration to a considerable extent the consequences are fearful to contemplate. I feel it a most painful duty to express this opinion but day after day matters are getting worse."¹⁵⁹

Returning now to the Argyll emigration during the summer of 1849, John Campbell reported to the Duke that there had been some dissatisfaction among the emigrants, because they had only received two-thirds of the money from the Relief Board that they had been promised for the purpose of buying provisions (initially £1 per adult 10s for those under 14 years). Campbell was worried that a number of the emigrants would return to their homes and promised them a little money on their arrival in Canada. In June 1849 Campbell stated to the Duke that as the emigrants that year were "the very poorest and most worthless I anticipate it will be attended with the most satisfactory results" and his analysis proved correct as he reported to the Duke in December 1849 that "the benefit resulting from the emigration of last season is very sensibly felt there are not near the number of poor applying for aid as on former years."¹⁶⁰

The two ships arrived at Quebec on August 14th after a voyage of seven weeks with many of the emigrants in a very destitute condition, and indeed "many of whom had not the shirts on their backs."

Again arrangements had been made by Alexander Thomson with James Orr of Montreal to advise and forward emigrants and with the help of government money and private subscriptions in Canada they were transported to Upper Canada, in particular to Hamilton, Fergus and Owen Sound. Unfortunately a number of them contracted cholera at Hamilton with disastrous results. Thus ended another season of estate assisted emigration at a cost of £2100 which as far as the Argyll management was concerned, had been money well spent.¹⁶¹

One other point should be mentioned here before continuing the discussion of assisted emigration by the Duke of Argyll. The various sources examined by the present writer often contain small discrepancies when dealing with the numbers of people emigrating either on particular ships or in total assisted by the Duke in a particular year. For example in 1849 A. Thomson noted that 593 people left on the two ships; A. C. Buchanan reported that 579 people arrived at Quebec and John Campbell wrote to the Duke that 619 had been sent off by July 8, 1849. In view of the complications presented by births, deaths, missing and missed persons no reliance can or should be placed on absolute numbers.

The Duke continued his offer of assistance in 1850 and again arrangements were made for ships to leave from the Clyde in June and July - Conrad (241 people) arrived Quebec Wednesday August 13th, and Cambria (20 people).¹⁶² Initially John Campbell decided that he would not buy their stock but as no one else would take it, he was compelled to. The emigrants from Tiree were "all miserably poor" and Campbell had to provide them with clothing "they were so

naked."¹⁶³ Although John Campbell, the Duke's chamberlain stated before the M'Neill Commission in 1851 that no person "was forced to emigrate from this property, or asked to go", in 1850 a number of cottars and crofters received summons of removal. The Duke had instructed the removal from the island estates of crofters paying under £10 rental of whom "little can be expected."¹⁶⁴ The Relief Committee again provided some money to assist the emigrants and the Duke's expenses, calculated on the conservative basis of £3/0/0 per person would have come to about £800.¹⁶⁵

In the year 1851 there was an increase in the number of persons who wanted assistance in emigrating particularly from the island of Tiree. In that year Sir John M'Neill, the chairman of the Scottish Poor Law Board who was undertaking a survey of conditions in the Highlands and Islands, received a petition signed by 136 heads of families representing 825 people on Tiree. The petitioners asked Sir John to use his influence with the government and the Duke of Argyll to help them to emigrate to Canada. Several extracts from the petition are worth quoting here to show the people's condition and reasons for wanting to emigrate.

"That this latter resource (Relief Board assistance) being now at an end, your petitioners' prospects on looking forward to the ensuing summer, are in the extreme dismal, and the more so, as the only prospect of ultimate relief to which they so fondly cling is denied them - that of emigration - which your petitioners neglected to take advantage of while in their power, probably supposing that the relief funds were to last, or that the potato would be restored."

"Those who advocate such (improvement of waste land) are certainly actuated by other motives save that of philanthropy, and display the grossest ignorance as to the resources of the country, particularly as

regards this isolated island, where there is no fuel, and not an inch of wasteland which the inhabitants could not drain and trench in a few months---such misrepresentations, which may perhaps be the means of the Duke's withholding his bounty, and depriving us of the power of participating in the enjoyments and comforts, they are from day to day informed, their friends in Canada enjoy to such an extent."166

In 1851 the Duke did not renew his offer to assist emigration, rather he felt that as many people in the island estates had come to view the emigration as only benefiting the proprietor, he decided to let the people come to him on their own initiative.¹⁶⁷ As the petition, which was quoted above indicated, there were a considerable number who did want help in emigrating to Canada. By this time the estate was getting even more selective in the type of people it assisted, particularly from Tiree.

"These comprise the very poorest. Many have applied for passages who I have rejected on the ground that they might be fishing and otherwise supporting themselves in fact all who are not likely to become burdens on the property."168

Two ships, Conrad and Burman sailed from the Clyde near the end of June 1851, carrying between them 500 emigrants, three-quarters of whom were from Tiree. The ships were cleared by the government emigration officials at Quebec and then proceeded to Montreal. As most of the emigrants arrived without any means they were forwarded at government expense to Hamilton. It is interesting to note in this connection that before leaving Scotland, the emigrants had been given certificates by John Campbell saying that they were unable to pay their own way inland in Canada. However from estate correspondence it would appear that if the government had not forwarded

ABSTRACT OF ARGYLL ESTATE ACCOUNTS - TIREE AND MULL 1846-1849 (51).

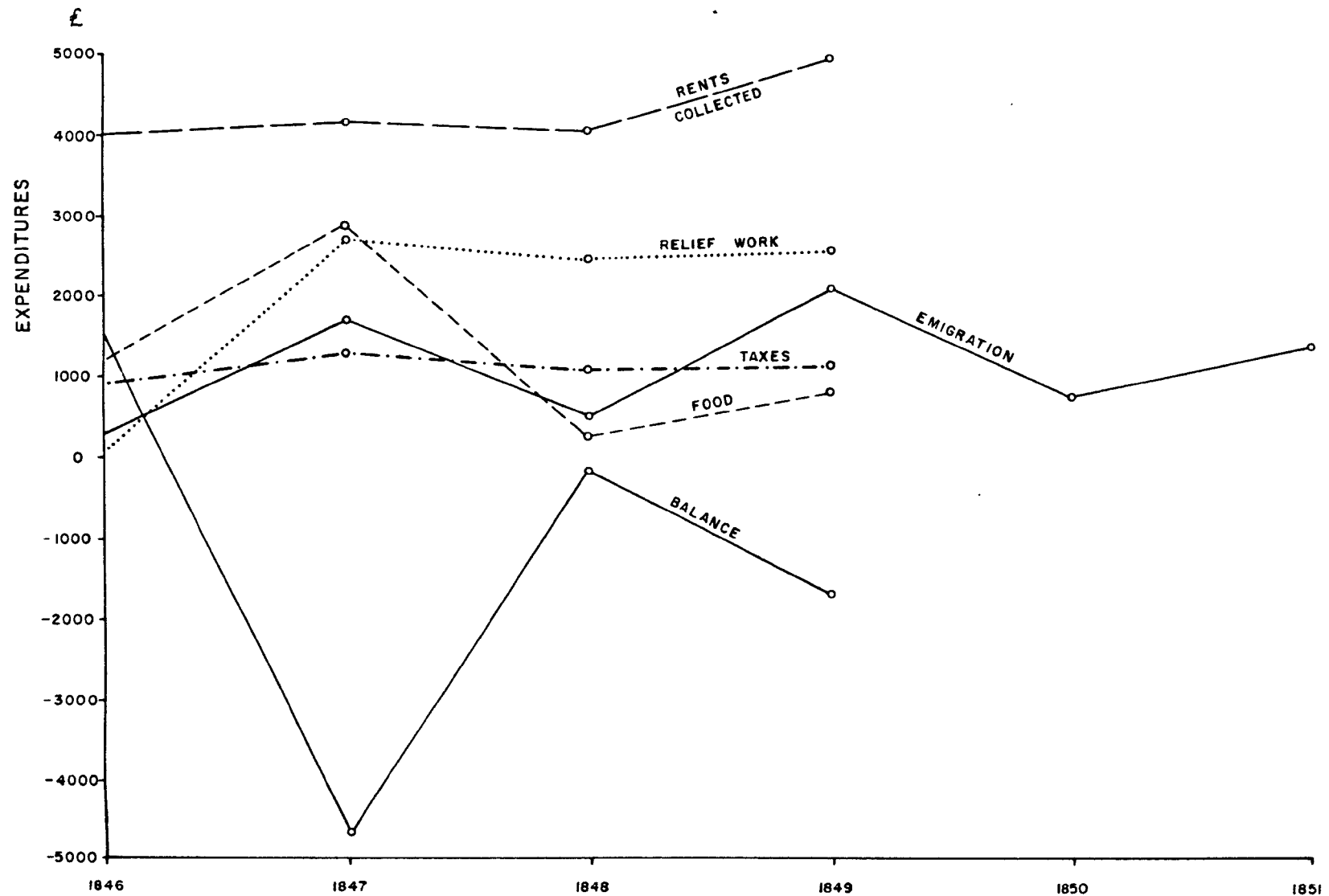


Figure 7.1

them inland, that the Duke would have provided the money. The expense of this assisted emigration in 1851 was approximately £1400.¹⁶⁹

In concluding this section dealing with the role and attitude of the Argyll estate towards emigration to Canada it can be said that over the period 1846-1851 the Duke assisted the emigration of approximately 2000 people at a cost of at least £6500.^{169a} Figure 7.1 presents a summary of the Argyll estate accounts for Tiree and Mull for the period 1846-49 as well as emigration expenses for 1850-51. It shows a relatively stable level of income (rents) and considerable fluctuations in the level of expenditures resulting in a series of deficit accounts. These people came almost entirely from his island estates on Mull, Iona and Tiree. Although the estate benefitted from these departures, the emigrations were well organized and reasonably well provided for. There appeared to be few cases of forced emigration by the landlord, although many people were certainly forced by economic conditions to seek their livelihood elsewhere.¹⁷⁰

Col. John Gordon of Cluny.

The family of Gordon of Cluny originally owned an extensive acreage in Aberdeenshire. However in the late 1830's Col. John Gordon of Cluny began to see opportunities for expansion in the Hebrides where large estates were ^{being offered} for sale largely to meet the debts of their traditional owners. In 1840, Gordon

bought Barra from a speculator called Menzies who had bought it from M'Neill of Barra in 1839 for about £38,000 . In 1838-39 Gordon acquired South Uist from Macdonald of Clanranald (the initial correspondence began in 1836) and by 1845 he had acquired all of South Uist and Benbecula. For all the above properties he paid a total of £163,799, although they produced an annual rental of only £8223.¹⁷¹

The present writer has been unable to locate any estate or family papers dealing with Col. Gordon's activities on his island estates, and as a result the following account has been gathered from various scattered sources. Unfortunately this absence of estate or family papers, dealing with emigration from the Highlands applies to most of the estates and individuals that are discussed later in this chapter.

The actions of Col. Gordon, as later parts of this section will show, evoked a considerable public outcry and opposition and it is very difficult to arrive at a balanced opinion on his activities. William Yorstoun of Garioch, Aberdeenshire wrote in the Quarterly Journal of Agriculture in 1842 that Col. Gordon wanted to keep the population on Barra and South Uist and that every effort would be made by Gordon to develop the area. Yet by the late 1840's Gordon had offered to sell Barra to the government as a convict settlement.¹⁷² It would thus appear that while Gordon might momentarily have thought it possible to maintain the population on the islands, he soon realized that economically he could not afford to operate the estates with

their growing population.

The deteriorating situation in the southern part of the Long Island has been discussed in more detail earlier in this chapter under the heading of Clanranald. At a meeting in Edinburgh in 1831 to petition against any reduction in the duty on barilla, it was stated that of the population of 12500 (actually closer to 10,000) in the Uist and Benbecula, 7 - 8,000 people had no means of supporting themselves except by the gathering of kelp.¹⁷³ Soon kelp became generally uneconomical to produce. Several witnesses before the Select Committee in 1841 recommended that Col. Gordon should remove between 3000 and 3500 people from South Uist.¹⁷⁴

Nothing definite was done on Gordon's estates for a number of years although it is likely that any person who wished to emigrate on his own was encouraged to do so. The issue of over population came to a climax with the potato famine of 1846-47 and the lengthy period of destitution which resulted from it. Throughout the Highlands, landowners and parochial boards who administered the poor relief were called upon to provide assistance, in many cases, to prevent actual starvation. Most landowners in the Highlands and Islands made considerable efforts to do as much as they could to relieve this distress, particular mention could be made of Lord Macdonald, Sir James Matheson and Macleod of Macleod. Col. Gordon of Cluny however soon came under a great deal of public criticism for not providing adequate relief on his property in the islands.¹⁷⁵ From statements made by Captain Poole who was sent by the Destitution

Committee in 1846 to examine the distribution of relief in the area, this criticism would appear to have been justified.

"I cannot conclude without stating that I have found upon Colonel Gordon's property, especially in the isle of Barra, greater wretchedness and privation from want of food than it has been my painful duty to investigate on other properties in the Highlands and Islands."¹⁷⁶

There are at least two possible explanations for the above situation - first, that Col. Gordon was unwilling to provide adequate relief to the people on his estate and second that the amount of destitution on his properties was more widespread and severe than in other parts of the Highlands and Islands. The final answer probably involves both these reasons.

In 1848 there occurred what appears to have been the first emigration from South Uist that had the financial support of Col. Gordon. The word 'appears' has been used, in that there are several versions of the details of the same emigration. The Scotsman of August 5, 1858, printed the following story which it had extracted from the Glasgow Herald. Apparently Col. Gordon had arranged to cancel the arrears of rent owed him by a number of people and provide them with transportation to Quebec if they would leave their holdings and their growing crops. A number, said to be 150 people, agreed to do this and arrived at Lochmaddy about July 15th where they were to be met by a ship to take them to Quebec. The ship failed to arrive due to the failure of the shipping agents to fulfill their agreement with Mr. Lachlan Chisholm, who was Col. Gordon's agent. The emigrants were then taken to Glasgow about the

end of July by which time they were in a poor financial situation. At first Chisholm would do nothing for them but by August 5th he had agreed to provide them with food and lodging.¹⁷⁷

Mr. Chisholm's account of the episode appeared in the Glasgow Herald of August 7, 1848. Chisholm was the proprietor of some property on the mainland of Inverness-shire and since 1845 was a tacksman on a large farm in South Uist. He stated that he felt emigration was worthwhile both for those who left and those who remained behind and that he tried to encourage the people to emigrate from South Uist. In the spring of 1848 he was approached by Mr. Robert Neilson, an emigrant agent in Glasgow who wanted to obtain a number of passengers on a ship from South Uist to Quebec. Chisholm then stated that 316 people agreed to go and were to leave from Loch Boisdale; however, owing to problems, they were finally taken to the Clyde where ships were arranged. He said nothing about any help being provided by Col. Gordon and in fact denied that he was an agent for Gordon. It seems finally that 100 people sailed for Cape Breton and 218 people sailed in three ships for the Canadas during the second week of August 1848, and that Robert Neilson received a reprimand from Lieut. Forrest, the Government Emigration Officer for the Clyde.¹⁷⁸

This is not the end of the episode however. A. C. Buchanan reported from Quebec that two ships arrived from Glasgow on September 15, 1848 carrying 134 persons who had received a free passage and provisions to Quebec from Lachlan Chisholm. They were then forwarded

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inland at government expense. Another ship the Lulan arrived at Pictou, Nova Scotia, in September 1848, carrying more than 150 people from Col. Gordon's property in South Uist. They were in poor health, poorly clothed and virtually destitute and as at Quebec they were forwarded to Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island at government expense.^{179a} In 1849 Buchanan reported that Chisholm had assisted another group of emigrants from South Uist by providing them with a free passage on the ship Atlantic which arrived at Quebec from Ardrossan on August 14, carrying 209 passengers.¹⁸⁰ In spite of Chisholm's denials to the contrary, and in view of the fact that he was only a tacksman on land owned by Col. Gordon it is reasonable to assume that the authority and finance behind these two emigrations was Col. Gordon himself.¹⁸¹

In 1849 Col. Gordon, this time under his own name, assisted 500 people from South Uist (Loch Boisdale) to Quebec on the ship Tusker (owned in the Clyde). A week later the Mount Stewart Elphinstone left South Uist for New York with 250 people, again with Gordon's help. He took their crops and the emigration agent from Glasgow took their stock, both at valuation. Some assistance to the most destitute was provided by the Glasgow section of the Destitution Committee. The Inverness Courier reporting on this emigration, stated that people were generally most willing to emigrate. On the arrival of the Tusker at Quebec on August 30 the emigrants were forwarded inland by the government.¹⁸² Buchanan stated that Col. Gordon had paid their passage to Quebec. The Courier provided more information concerning these people when

on November 8, 1849 it printed extracts from a letter received from London, Upper Canada announcing the arrival there of about 300 people who had left South Uist in July and August, 1849 and who were expected to do well in Canada.

In 1850 no assisted emigrations took place from Gordon's estates and,generally speaking,up to this time these emigrations had taken place more or less uneventfully. However the large scale emigrations (nearly 1700 people to Quebec) from his estates in 1851 led to considerable public outcry and were to be the last assisted emigrations for nearly 25 years from this area.

The emigrations (both assisted and unassisted) prior to 1851 from Barra, South Uist and Benbecula had only made a small impact on the ever growing population of these islands and the economic situation continued to deteriorate. The M'Neill Report of 1851 printed reports received from the Parochial Boards of Barra and South Uist in April of that year,recommending emigration from these islands. They both expressed the opinions that while the relief provided during the previous 4 years had,

"relieved much misery and saved life, it has had a prejudicial influence on the character and habits of the people (becoming less self reliant and willing to misrepresent their circumstances.)"

"We are in a condition to state, that more than half of the population desire to emigrate if they could find the means. They desire to go to the North American colonies. The intelligence received from the persons who recently emigrated --- to those colonies is highly satisfactory."183

The Parochial Board of Barra wrote to the Poor Law Board

of Supervision in Edinburgh in May 1851 stating that after May 14th, they would be unable to provide assistance to the able-bodied poor on the island. The Board of Supervision replied on May 8th that the Board in Barra still had the responsibility and could not escape from it.¹⁸⁴ It should be noted here however that a number of petitions from Col. Gordon's estates were collected in 1851 for presentation to Parliament. These petitions represented nearly 3000 people and asked for government help to enable them to emigrate to Canada.¹⁸⁵ Thus there were two different aspects to the situation. Col. Gordon and his associates were most anxious to decrease the population thereby diminishing their responsibilities and improving the chances of future prosperity in the area. On the other hand, the people (crofters, cottars and squatters) had finally realized that there was no chance of them ever improving their situation on the islands and that Canada offered them some hope for a new and better life.

Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had been in charge of Highland Relief in 1846-7 and then become chairman of the Highland and Island Emigration Society, writing to Sir John M'Neill in 1852 referred to Col. Gordon's emigration as the "extraordinary phenomenon of the simultaneous shipment of 1500 persons last year."¹⁸⁶ The number of emigrants who actually emigrated in 1851 was close to 1700, nearly two thirds of them from South Uist and Benbecula. Mr. J. Fleming, who acted as Col. Gordon's factor both in the islands and in Aberdeenshire, arranged with Messrs. Reid and Murray who were shipping agents in Glasgow, for five ships that came to

Loch Boisdale in August and September to embark the people.

Gordon largely paid for their passages to Quebec and supplied some clothes, as did the Parochial Boards of the islands.¹⁸⁷

Even before the emigrants had left Scotland the troubles began. Although the vast majority had voluntarily agreed (signed) to emigrate, as the time approached to actually leave a number refused to go. Col. Gordon said that these refusals took place after "they had tasted the new potatoes."¹⁸⁸ A number of people (perhaps twenty) were forcibly collected and put on board the ships. Although there is no doubt that these unwarranted actions took place, they were told, re-told and magnified out of all proportion particularly by anti-landlord writers of that and later periods.¹⁸⁹

The five ships arrived at Quebec between August 28th and October 18th, 1851 and again problems arose. A. C. Buchanan, the government emigration agent at Quebec, wrote to J. Fleming, Gordon's factor that,

"These parties presented every appearance of poverty; and, from their statement, which was confirmed by the masters of the several vessels, were without the means of leaving the ship, or of procuring a day's subsistence for their helpless families on landing, and many of them, more particularly the party from the Perthshire (437 people), were very insufficiently supplied with clothing."¹⁹⁰

Buchanan added further that these emigrants had arrived too late in the season to find suitable employment and because the government was compelled to forward the people to Hamilton at a cost of £674/10/0 Buchanan felt that Col. Gordon owed the government £152/10/0 which was

the difference between their expense and the money obtained from the emigrant head tax. No evidence has been located indicating whether or not Col. Gordon ever paid this sum to the government. Dr. G. M. Douglas, the government Medical Superintendent at Grosse Isle, corroborated Buchanan's statements by saying that although the emigrants were generally healthy and had adequate provisions and water for the voyage, "never, during my long experience at the station, saw a body of emigrants so destitute of clothing and bedding; many children of nine and ten years old had not a rag to cover them."¹⁹¹

As usual there were differing accounts of the promises that had been made to the people in order to get them to agree to emigrate. Some said that they had been promised a free passage as far as Hamilton and that additional provisions would be provided for them at Quebec. Others said that Col. Gordon was to defray the passage to Quebec and that from there government agents would provide free transportation to Upper Canada, provide them with employment, and arrange for land grants on certain conditions.¹⁹² What in actual fact occurred was that after Col. Gordon had transported them to Quebec, the Canadian government forwarded them inland, where, as with most emigrants of the preceeding years, they were left to fend for themselves. Unfortunately they were ill prepared materially, economically (few had trades) and socially (few spoke any English) for assimilation into the colony, and a number of references occur in Canadian papers to their distressing situation.¹⁹³

Returning to Col. Gordon's island properties, it is obvious that although the emigrations were large,(between 1848-51 approximately 2500 people were assisted to some extent), many people still remained. Although some of the land which was vacated was given to crofters, most of it was used to expand existing farms (tacks). A number of people from his islands who did not want to emigrate, left for the mainland of Invernessshire or for the industrial areas of central Scotland.¹⁹⁴

One last footnote should be added to this story of emigration from the lands of Gordon of Cluny. Shortly before Col. Gordon's death in 1878, various methods were considered for enlarging some of the crofts on Benbecula which had continued to decrease in size as a result of population pressures on the available land, and voluntary emigration was one possible method. Ranald Macdonald stated before the Napier Commission in 1883 that the owner's,

"were most careful and guarded not to do anything to convey the impression that they wished any one to leave the island against his will, but they would have been pleased if some of them had seen their way spontaneously to remove to some other place."¹⁹⁵

As a result two local men were sent from Benbecula to Western Canada to examine the conditions there. However no one came forward at the time asking assistance from the proprietor to emigrate to that area. In 1882, largely as a result of very generous terms offered by Lady Gordon-Cathcart,(in 1880 she had married Sir Reginald Cathcart), seven families were assisted to take up land in what is now the Province of Saskatchewan. From then until 1886 she assisted,(partly by loan and partly by grant), a total of 73 families in emigrating to

Western Canada. Only a small proportion of the loans were ever fully paid back and largely, because of the expense, the scheme was abandoned.¹⁹⁶

In concluding this section it can be said that the emigrations to Canada assisted by Col. Gordon of Cluny were characterised both by their large scale and by the hardships and recriminations which temporarily resulted from them. While it can be argued that more liberal aid should have been provided, the magnitude of the problem and the social attitude of the landowner ruled out such a possibility.

Sir James Matheson of Lewis

Mr. James Matheson (1796-1878) purchased the island of Lewis from Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth in 1844 and, as a result of his efforts on behalf of the inhabitants during the destitution in the late 1840's, he was created a baronet by the Queen in 1850-51. Thus while Col. Gordon of Cluny received a very bad press and much public hostility, Sir James Matheson was widely applauded as a benevolent and progressive landlord.

Matheson, who had made his fortune as a businessman in the trade with China, paid £190,000 for Lewis, an area of 417,469 acres which produced an annual rental of £9,800.¹⁹⁷ The population on Lewis had been rapidly increasing over the previous generation from 12,221 in 1821 to 17,037 by 1841. In evidence before the Select Committee in 1841, Thomas Knox, the Chamberlain for the island,

recommended that six or seven thousand people should be removed and that it would be in the financial interest of the owner to contribute one third of the cost of any emigration scheme to the North American colonies, although he could not say whether the owner was at the time prepared or able to meet the resulting expense. Knox added further that, "I would consider it advantageous to lay out so much yearly in getting them to emigrate, to clear the small tenants off the small farms altogether, and to let those farms to sheep graziers."¹⁹⁸

As a result of the declining economic situation and occasional clearances, emigration had been a regular though not a major occurrence from the island for years. In 1837, a number of years before the Lewis estate as sold to Sir James Matheson, Mackenzie of Seaforth had come to regard emigration as "the only permanent measure of relief", but his problem was that "without adequate means (it is) most difficult." In particular he felt that the two southern parishes of the estate, Uig and Lochs, should be cleared of people and turned into sheep farms. Then a number of the people could be resettled elsewhere, and at least six hundred families could emigrate from the two parishes.¹⁹⁹

Many of the small crofters were also aware of the growing problems on Lewis and in February 1837 forty heads of families asked Alexander McLeod, the minister of Uig to write to the proprietor on their behalf. The letter stated that if the people were to be removed from Uig and not given adequate holdings elsewhere on the island, they humbly requested Mackenzie of Seaforth

and through him the government, to help them obtain a free passage and lands in British North America.²⁰⁰ In 1838 fifteen families (seventy people) emigrated from Lewis to the townships of Bury and Lingwick in Lower Canada with their passage paid by Mr. Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth. Knox stated that these people did not want to emigrate but were cleared from their land to make room for sheep.²⁰¹ Two other large groups emigrated this time on their own from Lewis to the same area in 1841 (279 people), and in 1842 (139 people), and although they arrived at Quebec "destitute and penniless" and had to rely on public subscriptions, they soon began to prosper.²⁰²

The widespread destitution which affected most areas of the northwest Highlands and Islands during the late 1840's reached Lewis as well. In January 1851 the Parochial Boards on the island (parishes of Stornaway, Uig, Lochs, Barras) sent a memorial to Lord John Russell, the First Lord of the Treasury which described the deteriorating situation and urged immediate government help as "absolutely imperative for the purpose of saving human life." They suggested that this government assistance could take the form both of aid to a well organized emigration "to some of the many rich unoccupied tracts in the Colonies" and of relief supplies to support the population until their next crop was harvested. The Parochial Boards praised the major effort made by Matheson but even his large expenditures had not solved the problem. ²⁰³ H. A. Moisley in his study of the parish of Uig described this situation very well by saying,

"The new proprietor (Matheson) was no better placed than Seaforth to change the fundamental causes of recurrent poverty and distress. But at least he had funds to ameliorate his tenants' lot and to allow experiments in land reclamation and industrial development."²⁰⁴

Over the period 1844 to 1878 when Matheson owned Lewis, he spent the following amounts on the estate: on the castle, grounds and shooting lodges £120,000; on buildings and land reclamation £100,000; on industries and communications £74,000; on schools £12,000; on relief £33,000 (half of which was repaid in labour); on emigration £12,000. The total expenditure (including miscellaneous amounts) for this period was £384,000.²⁰⁵ When Matheson bought the island in 1844 he felt that the resources available were more than adequate to support the growing population and that emigration would not be necessary. Yet by 1851 he had been forced to come to the conclusion that at least 4,000 of the nearly 20,000 people would have to leave the island. Sir James in a letter to Lord John Russell in January 1851 said,

"As the redundancy of population is notoriously the evil, emigration is the only effectual remedy to afford elbow-room and fair scope for the success of the antecedent measures which, from over population, have hitherto proved comparatively unavailing."²⁰⁶

Early in February 1851 Sir James offered to provide free passage to the Canadas for 1000 people not just to Quebec but to wherever they intended to settle. In addition he would cancel all arrears of rent or debts owed to him; allow the people to sell for their own benefit their stock, which he would buy if necessary; provide clothing for those in need; pay the salary for one or two

years for a minister to go with them and provide them with a week's supply of food on their arrival in the Canadas. This offer was very generous, in comparison to that made by other landowners at the time. However, it was not to be entirely a voluntary emigration. John Mackenzie, the island Chamberlain, was authorized to tell the people,

"that if any one, now in arrear of rent for two years, and who has not the means of subsistence till next harvest, should reject the offer, and be unable to assign a sufficient reason for rejecting it, arising from the age or disability of himself or some dependent member of his family, he will be served with a summons of removal at Whitsunday and deprived of his lands."²⁰⁷

This policy on the Lewis estate was designed with several purposes in mind - those who wanted to emigrate would be helped; those who would benefit from emigration would be partly forced to take such a step; crofters would be forced to make up any arrears in rent and an opportunity presented to clear several townships that were unsuitable for crofters and resettle them elsewhere. By the end of March 1851 notices of removal had been served on a large number of able-bodied persons who fitted into the previously mentioned category. The result was that 112 families (653 persons) were willing to emigrate and 184 families (1126 people) who were unwilling to go were placed on the emigration list.²⁰⁸

The M'Neill Report of 1851 made reference to Matheson's emigration offer, but added that few people were initially prepared to accept this assistance partly because of their isolation in parts of Lewis.

"They have no knowledge of the country to which it was proposed to them to go, and they dreaded unknown dangers,

because they could not see their way. The accounts from their friends and relations who had preceded them were favourable, but failed to inspire them with confidence."²⁰⁹

Thus it would appear that the emigration was generally by no means voluntary and that if pressure had not been exerted the numbers who finally accepted Matheson's offer would have been much smaller. In evidence before the Napier Commission in 1883-4, the Rev. Angus MacIver, a Church of Scotland minister on Lewis, commented upon the attitude of many of the people towards emigration in the early 1850's.

"Some people say it was voluntary. But there was a great deal of forcing, and these people were sent away very much against their will. That is very well known, and people present know that perfectly well. Of course, they were not taken in hand by the policemen and all that, but they were in arrears, and had to go, and remonstrated against going."²¹⁰

In other words even long periods of growing destitution had been unable to break down the isolation and conservatism in the islands - indeed it had tended to strengthen these two characteristics.

Thus in the summer of 1851 nearly 1000 persons emigrated from Lewis on these terms, with some being shipped directly from Stornaway and others from the Clyde, where arrangements had been made with the shipping agents Messrs. Reid and Murray for their transportation. The emigrants arrived at Quebec on six ships mainly between July 15 and July 23. They arrived in good condition at Quebec and early enough in the season to travel inland, and to become settled or find employment. About 400 went to the Sherbrooke area of Lower Canada where they found work on railroad construction, while the rest proceeded to the Toronto area.²¹¹ In the fall of 1851 Matheson also made arrangements with the

Free Church to send out the Rev. Ewen M'Lean from Lewis to settle with the largest group of the emigrants. A. C. Buchanan at Quebec thought very highly both of the organization and provisions made for the people by Sir James and commented favourably on Matheson's efforts compared to Col. Gordon's activities in 1851.^{211a}

Matheson continued to financially assist emigrations - for example in July 1852 the ship Blanche arrived at Quebec from Stornaway with seventy-five families (453 people) who received a free passage, landing money of £298/6/3 and a week's rations to enable them to proceed to their destinations at Sherbrooke Lower Canada (eighteen families) and Hamilton (fifty-seven families). In 1855 the Melissa from Stornaway brought 330 people (men 101, women 74, children 155) to Quebec who received the same favourable treatment. Of these people 199 went to Limerick in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada with most of the remainder settling in the area of Goderich (74 people) and Kincardine (44 people) in Upper Canada. Smaller numbers were assisted in other years e.g. a total of 459 people in 1862 and 1863. In total for the period 1851-1863 Matheson assisted in the emigration of approximately 2200 people. He also helped a small number to emigrate from Lewis to Australia.²¹²

In two respects the emigrations assisted by Col. Gordon of Cluny and Sir James Matheson of Lewis were similar - they were both large scale operations carried on over a period of only a few years and they both were far from being voluntary on the part of the emigrants themselves. Yet because Matheson's assisted emigrations were

accompanied by no incidents of physical force, and more importantly were better organized and more generously provided for, Sir James acquired one of the most enviable reputations of anyone in the Highlands of Scotland during this period.

Lord Macdonald

During the period under discussion (1815 - 1855), Lord Macdonald owned large areas in the North West Highlands and Islands, particularly in North Uist and on Skye (parishes of Kilmuir, Strath, Snizort, Portree and Sleat). Once again it can be said that these estates were adversely affected by the deteriorating economic conditions in the first half of the nineteenth century, which have been described previously. Voluntary and unassisted emigration had been a common place occurrence for several generations from these estates, but following the destitution in 1836-37, the pressure for more large scale assisted emigrations began to increase.²¹³

Speaking in the mid 1830's, Lord Macdonald's factor in North Uist described the situation as follows -

"For the last three years emigration has been almost entirely at a stand. An unfortunate prejudice exists at present in the minds of the people against it.... But the greatest obstacle to emigration arises from the poverty of the people.....The population is now greater than ever in the Long Island - greater than the country can maintain."²¹⁴

Thus it was a combination of the growing distress experienced by the population and offers of assistance by Lord Macdonald in the late 1830's and early 1840's that stimulated emigration in this period.

In the late 1830's Lord Macdonald offered to cancel all arrears of rent and provide assistance at a minimum rate of 10 shillings per person. The sum usually provided was more than this, as a majority of those who received this aid were cottars who did not have sufficient funds to make up the remainder of the cost. The Destitution Committees in Edinburgh and Glasgow also agreed to provide 10 shillings per person as long as the proprietor contributed an equal amount and the parish minister certified that the emigrant was deserving and required such aid. Although a number of these emigrants were able to contribute as much as two thirds of the expenses only a few received no assistance. The number who emigrated in this way to North America (mainly to Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island) were as follows - in 1839-40, 500 to 600 from Portree parish; in 1840, 700 from Kilmuir parish and in 1841-42, 691 from North Uist of whom three quarters were cottars and only forty were unassisted by the landowner. In addition, between 1837 - 1841 the government assisted in the emigration to Australia of 600 people from Lord Macdonald's estates in Skye.²¹⁵ It is worth noting here as well that even as John Bowie, (Lord Macdonald's agent in North Skye and Uist), was describing the emigrations which had taken place he recommended that a total of 2500 people should be removed from North Uist and that the proprietors should be made to contribute to the costs.²¹⁶

No further assisted emigration was carried on from Lord Macdonald's estates until 1849. By this time the situation had deteriorated even further particularly following the destitution of 1846-47 with few rents being collected and large expenditures necessary for purposes of relief. The debts on the estates had risen to £200,000

and the estate was under trusteeship. It was under these conditions that several evictions and more or less forced emigrations took place on the Macdonald estates, in particular from Sollas, North Uist and the parishes of Boreraig and Suisinish, Skye. Again as is usually the case when a situation is surrounded by extreme emotion and diametrically opposed points of view, the narrative of events contains several different versions of what actually occurred.

What appears to have taken place was that in March of 1849, Mr. Patrick Cooper came to North Uist to examine the situation there and decided that the best solution to the problem was the emigration to Canada of the people in the township of Sollas. Cooper was an Aberdeen advocate who had been appointed by the creditors to act as Commissioner to manage Lord Macdonald's estates. He claimed that the people had expressed a desire to emigrate and had even signed a petition to Lord Macdonald to this effect. The estate offered to cancel all arrears of rent, allow the people to sell their crop and stock for their own benefit (or the estate would take it at valuation) and pay their passage to Canada (which was to be subsidized by £1 for each adult from the Destitution Committee). However when Cooper returned to Sollas in June 1849 he found the people against being removed at all and denying that they had ever agreed to emigrate. This is not important here as Cooper was determined that they would be evicted nevertheless.²¹⁷

In July the several efforts which were made to evict the people from Sollas were met with considerable opposition from the people and over thirty constables were finally brought in by steamer

from the mainland. After considerable pressure, the people signed an agreement promising to emigrate to Canada whenever and however Lord Macdonald decided, although they were allowed to remain where they were until the spring of 1850. Efforts were made to encourage their emigration in 1850 but no one left, although apparently a few were interested. Rather in 1850 with the clearances in the townships of Sollas, Dunskeellar and a small township at Lochmaddy, the people were resettled in the two townships of Middlequarter and Malaglete (Sollas district) and at Locheport Side and Langlash on the east of the island (under the auspices of the Perthshire Destitution Committee). This Perth settlement soon proved a failure and in December 1852 over 200 people from it and other parts of North West sailed for Australia.²¹⁸

Before leaving Lord Macdonald's estates in North Uist it should be noted that a number of people did emigrate from the island to Canada in the period around 1849. Patrick Cooper stated that between 6 - 700 agreed to emigrate to Canada and arrived there safely and comfortably in vessels chartered by Lord Macdonald. The only reference the author has located on the Canadian side is the arrival at Quebec in late September and early October 1849 of two ships from Glasgow carrying a total of 234 people from Lord Macdonald's estate in North Uist. These people had as their destination areas in the western part of Upper Canada and contrary to Cooper's optimistic opinions, they had to rely on government and charitable assistance to reach their objective.²¹⁹

A number of evictions were carried out in the townships of Suisnish and Boreraig on the island of Skye in 1852 and 1853 and a number of these families emigrated to Australia under the auspices of the Highland and Island Emigration Society. Lord Macdonald was very much in favour of the Society's activities and contributed a large sum to its operations. The actual role played by Lord Macdonald is difficult to arrive at, as opposed to the role of the estate trustees. It would appear that Macdonald tried to do everything possible to improve the situation of the people on his lands but that he also realized the importance of emigration in this regard. The following quote from correspondence from Lord Macdonald to Macleod of Macleod in June 1852 relative to the Highland Emigration Society makes this point clear.

"It would be absolute insanity not to take advantage of the present opportunity of getting rid of our surplus population and I can hardly believe that my Trustee would allow such a one to slip. I have always understood from him that he would do all in his power to promote emigration. I have written him a very strong letter on the subject and I have no doubt he will at once see how beneficial to the Estate an outlay of two or three thousand pounds would be."²²⁰

Although Mr. Brown, Lord Macdonald's trustee claimed in June 1852 that the estate had no pecuniary interest in promoting emigration, Macdonald's views must have won the day as emigration from his estates (particularly on Skye) was considerable under the organization of the Highland Emigration Society between 1852 and 1857.²²¹ Some of the funds spent by Lord Macdonald in assisting these emigrations were obtained by loans under the Emigration Advances Act of 1851.

In conclusion, Lord Macdonald was one of the first Scottish

landlords to provide large scale assistance for emigration, largely to the Maritime Colonies in British North America and was also one of the first landlords to provide similar assistance for large scale emigration to Australia. Undoubtedly more assistance would have been provided for emigration from his estates to the Canadas if opposition to emigration had not developed in North Uist in the late 1840's and if the attraction of emigration to Australia had not become so strong in the Highlands after 1852.

Duke of Sutherland

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sutherland estates extended over two-thirds of the area of Sutherlandshire and in 1829 were considerably increased by the purchase from Lord Reay of the parishes of Tongue, Durness and Eddrachillis in the northwest part of the county. In 1785, Countess Elizabeth, the Sutherland heiress since 1776, married the second Marquis of Stafford who was to become the first Duke of Sutherland in 1833, shortly before his death. The Staffords were wealthy English landowners and businessmen and it was with their financial resources that attempts were soon made to 'improve' their recently acquired Scottish estates.²²²

The end of the first decade of the century saw the beginning of one of the most famous and notorious events in Scotland during the first half of the 19th Century - the Sutherland Clearances. The present study will not deal in any detail with the events and mechanism of these clearances, except in so far as they concern emigration from Scotland to the Canadas, and more particularly such

emigration as was assisted by the landowners. A great deal has been written (some favourable but mostly unfavourable) over the years about the events in Sutherland during this period which need not be repeated here.²²³ Perhaps the following comments by John Prebble present a fair perspective,

"No one, of course, asked what the people wanted. Improvement was a moral obligation and scarcely a matter for debate.---perhaps he (first Duke) may not be criticised for what he wanted to do, only for the manner in which it was done."²²⁴

E. S. Richards in his excellent study of "James Loch and the House of Sutherland, 1812-1855", stated that while these clearances accelerated the movement for emigration they were not intended to compel migration, rather the design was to resettle the population within the Sutherland estate. In other words, the object was to clear the large interior straths, thereby making way for the introduction of large scale sheep farms, and place the people on the north and east coasts where they were to break new land and develop a fishing industry. The man who was responsible for organizing and carrying out these 'improvements' was James Loch (1780-1855). In 1813 Loch was appointed Commissioner of the Sutherland and Stafford estates, a position which he held almost until the time of his death in 1855.²²⁵ The following discussion will focus on the changes in Loch's attitude toward emigration and the resulting efforts made by the estate to assist emigration to Upper Canada.

During the years of distress in 1816-17, emigration was

considered as one possible solution to the problem but Loch did not view it favourably, partly due to the large expense involved in removing what would necessarily be a large number of people. In a book written by Loch and published in 1820 dealing with his system of improvements, he accepted the fact that emigration would take place but he tended to regard it from a slightly negative point of view. During this period he commented that "the idle and lazy alone think of emigration".²²⁶ Up to this time emigration had been taking place from the Sutherland estates (for example, the Kildonan settlers to Lord Selkirk's Red River settlement) but Lord Stafford had made no efforts on their behalf, other than cancelling all their arrears of rent.²²⁷

However by the early 1830's this rather negative attitude towards emigration was beginning to change. In the summer of 1831 there is a reference to the Marchioness of Stafford paying the expenses of a number of her surplus tenants to Canada and in the spring of 1833 Loch wrote that,

"even at the risk of our losing occasionally some of the best settlers, the advantages which are derived by the withdrawal of the surplus population are very great not only to those who go but to those who stay."²²⁸

The crop failures in 1836-37 exerted further pressures on the estate management to reconsider their attitude toward the value or otherwise of assisting emigration. In 1836 the Countess of Sutherland provided help to a number of people emigrating from Assynt to Nova Scotia and James Loch wrote to the Colonial Office saying that the Countess was prepared to cooperate in any government scheme of emigration to the colonies.²²⁹

The economic situation of the mass of the people on the Sutherland estates continued to deteriorate through the early 1840's and a number of appeals were made by people asking the second Duke to provide assistance for emigration. While initially he was unwilling to undertake any large scale aid of this sort, the Duke continued to cancel arrears of rent owed to him by people planning on emigrating. However the Duke did provide help to two small groups who arrived in Canada in 1841 and 1843.

On August 4, 1841 the brig Saphira arrived at Quebec from Thurso carrying a total of 202 passengers. Of these, about twenty families (103 persons) had agreed to emigrate with the assistance of the Duke, who provided them with from £3 to £7 for each family in order to pay their passages. They had expected to be forwarded by the government inland, and, as a number of them were in poor condition, some help was reluctantly provided by Buchanan at Quebec. E. S. Richards states that £200 was provided by the Duke for emigration in 1841 and it would therefore appear that some other people emigrated, likely to the Maritime colonies in British North America. A. C. Buchanan reported from Quebec in 1842 the arrival of thirty-eight people who had been assisted in emigration from Thurso, possibly by the Sutherland estate.²³⁰ During the second week of September 1843, the George arrived at Quebec, having sailed from Dundee on June 11th. The ship called at Cromarty, Thurso and Lochlaxford where additional passengers were embarked. It then sailed to Pictou, in Nova Scotia, where ninety-five people landed. Most of the people on board were poor and the ship had

been detained at Pictou owing to sickness among a number of the passengers. Of those who arrived at Quebec, six families (thirty-six persons) had been assisted by the Duke of Sutherland, but were destitute on arrival and needed help in order to proceed to Zorra Twp, Upper Canada where they had friends. In total, it seems that twenty families were assisted by the Duke in 1843 at a cost of about £300, with most of the emigrants receiving their passage money and some receiving provisions as well.²³¹

By 1846 Loch was forced to admit that his earlier negative attitude toward emigration had been a mistake and that in the second two decades of the century "the great body of the people should have been settled in America and not in Sutherland."^{231A} The famine of 1847 and the following years, soon made it obvious that estate funds should be used to encourage and assist those people who were considering emigration. On the whole, the Sutherland estates were not as severely affected by the distress in this period which was very widespread throughout the north west Highlands and Islands. The one exception however was the area of north and west Sutherland along the Atlantic coast, large parts of which had been acquired from Lord Reay in 1829. It was in this area that the destitution in the late 1840's was particularly severe. In 1847 Loch began correspondence with the Colonial Office regarding the possibility of the Duke acquiring lands in Cape Breton Island or Australia, which would be initially rented and eventually sold to the emigrants who were to be partly assisted by the Duke and partly by the government. The government offered to sell the Duke 20,000 acres of land

in Australia at £1 per acre, and that the government would then help to emigrate at least 1000 persons. A similar scheme (although not on as large a scale) had been considered as early as 1836-37, but neither of these plans were proceeded with, partly as a result of the strong feelings among the people against emigration to Australia, particularly in the period before 1852.²³²

Beginning in December 1846 Evander McIver, who was the Scourie District factor (approximately parishes of Assynt, Eddrachillis and Durness), began writing to James Loch and the Duke suggesting that emigration was a vital necessity under the present conditions and adding that "I hope I will be able to induce a few to take advantage of such a crisis as the present".²³³ McIver began as a factor in 1834 on the Tulloch estates in Ross-shire and was appointed by Loch as a factor on the Sutherland estates in 1845.²³⁴ From McIver's letterbooks for this period, it would seem that he had a genuine interest in the people's welfare as well as the interests of the estate and that he did his best to reconcile these different interests as much as possible. Through January and March, McIver continued to recommend that the Duke should assist emigration, particularly to British North America as the people were opposed to Australia as a destination. It was not until the early part of March that Loch and the Duke agreed to his suggestions and by April 2nd, McIver wrote to the Duke that "I have succeeded beyond my expectations in the Emigration Scheme" and 378 people had agreed to emigrate.²³⁵

Initially Loch had decided that the Duke would provide a

free passage (about £4 per person) and £2 for each adult but McIver altered this slightly to satisfy the peoples wishes. He offered (provided) a free passage, plus meal and bread for the voyage. Those in good circumstances received nothing more, while the poor and needy were to receive some clothes, blankets and a little money. This on average amounted to about £2 for each adult.²³⁶ In McIver's memoirs it is stated that the people had approached him first to see whether the Duke would help them to emigrate to British North America. In his letterbooks, however, he described quite a different situation. Although there was an interest in emigration by some people in his district, McIver made considerable efforts to encourage and develop these interests. For example in January he "sent a person who is very anxious to emigrate through my District to agitate this subject as from himself."²³⁷ In 1847 the policy was that prospective emigrants were to come forward and ask for the Duke's help and that no direct coercion or force was to be used. There were two possible reasons for this rather diplomatic handling of the situation. First, too much encouragement by the Duke would make it appear to many people that it was only the estate which was benefiting from the emigration. Second, the estate was anxious to avoid any large public outcry against further clearances and forced emigration.²³⁸ However, it should be noted that McIver was not prepared to leave the possibility of emigration entirely to suggestions by himself and the wishes of the people as in April 1847 he recommended to Loch that there should be no leases given that year to the small tenants, and, then if the potato crop was again poor, there would be a large emigration in 1848.²³⁹

McIver wrote to various shipping brokers in Liverpool, Newcastle and Aberdeen and by May 1847 had engaged, through his brother-in-law, a Mr. McLeod in Liverpool, two ships, one for Pictou, Nova Scotia, the other for Quebec. The number of emigrants had now risen to nearly 400 and the two ships left Loch Laxford during the middle of June 1847. The Panama arrived at Quebec with 287 passengers about the beginning of August and the emigrants proceeded with government help to the Township of Zorra, Upper Canada, where they had families and friends. The other 110 (approximate) people appear to have landed at Pictou.²⁴⁰ The total cost for 1847 appears to have been about £2000.

During the winter of 1847-48, a number of encouraging letters from previous emigrants from the Scourie District were collected, printed and circulated by agents of the estate among the people in the area. The majority of these letters were from people who had settled in the area of Zorra Township of Upper Canada (some in 1847, some earlier),²⁴¹ and they all spoke favourable about the conditions and their new life. In 1848 there was also a change in the policy concerning emigration. In January, McIver wrote to the tenants of the two inland townships of Knoch and Elphin in the parish of Assynt. This area had been particularly badly affected by the recent destitution and it had been decided that the people there were to be removed by Whitsunday 1849 to the shore of Assynt "where new sources of industry, support and profit" were to be available for them.

McIver stated that anyone who wanted to emigrate would be liberally assisted by the Duke. He concluded by saying that the removals would be carried out "in a spirit of kind consideration towards all" and that this step had been decided upon by the Duke in consideration of "your future good".²⁴²

The actual offer to these people was that they would receive a free passage to British North America, provisions for the voyage, have their rental arrears cancelled and any of their aged relatives who were unable to accompany them would be supported by the Duke. It is interesting to note here that in a letter from Loch to the government in January 1848 giving details of the Duke's offer for 1848, no mention was made of McIver's notice of removal to the people in these two townships in Assynt.²⁴³

During April 1848, McIver contacted a number of shipping agents and owners at various ports (Liverpool, Newcastle, Leith and Wick) for information about the availability and rates of obtaining two or three ships to carry emigrants to British North America. As in the previous year the ships were finally arranged for from Liverpool, and although general arrangements had been completed by the third week in April, two of the ships were changed for others at the last moment. When McIver chartered the ships from the brokers, he stipulated that they were not to provide any provisions. Instead, McIver arranged with his agents in Liverpool to purchase meal and bread which were to be given free to the emigrants. He also arranged for the purchase of

groceries and spirits in bond that could then be bought for cash by the emigrants once they had sailed.²⁴⁴ The Ellen and the Greenock arrived at Loch Laxford on May 9th and were expected to remain there embarking passengers for about 2 weeks. It would appear that the Ellen proceeded to Loch Eribol and picked up about 190 people from the Tongue District. The Ellen arrived at Pictou, Nova Scotia at the end of June 1848.²⁴⁵

Two ships that had been chartered by the Duke of Sutherland for the Canadas arrived at Quebec in the summer of 1848, the Greenock from Loch Laxford (June 28, 399 passengers) and the Scotia from Loch Eribol (July 7, 196 passengers). Most of these emigrants proceeded with some assistance from the government into Upper Canada where they had friends.²⁴⁶

McIver was in charge of the arrangements for organization and made most of the decisions on the spot, although within the general policy set out by Loch and the Duke of Sutherland. In describing the method of providing assistance McIver stated in April, 1848 that,

"A great number of families will receive no aid from me beyond their Passage, Head Money and Bread or Meal for the Passage. It is left wholly to my discretion to decide who are the parties to receive aid in money or Clothes---great caution and economy must be pursued in furnishing extra assistance (it was generally limited to 20 shillings per adult) in this way."²⁴⁷

Although from the above quotation it would seem that McIver was very parsimonious about providing assistance, such was not the case and all of these emigrants arrived in British North America well clothed, ^{well} fed and with some extra provisions to use on their journey inland. In communicating with shipping agents in the

spring of 1848, he specified that the Duke wanted a first rate ship commanded by a captain who would treat the passengers with "humanity and kindness". When McIver first began to suggest emigration in the winter of 1846-47, he emphasized to Loch the importance of giving the emigrants as much direction and assistance as possible after they landed, and, compared with other landlord assisted emigrations of this period, he succeeded reasonably well.²⁴⁸

Initially it had been decided by Loch and the Duke that no further help would be provided for emigration in 1849, but in April and May an offer was made to two parishes in Assynt of a free passage to British North America and at least nine persons (2 families) received 50 shillings each under this scheme. These emigrants sailed from Scrabster in a ship organized by John Sutherland, an emigration agent in Wick.²⁴⁹ The Duke assisted two other small groups to the Canadas and both of these sailed from Thurso as part of the complement of passengers on emigrant ships, with the Duke paying the passage money and in one case also providing some funds on arrival at Quebec. These groups arrived in August 1850 on the ship Argo (50 people) and in August 1851 on the Vesper (52 people). Both of these groups were likely from the Assynt area, where further very unpopular clearances were carried out beginning in 1850 and the people had the choice of land on the coast or a free passage to British North America.²⁵⁰

Although there had been some emigration from Sutherlandshire to Australia in the period before 1850, it had not generally been regarded as a favourable emigration field. However as a result of

the discovery of gold in 1852 and the work of the Highland and Island Emigration Society, Australia soon became even more popular than British North America. The Duke assisted a number of people to emigrate to Australia in conjunction with the Highland and Island Emigration Society. During the early 1850's the Duke continued to offer emigration assistance whenever people applied to him for help.²⁵¹

In conclusion, it can be stated that over the period 1841-1851, the Duke of Sutherland assisted in the emigration of approximately 1100 people to British North America, mostly to Upper Canada. The majority of these people were from the Scourie district in North and West Sutherland. The total cost to the Duke of these emigrations was about £6000. Thus while the Sutherland's have often been regarded very critically with respect to their early policy of improvements, they were most liberal in providing assistance to emigration in the late 1840's and early 1850's.²⁵²

Various Other Landlords

The previous several sections of this chapter have discussed the attitudes of and help provided by a number of landlords for emigration to Upper Canada. During the period under discussion (1815 - 1855), landlords assisted in the emigration of about 8500 people to the Canadas, and of this number, about 80% were helped by four of the landowners already examined - Col. John Gordon of Cluny, Sir James Matheson of Lewis and the Duke of Argyll and the

Duke of Sutherland. The following section will briefly examine nearly a dozen other landlords who contributed to a smaller extent in assisting these emigrations to the Canadas.

Duke of Hamilton

The Island of Arran, located in the Firth of Clyde, was one of the first areas in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland to undergo the consolidation of small holdings into larger farms. In 1828 Alexander, the tenth Duke of Hamilton and thirteenth Earl of Arran, offered to assist a number of the people who were to be displaced (mostly from the Sannox area of Arran) by this consolidation, to emigrate to Upper Canada where he would secure free grants of land from the government for their settlement. Previous emigrants from Arran had gone to the Bay of Chaleur area in New Brunswick, but the people were willing to accept the Duke's offer in view of their precarious situation.²⁵³

The Duke, who had earlier in 1820-21 used his influence with the government to obtain help for the numerous lowland emigration societies, began correspondence with the Colonial Office in the fall of 1828. He had initially hoped that the government would provide financial assistance as well as land grants, but in the end was only able to arrange for land grants of 100 acres with the Duke contributing one-half the passage money and the emigrants paying the remainder. There are various estimates as to the number who emigrated in April 1829, but it would appear to have been about sixteen families (100 people). They were to take up their land grants in Horton Township, Upper Canada on the Ottawa River, but after arriving

at Montreal decided instead to proceed to the area south of the St. Lawrence River in Lower Canada, known as the Eastern Townships. The Duke had asked to be granted a township where he could continue to place emigrants but the government would only agree to the individual land grants which would be together if at all possible.²⁵⁴

Another group of emigrants arrived from Arran in 1830 and thirty-five additional families in 1831, who all received assistance from the Duke. They settled together in the new settlement of New Hamilton in the township of Inverness, Lower Canada. The groups who emigrated in 1829 and 1830 received the land grants but the group in 1831 was not eligible, as the government decided that such preferential treatment should be stopped. This settlement prospered and so ended one of the first instances of landlord assisted emigrations from Scotland.²⁵⁵

Neil Malcolm of Poltalloch

During the period under discussion, the Malcolms of Poltalloch owned lands in the parishes of Kilmartin, Milnmuir and North Knapdale in Argyllshire. Beginning in the early 1840's, Neil Malcolm began to recognize the importance of landlord assisted emigration, particularly in view of the worsening economic position of many of the people on his estates. He took an active interest in the organization of the British American Association for Emigration and Colonization and in the spring of 1841 he invited Dr. Thomas Rolph to visit his estates and speak to his tenantry about the advantages of emigration to British North America.²⁵⁶

Several references are made to the assistance provided by Malcolm in evidence given before the Scottish Poor Law Inquiry of 1844. William Martin, Malcolm's estate factor stated that the general policy was for the estate to pay the emigrant's passage money (sometimes less, sometimes more) to Canada and all the emigrants went voluntarily, "in no instance has Mr. Malcolm compelled any to emigrate, and the people are themselves anxious to go." He concluded by saying that Mr. Malcolm tried to select those people who were most likely to succeed in the new country and that many people who applied for help were rejected.²⁵⁷ The Rev. Donald Maclachlan, the Established Church minister in North Knapdale parish, felt that this assisted emigration was an excellent policy and that he had been asked by Malcolm to recommend "able-bodied and fit persons who wish to emigrate." The minister claimed that over the period 1840-42, one hundred persons were assisted each year to emigrate and that in 1843, over one hundred persons had asked for assistance, but none could be obtained.²⁵⁸

The annual reports of A. C. Buchanan at Quebec provide additional information about these emigrations. On August 15, 1841 the brig Wanderer arrived from Glasgow and among its passengers there were eight families (fifty-eight people) whose passage had been paid by Neil Malcolm. Buchanan had also received authority from Malcolm to provide them with sufficient funds to enable the emigrants to reach their friends in the London district of Upper Canada.²⁵⁹ Buchanan also recorded the

arrival on August 2, 1843 of the Tay from the Clyde after a passage of forty-eight days. Sixteen families on this ship had been amply provided for during the voyage by Neil Malcolm.²⁶⁰ There is one later reference in the Argyll papers to one hundred people being assisted to emigrate in the summer of 1849, but no mention is made of them in the records at Quebec.²⁶¹

While it is difficult to arrive at an exact figure for the number of people assisted by Malcolm of Poltalloch it would appear to be in the range of several hundred. In conclusion, it can be said that this particular landlord's assisted emigration is interesting for several reasons, first, the emigrants were liberally assisted at a time before destitution was widespread; second, no apparent evictions or clearances were involved, and finally the estate was close enough to the Lowlands of Scotland that an internal migration could and did occur, yet Malcolm still felt that a number of people would benefit from emigration to Canada.

Mr. Baillie of Dochfour and Glenelg

The estate of Glenelg, located in Glenelg parish at the extreme northwest of the mainland of Invernessshire, belonged until 1798 to the Macleod of Macleod. After this date it changed hands on several occasions (1811 and 1824), until it was purchased in 1837 by James Baillie of Dochfour, banker, merchant and landowner. In 1847 Baillie's estate at Glenelg consisted of 30,000 acres of land returning a rental of £3,000 (he paid £77,000 for it) and supported a population of 1800.²⁶²

The economic situation of these people had been declining for some time, a fact which has been frequently referred to in this chapter, relating to the north west Highlands and Islands as a whole. The following comments on the situation in the Glenelg area were made in 1824 by Lachlan Maclean, who was the factor for Sir Hugh Innes, who held lands in the parishes of Glenelg and Lochalsh.

"I can assure you that it would gall any one to see the number of miserable wretches that are likely to starve on this Estate (though they are perhaps little worse than their neighbours) and I am sure that it would be Sir Hugh's Interest to endeavour to get many of them out of the country in some shape or another, for they will ruin such as have a little remaining, of their subject, and they will get so discontented and desperate that it is hard to say what they may do."²⁶³

From 1824 to 1848, individually financed emigration had been taking place to some extent from the Glenelg estate partly as the result of the amalgamation of small holdings and also by people who felt they would have a better life elsewhere, but no assistance had been provided by the various landowners. However, during the winter of 1848-49, Mr. Baillie received a petition representing six to seven hundred people on his estate asking him to provide assistance for them to emigrate to Canada. Most of these people held one acre of land or less and at least forty-one families had no land at all. Baillie agreed to pay their passage and provide some help after they had disembarked. It seems that initially he had agreed to provide them with help for one month in Canada, but in the end the only means provided was for their transportation to their destination.²⁶⁴

Baillie applied to the Glasgow section of the Highland Destitution Committee for assistance in providing the emigrants with food supplies for the voyage. Initially this was refused, but apparently the Committee later agreed to provide £500 for this purpose to supplement Baillie's assistance of £2000.²⁶⁵ The proprietor arranged for the ship Liscard which sailed from Inverness, likely embarking the passengers at Glenelg. Although there was some trouble concerning provisions and a doctor being obtained for the ship prior to sailing, the Liscard arrived at Quebec on August 17, 1849 carrying 341 people, who then proceeded to the Glengarry (311 people) and London (30 people) districts in Upper Canada. Nearly fifty families who had agreed to emigrate and had sold all their possessions did not find room on the Liscard and were left in a destitute state in Glenelg. Thomas Mullock of the Inverness Advertiser spoke with these people and asked them if they had been willing emigrants. He stated,

"With one voice they assured me that nothing short of the impossibility of obtaining land or employment at home could drive them to seek the doubtful benefits of a foreign shore. So far from the emigration being, at Glenelg, or Lochalsh, or South Uist, a spontaneous movement springing out of the wishes of the tenantry, I aver it to be on the contrary, the product of desperation, the calamitous light of hopeless oppression visiting their sad hearts."²⁶⁶

There is no information as to what became of these fifty families and indeed, although Alexander Mackenzie in his book on the Highland clearances stated that more than five hundred people left Glenelg in 1849, the only people to arrive at Quebec from Glenelg were those on the Liscard. Sir John M'Neill in his report in 1851, stated that Mr. Baillie continued to offer to

cancel rent arrears, pay for free passages and provide clothing and blankets to willing emigrants who did not have the means. However Mr. Baillie, after being accused of compelling emigration from his estate:

"required as a condition of his giving assistance - that they should find their own way to the Clyde, and pull down their own houses before they set out - and some who profess a desire to emigrate allege that they have not had the means to comply with these conditions."²⁶⁷

It would appear from A. C. Buchanan's reports that no further emigrants were assisted by Mr. Baillie to British North America after 1849. Thus, while a number of emigrants had been reasonably liberally assisted as a result of poor organization on the part of the resident factor, (Mullock claimed that Baillie had not visited his estate for ten years), the episode ended in hardship for many and recriminations which were to last for years.²⁶⁸

Maclean of Coll

At the beginning of our period, Alexander, the 15th Maclean of Coll (1754 - 1835) owned the island estates of Coll, Quinish (on Mull), Muck and Rum. In the fall of 1823, he wrote to the British government asking for its help in transporting some of his excess tenants to Canada where they would be able to obtain a better living than on his estates. His petition was refused and he therefore decided to proceed on his own. In July 1826, he chartered two ships to carry three hundred emigrants from Rum to Cape Breton Island. There had been earlier and smaller emigrations from Rum and Coll

but these had been individually financed and of a voluntary nature.²⁶⁹

In reply to the question before the Select Committee on Emigration in 1826-27, whether these people on Rum were willing to leave, Alexander Hunter, W.S., who superintended the emigration stated that "some of them were, others were not very willing, they did not like to leave the land of their ancestors."²⁷⁰ This emigration was far from being a voluntary one and all of the inhabitants (about four hundred people) were removed, leaving only a sheep farmer and a few shepherds. Maclean cancelled their arrears of debt (at least £300), paid most of their passage money and made sure that each of them had a small sum when they landed in Cape Breton Island after a voyage of thirty-seven days. On average it cost him about £5/14/0 for each adult passenger he assisted.²⁷¹

In March 1827, Hugh Maclean of Coll, who was to obtain his father's estates in 1828, wrote to the Colonial Office asking for government help as he could not assist the emigration any more, which it seems he had promised to do again in 1827. Maclean stated that he was willing to pay the interest on a government loan to the emigrants until the emigrants could pay it back themselves. He ended his letter by saying "I can from my own Estate spare fifteen hundred souls."²⁷² No government help was forthcoming. There was however one further large emigration from Rum and Muck in 1828 to Nova Scotia, during which Maclean might have provided a little help.²⁷³ Maclean was in communication with the British government again the fall of 1837 when he wanted help in establishing

a large settlement for people from his estates (three hundred persons annually for ten years) in Australia. The government reply was that they could provide no assistance and that Maclean should try and send his people to Canada.²⁷⁴

Thus after the help provided by Maclean of Coll in the late 1820's, any further emigration from his estates was largely on an individual, self financed basis, although he did borrow some money in 1852 under the Emigration Advances Act which was to be applied to the island of Coll. There is no record of any people being assisted by Maclean arriving at Quebec during this period, and the records of the Highland Island Emigration Society show that a few people were sent from his estates to Australia.²⁷⁵

Macdonell of Glengarry

At the beginning of the 19th Century the Macdonells of Glengarry owned large estates in the north west part of mainland Inverness-shire. These included Inverlochy, Glenquoich, Glengarry and Knoydart and yet as a result of growing debts most of these were sold, so that by 1840 only the Knoydart property was left in their possession. These areas had experienced large emigrations to Canada prior to this time and in October 1840, Aeneas Macdonell, the 16th Chief of Glengarry, emigrated with his family and possessions to Australia where he hoped to make his fortune. However things did not work out the way he had hoped and he returned to Scotland about ten years later, where he died in 1852.²⁷⁶

His son was a minor and Mrs. Macdonell and the estate

trustees, in order to meet the ever present debts, decided to clear Knoydart and then sell the estate to James Baird, a lowland industrialist. While in 1847 there were over six hundred people on the estate, this number had declined by 1853 to only seventy families living in townships along the coast. In the spring of 1853 all of the remaining people on the Glengarry estates in Knoydart received summonses of removal and were informed that Mrs. Macdonell had arranged with Sir John M'Neill, the chairman of the Poor Law Board of Supervision to have them all taken to Australia. This plan was soon abandoned and the people were then told that they would be sent to Canada at the expense of the estate. Their arrears of rent (about £2300) were to be cancelled, what cattle and crops they had were to be sold for their own use, bedding and utensils were to be provided and clothing supplied to those who needed it. Also they were each to receive ten pounds of oatmeal on their arrival at Quebec.²⁷⁷

The estate borrowed £1700 under the Emigration Advances Act in August and arranged for the ship Sillery to come to Isle Ormsay on Skye where it waited until the people were ferried across from Knoydart. Most of the people did not want to leave their homes but realized that they were powerless to act against the estate and therefore had no real alternative but to accept whatever help they could get. Alexander Grant, the estate factor, was in charge of the removals and when the people had left their homes, not always of their own free will, the buildings were

demolished. The Sillery sailed for Canada, arriving at Quebec on September 7, 1853 with 332 passengers who had their passage paid to Montreal and then proceeded to Upper Canada to join friends and relatives.²⁷⁸ This did not end the Knoydart clearances however, as sixteen families had refused to leave and, as many of these were in a destitute condition, pressure was exerted on the Poor Law Board of Supervision during the following year to provide them with adequate relief.²⁷⁹

Macleod of Macleod

At the beginning of the 19th Century, the Macleod of Macleod (at Dunvegan) owned large estates in Inverness-shire particularly on the Isle of Skye, although they also held the Gleneelg estate on the mainland. Due to the worsening economic situation on the estate, large acreages had to be sold until by 1847 there remained only the estates of Glendale, Durnish and Bracadale, on Skye. Norman, the 22nd Macleod of Macleod, became the Chief in 1835 and beginning in the early 1840's, took an active part in encouraging and organizing emigration both from his estates and from the Highlands and Islands generally.²⁸⁰

McLeod was involved with the abortive plan of the British American Association for Emigration and Colonization and met and was in communication with Dr. Thomas Rolph. Rolph stated in February 1841 in a letter to the chief secretary of the Governor-General of British North America that McLeod was preparing to buy

a large block of land in the western part of Upper Canada to which he would forward some of the excess population from his estates. No further mention has been found relating to this scheme and it would appear to have been abandoned, most likely as a result of inadequate finances.²⁸¹ It was this problem of inadequate resources that continued to plague both the Macleod estates and the Highlands generally during this period. The famine of 1846-7 brought the beginning of the climax of the growing problems in the area. Mr. J. Chant, who was an agent of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, described the destitution on Skye in July 1852, as follows, -

"It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey to you an idea of the wretchedness and misery I have witnessed. It must be seen to be understood. Any description that can be given must fall short of the sad reality. It is not too much to say that many of the swine in England are better fed and better housed than are the poor of this island."²⁸²

In 1848 the estate proposed to assist some emigration to Australia, likely in conjunction with the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, but no one was interested in this offer, partially because they would rather have emigrated to Canada where they had friends who had gone previously. However by the early 1850's with the organization of the Highland Emigration Society (Macleod had been active in its formation), the discovery of gold in Australia and no likelihood of assistance to Canada, the people were willing to emigrate with assistance to Australia.²⁸³ In 1852 the estate borrowed £1500 from the government for this purpose. During this period of destitution, Macleod of Macleod made considerable sacrifices

and was publicly praised for his efforts on behalf of his tenants.²⁸⁴

Other Landowners

This section will briefly mention a number of landowners who provided some assistance to emigrants. In most cases this help was to only a very few people in a particular year and the amount of information is very scanty, often no more than a passing reference.

In the early 1850's, with the organization of the Highland and Island Emigration Society, the passing of the government financed Emigration Advances Act and the increased attractiveness of Australia, a large number of landowners provided assistance to that emigration field, including, Donald Macdonald (Skeabost) Alexander M'Alister (Strathaird), Alexander Matheson (Kintail and Ardintoul) Sir James Riddell (Ardnamurchan), Cameron of Lochiel, George Rainey of Raasay, Malcolm of Poltalloch and Mr. M'Millan of Ardtene.^{284a} An earlier section of this chapter dealt in more detail with the activities of this Society and emigration to Australia and nothing further will be added here.

Lord and Lady Dunmore, (he died in 1836), purchased Harris from Norman Macleod of Harris in 1834 and soon began to consider the value of emigration from the estate, although initially they had thought that resettlement on the coasts would be both easier and less expensive. In November 1838, notices of removal were given to the people living on the farm of Borve on Harris and they were told that they would be given a free passage to Cape Breton Island

or Canada, arrears of rent cancelled and allowed to sell their crop and stock for their own benefit. In 1839 troops had to be called in to evict these people and no one accepted the landlord's offer of assistance.²⁸⁵

However by 1841 a number of people agreed to emigrate, although at less favourable terms and in 1841 - 274 people and in 1842 - 357 people emigrated, mostly to Cape Breton Island, where they had friends. The cost to the estate was about £1000. In 1847 and 1848, offers of assistance (similar to that in 1838) were made, but no one took advantage of them.²⁸⁶ By the early 1850's, with continuing distress in Harris considerable numbers emigrated to Australia with the help of the Highland Emigration Society and the Dunmore estate.²⁸⁷

At the other end of the Hebrides from Harris is situated the island of Islay. During the period under discussion, Islay had suffered less severely than most other areas of the Hebrides and rather than the population pressure continuing to build up, the population had remained almost constant between 1831 - 1841 and dropped sharply after that time. In evidence before the Napier Commission in 1884, the Rev. John M'Neill, a Free Church minister on Islay, estimated that the number of people who had left Islay, some to the colonies, others to the mainland, had been 1300 in the period 1831 - 1841 and 1200 in the period 1841 - 1851. Some of these had left as a result of farm reorganization but the majority had left because they were aware of the better opportunities elsewhere.²⁸⁸

In the late 1840's, John Ramsay of Kildalton bought the parish of Kildalton and Oa but soon found that large areas of the property, particularly the Oa, were not adequate to support the existing population. He therefore decided to offer to organize and financially assist where necessary an emigration to Canada. Also rental arrears would be cancelled and their crops and cattle bought for cash by the proprietor. Two groups of people left as a result - in 1862, 200 people and in 1863, 400 people (including 200 from other estates on Islay). Some financial assistance was also provided by the Parochial Board on the island. John Ramsay was not in favour of large scale forced emigrations but felt that, as the people became better educated, they would see the advantages of emigration. He also realized that emigration alone was not the only solution to the general problems in the Hebrides and that more fundamental changes would be necessary.²⁸⁹

Although these partially assisted emigrations are outside the time period of the present study, they are interesting for one particular reason, in that John Ramsay travelled to Canada in August 1870 to see for himself whether emigration had really benefited the people. He first stopped in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada to speak with some of the Lewis emigrants from Sir James Matheson's estates (Matheson was a personal friend) and then proceeded to Upper Canada, where he travelled around the province visiting in communities where the Islay emigrants had congregated. He concluded that on the whole they were prospering and were doing much better than they could have ever done in Islay.²⁹⁰

The following section is a chronological list of a number of scattered references to a number of landlord assisted emigrations usually consisting of small numbers about which little else is known.

- a) Mr. Grant of Glenmorriston (Invernessshire) financially assisted emigrants to Canada in the early 1820's. This help was a gift but the people decided to repay him anyway.²⁹¹
- b) In 1826, Macdonald of Clanranald sold the Island of Canna to Donald McNeill, who immediately began to encourage emigration. By the end of the decade he had assisted emigration by paying the passage of about 200 people from the estate. The estate's population had been about 500. McNeill assisted a further nine families (65 people) with a free passage to Quebec in the summer of 1855.²⁹²
- c) A number of families were assisted with their passage in 1837-38 from the estate of Mr. Davidson of Tulloch in the parishes of Lochbroom and Gairloch Ross-shire. They settled in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada on lands purchased from the British American Land Company.²⁹³
- d) In 1838, Mackenzie of Seaforth sold the Torridon estate (in Wester Ross) to a Mr. McBarnet (ate) who soon began clearing the estate of its population to make way for sheep. McBarnet provided some money to assist them in emigrating to North America.²⁹⁴
- e) In June 1842 ten to twelve families emigrated from Strath Bran (Ross and Cromarty) via the port of Cromarty to Canada. They were from Sir Colin Mackenzie of Kilcoy's property in the parish of Kilmuir West. He provided them with £10 to assist their passage, the new tenants contributed £5 and the Glasgow Emigration Society gave £60.²⁹⁵
- f) In 1843 forty-seven people (ten families) were assisted to emigrate to Canada from the village of Johnston (near Glasgow) by the landlords.²⁹⁶
- g) On June 18, 1847 sixty-six persons arrived at Quebec on the Charlotte Harrison from Greenock whose passage had been paid by private funds, other than their own.²⁹⁷
- h) On August 24, 1850, eleven families (eighty-two persons) arrived at Quebec on the George from Oban who had been provided with a free passage by their landlord, a Mr. M'Donald. They were in very poor circumstances and had to be forwarded to their destination in Glengarry County, Upper Canada, by the government.²⁹⁸

- i) In 1851 about two hundred people were forwarded from Scotland by various unnamed landowners and in 1852 153 people were forwarded from the Clyde on the same basis.²⁹⁹
- j) On September 3, 1853 eighteen people arrived at Quebec from Glasgow whose passage had been paid by McNeill of Colonsay.³⁰⁰
- k) In the early 1850's Mr. Macleod of Gràshornish, Skye, provided clothes and passage money to Canada for six families from his estate. He also purchased some land for them in Canada, which they repaid him for.³⁰¹

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to analyse the role played by landlords (mainly those in the Highlands and Islands) in assisting and directing emigration from Scotland to Canada in the period up to 1855. The chapter was divided into two main sections, with the first section presenting a general picture of the changes that took place in the landlords attitudes toward emigration, and the second section examining the efforts made by certain individual landlords to assist emigrations at various times over this period.

After examining this first main section it is clear that there are three general periods which can be identified on the basis of the landlords attitude towards emigration. In the period before 1815 they were strongly opposed to emigration and usually did as much as possible to discourage it and prevent the people leaving their estates. The period from 1815 to 1840 was one of change in the landlord's attitudes, largely due to an awareness of the growing economic pressures and problems affecting their area of Scotland. This period saw the landlords begin to encourage emigration from their estates, and solicit government assistance for emigration. Yet during this period relatively few landlords actually financed emigration from their estates, partially because many thought that

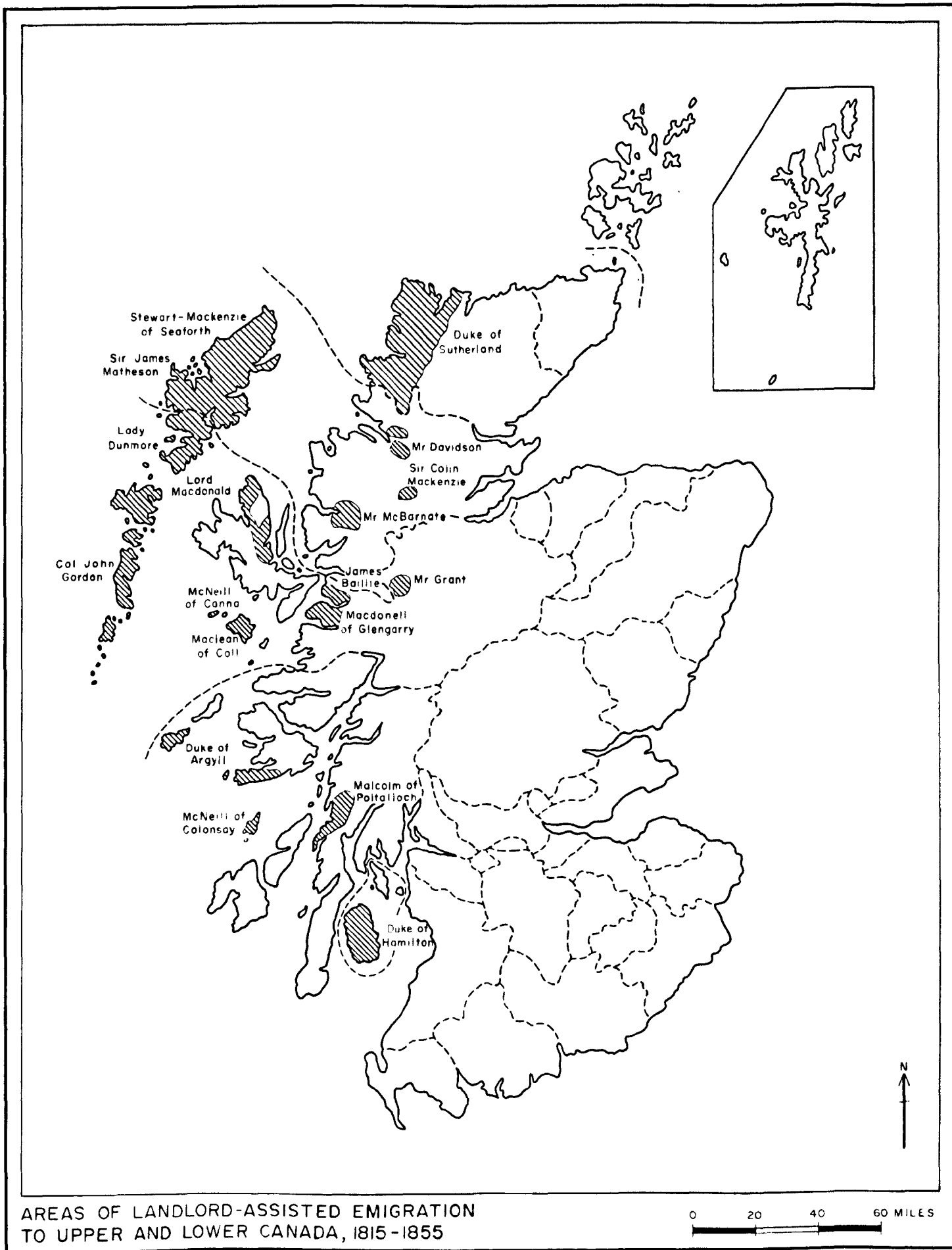


Figure 7.2

voluntary self-financed emigration would relieve enough of the population pressure and also because, by this period, many of the landlords were unable or unwilling to finance the cost themselves.

The third period, between 1840 and 1855, more especially after 1847, saw many Highland landlords become actively involved in estate assisted emigrations on a large scale to British North America (particularly Canada) and latterly to Australia. By this period, following the famine in the late 1840's, these landlords had come to realize that some form of large scale emigration was necessary to give many areas in the Highlands some chance of breaking out of a largely subsistence way of life. They also finally realized that the British government was unwilling to finance large scale emigrations from their estates. By this period as well, some of the larger estates had been purchased by new owners who had the necessary finances to undertake such assisted emigrations. In many ways, by the late 1840's, there were few alternatives left except landlord financed emigration, in that the mass of the Highland population had become so impoverished as to make self financed emigration impossible. Thus during the period 1848-1853, landlord assisted emigration played a critical role in Scottish emigration to Canada, particularly from the north west Highlands and Islands.

The second main section, (see Figure 7.2), dealing with the emigration activities of various individual landlords, makes evident the considerable diversity of factors and responses which occurred in the Highlands during this period. Some landlords were quick to

respond, others were slow; some provided little assistance, others were generous; some acted with diplomacy and tact, others rashly and harshly. Whatever the responses, it is difficult to deny the necessity of their assistance, and considering the magnitude of the emigrations as well as the social and economic conditions of the period, it is surprising that violent incidents and cases of extreme hardship were not more widespread. Over the period under discussion (1815 - 1855), nearly 9000 persons were assisted by Scottish landlords to emigrate to Canada. Over ninety per cent of these emigrated in the period 1847 to 1853, with approximately sixty per cent of the total number assisted leaving in 1849 and 1851. The role of these landlords was critical in particular areas at particular periods when they provided financial assistance, encouragement and organizational ability. The landlords' role was important (both negatively and positively) over the entire period in view of their influence both on public opinion and on the British government.

In conclusion it can be said that the attitude and activities of the Scottish landlords, particularly in the Highlands and Islands was an important factor in assisting and directing Scottish emigrations to Canada in the period 1815 to 1855.

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In analysing the possibility of systematic colonization by emigration to Canada, the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, gave as one possible source of funds, private proprietors in Britain who were "desirous of clearing their estates."

CO 384/61, 21 April 1840, p. 26.

Thomas Rolph, Emigration and Colonization embodying the results of a Mission to Great Britain and Ireland during the years 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1842, London, 1841, p. 23.

66. PP 1841 VI (182) Select Committee on Emigration - Scotland, Q2339-42; Q3328-30; Q234.
67. PP 1841 VI (182):
Q1745 Andrew Scott, factor to John Hay Mackenzie in Coigach district of Wester Ross
Q234 John Bowie, factor in Long Island recommended removal of 3500 from South Uist, 2500 from North Uist
Q2673-80 Duncan Shaw, factor in the Long Island recommended emigration of 2500 from Harris and 3000 from South Uist
Q1379 Evander M'Iver, factor in Wester Ross, recommended emigration of 2000 from Loch Broom and 2000 from Gairloch areas.
Q2228 Thomas Knox, Chamberlain Isle of Lewis; recommended removal of 6-7000 from Lewis.
68. PP 1841 VI (182) Q324-28 evidence of R. Graham who had been the government commission to investigate the distress in the Highlands in 1837. Although the Duke of Argyll was very much in favour of government assisted emigration, particularly from his estates of Ross of Mull and Tyree.
- PP 1841 VI (333) Q3369 - 3416.
69. Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 123.
70. Cowan, op. cit., pp. 123-127.
Shepperson (1957), op. cit., pp. 40-46.
Thomas Rolph, Emigration and Colonization, London, 1844
71. ibid., p. 13.
72. ibid., p. 20.
73. CO 384/61 p. 296, Minutes of Meeting May 9, 1840.
PP 1842 XXXI (301) pp. 240-43 Memorial of North American Colonial Committee to Colonial Office, fall 1840.

74. PP 1847-48 XLVII (368) pp. 4 - 9.
PP 1841 XV (298) pp. 50-4, 80.
Suggestions for the Canada Emigration Society (1840)
Toronto Public Libraries, Baldwin Room, Brookside collection.
75. Paisley Advertiser, March 20, 1841 for quote by Rolph.
Glasgow Argus, March 18, 1841.
PP 1841 VI (182) Q1505-1562
Cuairtear nan Gleann volume 2 (1841-2) pp. 27-8.
76. Shepperson (1957) op. cit., p. 45.
Glasgow Herald, January 23, 1843 from Paisley Advertiser.
77. Thomas Rolph, A Brief Account Together with Observations, Made During a Visit in the West Indies, and a Tour Through the United States of America in Parts of the years 1832-3; Together with a Statistical Account of Upper Canada, Dundas, 1836.
Thomas Rolph, The Comparative Advantages Between the United States and Canada for British Settlers, London, 1842 (price 1 shilling, 32 pp.).
Thomas Rolph, The Emigrants Manual, London: Cunningham and Martimer (pre 1843).
Thomas Rolph, Canada vs Australia: Their Relative Merits Considered. London, 1839, (price 1/6d 48 pp.).
Thomas Rolph, "On Systematic Emigration and Colonization", Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany vol. II (1844).
78. W. A. Carrothers, Emigration From the British Isles, London, 1929, p.4.
79. Printed report meeting British American Association, London, April 29, 1842; see also report of meeting London, June 8, 1842, Duke of Argyll in chair. (Hamilton Muniments Box 170).
CO43/100 P. 167 petition to Colonial Office from Baronets.
Glasgow Herald, March 4, 1842.
80. Shepperson (1957) op. cit., p. 44 and following p. 148.
81. Thomas Rolph, Emigration and Colonization pp. 156-7, 170, 185, 188, 204, 208.

108. S.R.O. Highland Emigration Society, Letterbook 1, p. 189.
Sir Charles Trevelyan to Macleod of Macleod, June 9, 1852.
- Macleod of Macleod Muniments Box 36 no. 2
Dr. John Ferguson to Miss Macleod of Macleod June 25, 1852
- McNeill Letterbook, Mitchell Library, Glasgow p. 14
Sir John McNeill to Sir Charles Trevelyan, May 26, 1852.
109. Sir J. M'Neill to Sheriff Fraser, December 30, 1851 M'Neill Letterbook (Mitchell Library, Glasgow), p. 101.
- Emigration from Highlands and Islands, p. 9 and p. 13.
Sir J. M'Neill commenting at public meeting in Edinburgh February 23, 1852 to promote emigration from Highlands to British colonies.
"Nearly whole of the landed property (in Skye) is in trust for behoof of creditors who hitherto have afforded no assistance, the working classes in that island have not enjoyed the facilities for emigration which have been liberally provided by many of the Proprietors in other districts."
110. Emigration from Highlands and Islands
T. Fraser to R. Christie, January 6, 1852, p. 31.
R. Christie to T. Fraser, January 21, 1852, p. 32.
T. Fraser to J. Smith, agent for Mcleod property, December 8, 1851, p. 29.
111. PP 1854 XXIX (1710) p. ix, Eighth Report Poor Law Board, Scotland.
112. James Browne, A Critical Examination of Dr. MacCulloch's Work on the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1825, p. 241.
- See also - Robert Hamilton, Observations Upon the Causes of Distress in the Country and Proposals of a Plan for Ameliorating the Condition of the Poor, Glasgow, 1822.
He claimed that emigration was alright for a few but the real answer was to develop the resources of the country.
113. Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, NS vol. 5 (1837) pp. 379-390.
114. Donald Ross, The Russians of Rossshire or Massacre of the Rosses in Strathcarron, Rossshire, Glasgow, 1854, 2nd edition, p. 36.
- Donald Ross, Real Scottish Grievances, Glasgow, 1854, p. 30.
"They must become emigrants, that a few gentlemen may live at home at ease; and if they do not choose to emigrate, they must die of want at home."
"An appalling record of injustice, inhumanity and of shameful cruelty."

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81. Scotsman, May 21, 1842.

Glasgow Argus, May 30, 1842.

Glasgow Herald, May 30, 1842.

82. Thomas Rolph, Emigration and Colonization, pp. 249-261.

Frances Morehouse, "Migration from the United Kingdom to North America 1840-1850", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester 1921, pp. 73-8.

Shepperson, (1957) op. cit., pp. 45-46.

Glasgow Herald, November 11, 1842; December 11, 1842; December 12, 1842; December 11, 1843.

83. Glasgow Herald, November 7, 1842, letter from Duke of Argyll to Lord Mayor of London.

84. Glasgow Herald, November 7, 1842 from Morning Herald.

85. Glasgow Herald, April 24, 1843 from The Times.

"We wish to warn the nobility against lending their names to such schemes."

The Glasgow Saturday Post, May 6, 1843 from the Globe

The Duke of Argyll should not have become involved in the first place but he must accept the responsibility now.

86. Journal of Agriculture 1849-51, p. 208. See also pp. 1-21, 213-15.

Glasgow Herald, October 1, 1847.

87. Malcolm Gray, op. cit., pp. 181, 205-6.

88. R. N. Salaman, History and Social Influence of the Potato, Cambridge 1949, pp. 374-5.

M. Gray, op. cit. pp. 176-7; 207-8.

89. James Robertson, General View of the County of Perth, London, 1794 quoted in Salaman, op. cit. p. 365.

90. Evidence of migration to Lowlands:
PP 1847 LIII (788) pp. 221-23.

Glasgow Herald, April 5, 1847.

Comments on Highland Destitution:

Extracts from Letters to the Rev. Dr. M'Leod, Glasgow Regarding the Famine and Destitution in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Glasgow, 1847.

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90. Destitution Committee of the Free Church, Destitution in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Glasgow, 1847 and 1848.

Robert Somers, Letters from the Highlands; or The Famine of 1847, London and Edinburgh, 1848.

PP 1847 LIII (788) Correspondence regarding Relief Measures in the Highlands.

Deputation of the Glasgow Section of the Highland Relief Board Report on the Islands of Mull, Ulva, Iona, Tiree and Coll, Glasgow, 1849.

Barron, op. cit. vol. III pp. xx-xxix.

91. Glasgow Herald, February 8, 1847. March 22, 1847; May 3, 1847.

Second Report Central Board of Management Destitution Relief Fund, May 3, 1847, p. 6.

Third Report Central Board of Management, Edinburgh, June 1847,

92. Memorial to Central Board for Relief of Destitution, 1849, 17 pp found in Macleod of Macleod papers Box 36 no. 1.

1) from clergymen, tenants and others estate of Glenelg (Mr. Baillie) February 1849, pp. 2-3.

2) J. W. Lillingston Lochalsh to W. F. Skene, March 19, 1849.

93. Minutes of meeting Central Destitution Board, Edinburgh, April 18, 1849, p. 2.

Third Report Edinburgh Section Destitution Board, 1849, p. 450.

94. PP 1847 LIII Final Report of Sir E. Coffin, p. 6.

See also in the Macleod of Macleod Papers Box 36, no. 2.

1) Memorail of Parochial Boards of the Island of Lewis to Lord John Russell, January 1851.

the government must provide help in the following two ways-

"Aid for a judiciously - conducted Emigration to some of the many rich unoccupied tracts in the Colonies".

"Aid for maintaining such members of the remnant population as may require it till next crop."

2) Rough draft of Petition to Government from Proprietors in Distressed Districts of Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland (1850)

"As regards some of the districts in question; there can be no permanent remedy without aid being afforded to Emigration."

97. Malcom Gray, op. cit., pp. 188-89.

William C. Mackenzie, The Western Isles: Their History, Traditions, and Place Names, Paisley 1932, p. 56.

Barron, op. cit., vol. II Appendix E, pp. 329-30.

98. PP 1847 LIII (788) p. 2.
99. Aberdeen Herald, January 23, 1847.
Glasgow Herald, February 1 and February 12, 1847.
PP 1847 LIII (788).
100. PP 1851 XXVI pp. xxxv - xxxvii
101. Act of British Parliament 14 and 15 Victoria cap 91, August 7, 1851.
102. PP 1852-53 L (1576) Seventh Report Poor Law Board, Scotland, p. xii
PP 1854 XXIX (1710) Eight Report Poor Law Board, Scotland p. ix
103. S.R.O. Highland Emigration Society, Book 3, p. 153. Trevelyan to Sir J. McNeill, March 10, 1853.
104. Economist June 19, 1852 quoted in Emigration from Highlands and Islands of Scotland to Australia, London, 1852, p. 128.
Glasgow Herald, June 25, 1852.
Inverness Courier, February 19, June 24, 1852.
Skye Emigration Fund - (Appeal for funds) (1851) in Macleod of Macleod Box 36, no. 1 6 pp.

for earlier government assisted schemes of emigration to Australia see excellent work by David S. MacMullan, Scotland and Australia 1788 - 1850, Oxford, 1967.

David S. Macmillan "Sir Charles Trevelyan and the Highland and Island Emigration Society, 1849 - 1859" in Royal Australian Historical Society Journal, November 1963, volume 49, pp. 161-88.
105. Society for Assisting Emigration from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1853, prospectus of the Society p. 3 in S.R.O. GD 64/3/117.
106. Emigration from the Highlands and Islands (1852), op. cit., p. 1.
107. T. Fraser to Emigration Commissioners November 22, 1851 in Emigration from Highlands and Islands, p. 4.

Sir J. McNeill to Sir C. Trevelyan June 23, 1852, McNeill letter book (Mitchell Library, Glasgow) p. 50.
"They (poor people in Skye) begin to think that other objects than their relief from misery are contemplated and that by holding back higher or better offers will be made to them."

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114. Donald Ross, Letters on the Depopulation of the Highlands, 1856.

Donald Ross, The Glengarry Evictions or Scenes at Knoydart, Glasgow, 1853, p. 6. The people were "packed off to North America like so many African slaves to the Cuban market."

Donald Ross, The Scottish Highlanders; Their Present Sufferings and Future Prospects, Glasgow, 1852, pp. 16, 26.

115. George G. Mackay, On the Management of Landed Property in the Highlands of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1858, p. 67-8.

J. Mackenzie, M.D. (factor at Gairloch) Letter to Lord John Russell on Sir John M'Neill's Report on the State of the West Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1851.

Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, N.S. vol. 9, 1842, p. 5, "We utterly deny that there is any surplus population in this kingdom."

John O'Groats Journal, March 31, 1848 letter to the editor from Dr. J. Mackenzie M.D. claiming that emigration was not the answer.

Robert Somers, op. cit., p. 116. "Even upon the ground of expense, home colonization is preferable to foreign."

An Eye Witness (Dr. M'Laughlan), The Depopulation System in the Highlands, Edinburgh, 1849.

116. John Prebble, The Highland Clearances, London, 1965.

Ian Grimble, The Trial of Patrick Sellar, 1962.

Alexander Mackenzie, The History of the Highland Clearances, Glasgow (1st edition 1883, revised 1946, reprinted 1947, 1958, 1966). "The motives of the landlords, generally led by southern factors worse than themselves, were, in most cases, pure self-interest, and they pursued their policy of extermination with a recklessness and remorselessness unparalleled anywhere elsewhere the Gospel of peace and charity was preached - except, perhaps, unhappy Ireland." 1966, p. 20)

Thomas Johnston, A History of the Working Classes of Scotland, Glasgow, 1921, Chapter 8 "The Clearances".

117. Allan Fullerton and Charles R. Baird, op. cit., p. 91.
See also - Select Committee on Emigration - Scotland, May 3, 1841. PP 1841 VI Motion of Edward Ellice which suggested an investigation into the activities of the landlords in improving the Highlands. The motion before the Commission was defeated by only one vote.

118. J. P. MacLean, History of the Island of Mull, 2 volumes, California, 1925 Volume II pp. 137-8.
See also - Donald M'Leod, Gloomy Memories in the Highlands of Scotland, Glasgow, 1892, 4th edition (1st edition 1841).

Donald MacLeod, History of the Destitution in Sutherlandshire, 1841.

John Prebble, op. cit., pp. 78-9, 161-5.

Robert Somers, op. cit.

Rev. Dr. Thomas M'Lauchlan, Recent Highland Ejections Considered, Edinburgh, 1850, 28 pp.
p. 16 "it is far easier to reclaim an acre in Uist than in Canada."

An Eye Witness (Dr. M'Lauchlan), The Depopulation System in the Highlands, Edinburgh, 1849.
p. 8. Provides details of the people being "driven forcibly away to seek subsistence on a foreign soil."

119. John Prebble, op. cit., pp. 257-66.

120. Thomas Mulock, The Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Socially Considered, with Reference to Proprietors and People. Edinburgh, 1850, p. 69.

121. ibid., pp. 63, 64, 66, 68.

122. Malcolm Gray, The Highland Economy, especially pp. 239-246.

M. C. Storrie, "Islay: A Hebridean Exception", Geographical Review, vol. 51 (1961).

David Turnock, "Lochaber: West Highland Growth Point", SGM, vol. 82 (1966).

123. PP 1847 LIII (788) p. 255, Capt. Poole to Mr. Trevelyan, December 28, 1846.

124. Lennoxlove Muniments, Correspondence of Robert Brown, James Beaton to Robert Brown, 2 April 1811 (hereafter noted as Brown Correspondence).

125. Brown Correspondence, Robert Brown to Hector M. Buchanan, June 17, 1801.

126. ibid.

126a Brown Correspondence John Macdonald to Robert Brown, February 8, 1805.

127. Brown Correspondence Hector M. Buchanan to Robert Brown, May 23, 1805.

- 127a Brown Correspondence Brown to Buchanan, June 17, 1801.
128. Robert Brown, Strictures on Lord Selkirks Observations, p. 113.
129. Malcolm Gray, op. cit. p. 131, 150-1, 157, 185-6.
John Prebble, op. cit. pp. 268-9.
- SRO GD 201/17/1223 Clanranald to J. Gordon of Cluny, May 2, 1839.
130. Barron, op. cit. vol. II p. xxvii. In the summer of 1828 two vessels sailed from North Uist for Canada with 600 persons on board.

Colin S. Macdonald, "Early Highland Emigration to Nova Scotia", op. cit. p. 46. He gives details of the arrival of one ship from South Uist in Cape Breton in each of 1832, 1838 and 1840.

Figure 9.4 of the present study gives an indication of emigration from these islands to British North America from the Clyde in 1832.
131. Brown Correspondence Duncan Shaw to Robert Brown, May 9, 1828.

See also
SRO GD 201/4/10/97 Duncan Shaw to Alexander Hunter, February 25, 1827. Suggesting that owners should be allowed to select emigrants for any government financed emigration scheme to America.

SRO GD 237/44 Duncan Shaw's factors report Benbecula and South Uist spring 1824. "many of the tenants must be removed, the rents of many reduced or some other employment found for them."

Brown Correspondence, Duncan Shaw to Robert Brown, February 22, 1826. Shaw stated apparently without too much concern that 500 people had agreed to emigrate from Arasaig.
132. Brown Correspondence, Robert Brown to Charles Shaw, January 11, 1838.

See also the following in the Brown Correspondence:
R. Brown to Duncan Shaw, July 8, 1836
Charles Shaw to R. Brown, January 8 and January 13, 1838.
Charles Shaw to R. Brown, February 1, 1837. Where he commented upon the recent establishment of a Destitution Committee in Edinburgh,
"I hope the subject of emigration will not be lost sight of. It is the only real cure for distress. The present appeal to the public cannot be often repeated. Emigration alone will prevent its recurrence."
133. Duke of Argyll (8th) Crofts and Farms in the Hebrides Being an Account of the Management of an Island estate for 130 years, Edinburgh 1883, pp. 16-17.

Duke of Argyll (8th) Autobiography and Memoirs, 2 vols.
London, 1906, pp. 284-5.

Eric R. Cregeen (editor) Argyll Estate Instructions - Mull, Morvern, Tiree 1771-1805, Edinburgh, 1964, pp. xxix-xxxiii

See also pages 63 and 66 for an interesting reference to the Duke of Argyll providing a grant of £2 in November and December 1802 to eleven illegal whiskey distillers if they left Tiree. They were to emigrate to America.

Malcolm Grey, op. cit. pp. 71-73.

134. John Anderson, "Essay on the Present State of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland", Transactions of Royal Highland Agricultural Society, 1831, p. 30, Emigration from Mull to Cape Breton, 1826-27.

CO 384/28 pp. 24-6, January 24, 1831.

135. PP 1841 VI (333) Q3374.

136. ibid., Q3393-98; 3403-3410; 3411-13; 3456.

137. T. Rolph, Emigration and Colonization, London, 1844, pp. 47-8

138. Petitions to the Government asking for assistance in emigration to Upper Canada.

a) CO 384/20 p. 321, April 22, 1828, 168 people in Parish of Kilfinichan Ross of Mull, people are "half starved and naked"

b) CO 384/28 pp. 24-6 January 24, 1831, Petition from inhabitants of Tiree and forwarded by Duke of Argyll. As a result of the decline in kelp prices they are "totally without capital or the means of procuring a passage to Canada, where many of their countrymen are now happily settled."

139. Glasgow Herald, September 18, 1846 from the Times.

140. PP 1847 LIII (788) p. 77, 125, 127, 158, 334-5.

Argyll Mss (Cherry Park) Black Deed Box No. 11 "Islands" (hereafter noted as A.M.) Marquis of Lorne to Sir George Grey, January 25, 1847.

141. A.M. - John D. Campbell to Lorne September 16, 1846;
- George W. Campbell to Alexander Campbell Nov. 6, 1846;
- Alexander Campbell to John D. Campbell, Nov. 10, 1846.

142. PP 1847 LIII (788) pp. 160, 241.

143. ibid., p. 241

144. A.M. - Marquis of Lorne to Sir George Grey, January 25, 1847.
- Lord Murray to Marquis of Lorne, February 7, 1847.
145. PP 1847 LIII (788), p. 126.
146. A.M. - T. S. Elliot to Lorne, February 9, 1847;
- Lorne to Duke of Sutherland, February 9, 1847;
- Government offer on Australian emigration to Duke of Sutherland;
- Earl Grey to Lorne February 27 and March 6, 1847;
- T. S. Elliot to Lorne March 2, 1847.
147. A.M. - T. S. Elliot to Lorne February 18 and April 7, 1847;
- Lieut. Forest to Lorne March 12, 1847.
148. A.M. - A. Thomson to Lorne, March 9, 12, 13, 1847.
149. A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll, March 14, 16, April 8, 1847.
- John Stewart to Argyll, April 12, 1847.
150. A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll, March 11, April 19, 30, 1847.
- Analysis of List of Emigrants from Ross and Iona, March 23, 1847.
PP 1851 xxvi (1395) p. 5. Evidence of John Campbell before M'Neill Commission
151. A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll June 10, 1847. See also March 14, 1847, December 23, 1849.
152. A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll, May 14, 1847
- Alex. Thomson to Argyll, September 15, 1849
- Petition from Tenants of Shiaba to Argyll, June 1, 1847

PP 1847 LIII (788)p. 126 Lorne to Sir George Grey, October 22, 1846.
153. A.M. - Statement of Sums paid to emigrants at Clyde June 10, June 12, July 10, 1847.
- Alex. Thomson to Argyll June 23, July 2, 1847
154. A.M. - Abstract of Accounts 1846-49
- Statements of Sums paid to emigrants, op. cit., 1847.
155. A. M. - Abstract of Accounts 1846-49.
156. A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll, January 3, February 27, 1849.
157. A.M. - A. Thomson to Argyll June 11, 1849

Glasgow Herald, June 15 and June 22, 1849.
158. A.M. - Rev. Alex. MacGregor to Lorne, February 1, 1847
- Rev. D. McLean to Lorne, February 16, 1847.

159. A.M. - Rev. Donald Campbell to Argyll, April 14, 1847.
160. A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll, June 25, July 8, December 23, 1849.
161. A.M. - Alex Thomson to Argyll November 20, 1849 and June 11
- Abstract of Accounts 1846-49

Deputation of the Glasgow Section of the Highland Relief Board, Report on the Islands of Mull, Ulva, Iona, Tiree and Coll, Glasgow, October 1849, pp. 19, 23-24.

PP 1850 XL (173) p. 17.

162. There is a possibility that the ship Jamaica which arrived at Quebec in the summer of 1850 with 203 adults might have been wholly or partly chartered by the Duke of Argyll to carry assisted emigrants from his estates. Buchanan's Report of 1850 see PP 1851 XL (348) makes no mention of Argyll's involvement with this ship yet in the Argyll Mss (Black Box #11) in a letter from James Thomson to the Duke dated June 17, 1850 there is reference to a statement of account with Thomson regarding the Jamaica for June 1850.
163. A.M. - John Campbell to Duke April 17, May 15, May 29, 1850.
- Alex. Thomson to Duke June 13, 1850.
- List of emigrants on Conrad
- James Thomson & Co. account Cambria

PP 1851 XL (348) pp. 14-15, 26-7.

164. PP 1851 XXVI (1395) p. 5

A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll April 17, 1850.

165. A.M. - James Thomson to Argyll, June 17, 1850.

166. Duke of Argyll, Scotland As It Was and As It Is, Edinburgh 1887, pp. 488-9.

167. Duke of Argyll, Crofts and Farms in the Hebrides, Edinburgh 1883, p. 22.

168. A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll June 10, 1851 and May 17.

169. A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll, July 9, 13, 1851.
- John Campbell to Alex. Thomson, July 8, 1851.
- Charges presented by N. Hill, July 1851

PP 1852 XXXIII (1474) pp. 19, 30-31.

- 169a This emigration in 1851 was the last large scale emigration to Canada assisted by the Argyll estate. The Duke did make a small contribution to the Highland and Island Emigration Society in the period 1852-1857, but there was little interest shown in emigration to Australia by the people on his estates.

A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll May 4, July 31, 1852.
- Macleod of Macleod to Argyll May 25, 1852.

SRO Highland Emigration Society, Promissory Notebook
Glasgow Herald, March 12, 1852.

Several references occur to people being assisted to Canada (seventy-two in 1855) and even as late as 1863 the Duke offered £ 10 to each of nine families to assist them in emigrating.

A.M. - John Campbell to Argyll June 30, 1855; June 4, 1863.
- Sir John M'Neill to Argyll October 5, 1863

PP 1851 XXVI (1395) p. 5 evidence of John Campbell.

170. The following population figures are worth noting:

- 1) Parish of Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon, Ross of Mull
1841 - 4102; 1861 - 2518
- 2) Tiree 1831 - 4453; 1841 - 4391; 1851 - 3709; 1861 - 3201.

171. William C. Mackenzie, History of the Outer Hebrides, Paisley, 1903, pp. 495-6

SRO GD 201/17/1223 Clanranald to Gordon May 2, 1839

Prebble, op. cit. pp. 268-9

John Lorne Campbell (editor) The Book of Barra, London, 1936
pp. 154-184.

The rapidly changing attitude of West Highland proprietors is vividly shown in the following correspondence (July 30, 1825) from General Roderick MacNeill of Barra to the Rev. Angus MacDonald, the parish priest of Barra from 1805 to 1825. It should also be noted that the MacNeill's were the traditional landowners of the island.

The people of Barra "cannot be depended upon from their fickleness, idleness, and stiff-necked prejudice."

"Every man my good sir has a right to do the best he can for himself in his own affairs - if one set of servants (tenants at will are nothing else) won't do, the master must try others."

"I must have fishers and kelpers who will cheerfully do my bidding."

"I can easily fill up the vacancies."

"Say to those who are about to emigrate that I sincerely wish them well through it, and assure those who have signed (with an agent to emigrate) and repented that their repentance comes too late - So help me God, they shall go, at all events off my property, man, woman, and child."

Barron, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 330

John M. Bulloch, The Gordons of Cluny, 1911, p. 34.

172. ibid, p. 35

Donald M'Leod, Gloomy Memories in the Highlands of Scotland, Glasgow, 1892, p. 127.

173. Barron, op. cit. vol. 2, p. xxvii.

174. PP 1841 VI (182) Select Committee on Emigration, Scotland

Q234 John Bowie W.S. and Q 2680 Duncan Shaw, factor in Long Island

Hansard 310 Series vol. 56, February 11, 1841 motion of Henry Baillie, M.P., pp. 514-21

175. PP 1847 LIII (788) pp. 190, 317, 350 (year 1846)

176. PP 1847 LIII (788) Captain Poole's report January 1847 pp. 293-98

NSA vol. 14, p. 208 (January 1840) The situation was extremely bad in 1846-7 even though considerable emigration had been taking place for a number of years previously.

R.G. Flewelling "Immigration to and emigration from Nova Scotia 1839 - 1851", Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, vol. 28 (1949) pp. 95.

177. Glasgow Herald, August 4, 1848

Scotsman, August 5, 1848 from Glasgow Herald

178. Glasgow Herald, August 7 and August 11, 1848

See also PP 1851 XXVI (1397) p. 127 and XXIV referring to thirty heads of families (include fifteen crofters) who emigrated from Benbecula to North America 1848-9 who likely received help from Col. Gordon.

179. PP 1849 XXXVIII Buchanan's Report 1848 p. 36-7

179a R.G. Flewelling, op. cit. p. 96

180. PP 1850 XL (173) Buchanan's Report 1849 pp. 6, 17.

Glasgow Herald, July 20, 1849 from Ayr Observer

The ship Atlantic (1042 registered tons) was being repaired

at Ardrossan having returned from its previous voyage in January from Liverpool to New Orleans with Irish emigrants. As well as carrying the 209 passengers who had arrived from Uist by steamer, the Atlantic also carried nearly 300 people from Mull and Knapdale in Argyllshire. They were all generally in a very poor condition.

181. This assumption is reinforced by a reference in the following report to Col. Gordon and his sending two ships from Loch Boisdale and one from Ardrossan in 1849. Report on the Outer Hebrides, or Long Island. Deputation of the Glasgow Section of the Highland Relief Board, Glasgow, August 1849.
182. Barron, op. cit. vol III p. 187 from Inverness Courier, August 9, 1849.
- PP 1850 XL (173) pp. 7, 17.
- Glasgow Herald, August 13, 1849 from Inverness Courier.
183. PP 1851 XXVI (1397) pp. 125, 127-8.
- It is interesting to note here the composition of these two Parochial Boards - Barra (a Presbyterian minister, two tacksmen, one tenant and Col Gordon's manager) and South Uist (three tacksmen, a priest, a merchant and Col. Gordon's manager).
184. PP 1852 XXIII Sixth Annual Report, Board of Supervision of Poor in Scotland 1851 P. V
185. ibid. p. V
- PP 1851 XXVI (1397) XXIV - XXV
186. SRO Highland Emigration Society letterbook #1, p. 315 14 July 1852.
187. Inverness Courier, August 7, 1851.
- PP 1852 XXXIII (1474) pp. 588-9
- Glasgow Herald, August, September 19, 1851.
- Napier Commission (1884) vol. I. pp. 680-1
188. John Lorne Campbell (editor) The Book of Barra, London, 1936 pp. 223-4
- CO 42/575 pp. 191-2 October 18, 1851 from Col. Gordon
189. Napier Commission (1884) vol. I pp. 706-9 evidence of John Mackay crofter Kilphedar, South Uist; pp 776-7 evidence of Angus M'Kinnon, crofter Linicleit, Benbecula.

John Prebble, op. cit. pp. 284-6

Thomas Johnston (1921) op. cit. p. 201

John Lorne Campbell (editor) The Book of Barra, London, 1936, pp. 221-2-4.

Alexander Mackenzie, The History of the Highland Clearances, Glasgow 1966, (1st edition Inverness 1883), pp. 213-22.

Donald M'Leod, Gloomy Memories in the Highlands of Scotland, Glasgow, 1892

Quoting some of M'Leod's comments here (also reprinted verbatim in Alexander Mackenzie op.cit. pp. 214-6.

The Highland proprietors proceeded -"to drain the nation of its best blood, and to banish the Highlanders across the Atlantic, there to die by famine among strangers in the frozen regions of Canada." p. 127

"Hear the sobbing, sighing, and throbbings of their guileless, warm Highland hearts, taking their last look, and bidding a final adieu to their romantic mountains and valleys." p. 128

"in Upper Canada, where, according to all accounts, they spread themselves over their respective burying places, where famine and frost-bitten deaths were awaiting them." p. 129

The present writer can only wonder whether such a 'romantic' view of these islands was actually held by the people after years of periodic destitution and whether conditions in Canada, although no doubt difficult at first could have been any worse than their conditions in Scotland where they had no hope of future improvement. It is interesting to note in this regard the evidence of a crofter (whose memory extended back to the late 1840's) in Benbecula before the Napier Commission of 1884 who said "the people today are in a condition as poor as I have ever known them to be." (Napier Commission vol. I. p. 777). In other words those people who had remained in the islands continued to find it almost impossible to obtain an adequate living from the area. One other footnote to M'Leod's writings should be added here to show the lengths to which character recriminations (both true and false) went during this period. M'Leod printed (page 138) parts of a declaration by persons from Barra made in Glasgow in January 1852 "Archibald M'Donald, Elder, Tenant, is a bastard son; and the gallant Colonel himself had no fewer than three bastard children to grace the name of Gordon."

190. PP 1852 XXXIII (1474) p. 9 Buchanan to J. Fleming, November 26, 1851

See also CO 42/575 pp. 190-2 correspondence between Col. Gordon and Sir J. M'Neill, October 1851.

191. ibid. p. 9 and 17. Apparently Col. Gordon had authorized that clothing should be given to the most destitute but on one ship immediately before sailing, one of Gordon's agents came aboard and having decided that they had enough took the clothing ashore again.

Barron, op. cit., vol. III p. 259 from Inverness Courier July 1852.

Inverness Advertiser, February 3, 1852 from Edinburgh Courant
An account of the poor condition of Col. Gordon's emigrants
written by H. Docherty who was the doctor on one of the
emigrant ships.

192. PP 1852 XXXIII (1474) p. 7 Buchanan to Provincial Secretary
September 2, 1851.

Alexander Mackenzie op. cit. pp. 219-20 Statement of seventy
heads of families on ship Admiral (413 passengers) mainly from
Barra.

193. Quebec Times, September 1851 and Dundas Warder, October 2, 1851
quoted in Alexander Mackenzie op. cit. pp. 221-2 and John M.
Gibbon, The Scots in Canada, London 1911, pp. 130-133.

194. Napier Commission (1884) Vol. I p. 709 and Appendix A pp. 458-9

For accounts of the destitution of nine families from Barra on
mainland see

- 1) Inverness Advertiser, February 3, 1852
- 2) SRO Highland Emigration Society letterbook #2,
pp. 77, 119, August 1852

The total population of South Uist, Barra and Benbecula
declined from 9177 in 1841 to 6482 in 1861.

195. Napier Commission vol. I pp. 769-70

196. ibid. p. 770

Napier Commission vol. IV pp. 3020-24; 2872-3

John M. Gibbon, The Scots in Canada, London, 1911, pp. 149-159

W. A. Hance, The Outer Hebrides in Relation to Highland
Depopulation (Ph.D. Columbia University) Lithprinted Ann Arbor,
1949, p. 61.

197. Alexander Mackenzie, History of the Mathesons, Inverness 1882
p. 65. Sir James was also member of Parliament for Ross and
Cromarty for the period 1847-1868.

198. PP 1841 VI (182) Q2226-28; 2339-42.

199. SRO GD 46/13/199 (1) and (6)

200. SRO GD 46/13/199 (5)

201. *ibid.* Q2176-77

Thomas Rolph, Emigration and Colonization, London, 1844, p. 349.

202. *ibid.*, p. 283

Guairear nan Gleann vol. 3 (1842-3) pp. 335-6.

203. Macleod of Macleod Box 36 no. 2.

204. H. A. Moisley Uig - A Hebridean Parish, Dept. of Geography, University of Glasgow, 1962, p. 12.

205. Macleod of Macleod, Box 36, no. 2, Makgill to Brand, February 3, 1851.

Arthur Geddes, The Isle of Lewis and Harris, Edinburgh 1955, p. 231 from Brand Report 1902 p. xv.

Napier Commission (1884) Appendix A p. 154.

PP 1847 LIII (788) p. 272. In January 1847 Matheson owned the steamer Mary Jane which he made available to carry relief supplies from Glasgow to the islands. He also offered a free passage to anyone who wanted to go south in search of work.

206. Alexander Mackenzie, History of Mathesons, Inverness, 1882 p. 167, January 27, 1851.

207. PP 1851 XXVI M'Neill Report. p. 95.

Napier Commission (1884) vol. iv, p. 3306.

Barron, op. cit. vol. iii, p. 259.

Glasgow Herald, April 18, 1851 from Inverness Courier.

208. M'Neill Report (1851), p. 95.

It is interesting to note that for those families who were willing to emigrate the average rent arrears per family was £6 and the average value of their stock £3/15/9. While for those families who were unwilling to emigrate the average rent arrears per family was £10/12/2 and the average value of their stock £5/17/6. From these figures it might be concluded that those were unwilling to emigrate were those who were less prosperous and worse off economically.

Napier Commission (1884) Appendix A pp. 161-2 Information is given as to the various townships that were cleared, and the destinations of the people.

209. PP 1851 XXVI M'Neill Report. p. xxi
210. Napier Commission (1884) vol II Q14301. Also Q16967-8.
- 211 Glasgow Herald, June 6, 1851 from Oban correspondent.
Glasgow Courier, June 14, 1851
 PP 1852 XXXIII (1474) pp. 30-31
Inverness Courier, July 3, 1851 from Barron, op. cit. vol iii p. 230
- 211a PP 1852 XXXII (1474) pp. 10-11
 Barron, op. cit. vol iii p. 259
 Proceedings of the General Assembly of Free Church, May 1852, p. 291
212. PP 1852-3 LXVIII Buchanan's Report 1852 p. 17
 Alexander Mackenzie, History of the Mathesons (1882) p. 70
 It is interesting to note here as well that in spite of these large emigrations the population of Lewis continued to grow.
 1841 - 17,037; 1851 - 19,694; 1861 - 21,056
 PP 1857 (Sess I) X (14) Buchanan's Report 1855 pp. 7-8
 SRO Highland Emigration Society Letterbook #4 p. 79
Northern Advance (Barrie, Upper Canada) August 5, 1863 from Derry Standard. It is noted here that Matheson provided in addition to his usual offer - bedding, tinware and Bibles.
213. ErskineBeveridge, North Uist-Its Archaeology and Topography, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 319.
 Notes large emigrations from the island to North America in the period 1771-1775 and in 1828.
New Statistical Account - vol. 14 Inverness-shire - emigration noted from Parishes of North Uist (p. 171), Kilmuir (p. 271) and Snizort (p. 293)
 Barron, op. cit. Vol II, p. xxvii, 61-2
214. Lord Leignmouth, Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland, 2 vols. London 1836, vol. II p. 421
215. PP 1841 VI (182) Q189-191

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215. New Statistical Account vol. 14 Invernessshire, pp. 225, 273, 307
On page 181 the minister of North Uist stated in 1837 that,
"a few years ago, when it was necessary to remove some of the
inhabitants from a place where they could hardly earn a scanty
subsistence, Lord Macdonald very generously afforded them
assistance to emigrate to British America". Thus it would appear
that even before 1837 Lord Macdonald had helped emigration to
British North America.

Napier Commission (1884) vol. lv Q41434 p. 2741.

R. G. Flewwelling, op. cit. pp. 85-86.

Contains details of a large influx of poor Scots into Nova Scotia
and Cape Breton in the period 1840 to 1842, a large number of
whom were likely from Lord Macdonald's estates.

Poor Law Inquiry (Scotland) Appendix pt. II, 1844 p. 369.

Guairear nan Gleann, vol. I (1840-1) pp. 145-9, 182-3

216. PP 1841 VI (182) Select Committee Emigration, Scotland Q194, 234.

217. Patrick Cooper, The So-Called Evictions from the Macdonald Estates
in the Island of North Uist, Outer Hebrides, 1849, Aberdeen, 1881
pp. 3, 9.

Napier Commission (1884) vol. I Q12734; vol. IV pp. 2732-3

Prebble, op. cit. pp. 270-274.

Inverness Courier, August 9, 1849.

218. Prebble, op. cit. pp. 279-283

Glasgow Herald, December 24, 1852.

Inverness Courier, August 9, 1849

Alexander Mackenzie, The Highland Clearances, Inverness 1883
pp. 232-34

Thomas Mulock, op. cit., pp. 6-11

Napier Commission vol IV pp. 2735-37

219. Patrick Cooper, op. cit., pp. 10-11

PP 1850 XL (173) Buchanan's Report 1849, p. 17

Wm. C. Mackenzie, The Western Isles, Paisley, 1932, p. 56.
Lord Macdonald was forced to sell North Uist in 1856 in order
to meet creditors demands. The population of this island was
3788 in 1841 and 3034 in 1861.

220. McNeill Letter Book (Mitchell Library Glasgow) page 124
- Donald Ross, Real Scottish Grievances, Glasgow, 1854, pp. 4-6
- Emigration from Highlands and Islands to Australia, London 1852, p. 9.
- Napier Commission, vol I, pp. 815-6.
- David S. Macmillan "Sir Charles Trevelyan", op. cit. p. 178
- SRO Highland Emigration Society - Promissory Note Book
- Prebble, op. cit., pp. 271, 289-292
221. McNeill Letter Book, op. cit., p. 126.
- SRO GD 221 (1) Estate Office, Upper Ostaig, bundle 19.
222. Francis H. Groome (editor) Ordinance Gazetter of Scotland, 3 vols. Edinburgh 1886, vol. III p. 423.
- Barron, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 329-30
- P. T. Wheeler "Land ownership and the crofting system in Sutherland since 1800". Agricultural History Review, vol. 14 1966, pp. 44 - 56.
223. Prebble, op. cit., pp. 67ff, 306ff.
- Alexander Mackenzie, The Highland Clearances (1966), pp. 10-127.
- Donald Macleod, Gloomy Memories, op. cit.
- Ian Grimble, op. cit.
- James Loch, An Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the the Marquess of Stafford in Stafford, Salop and Sutherland, London, 1820.
- Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands, London 1854, 2 vol, vol. I, p. 302 + 313.
- Mrs. Stowe (the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin) visited Britain in the early 1850's and became acquainted with the Duchess of Sutherland with whom she was very impressed. Mrs. Stowe could not believe the ridiculous stories in the American press concerning the Duchess "turning her tenants out into the snow, and ordering the cottages to be set on fire over their heads because they would not go out." After a short visit to Dunrobin Castle, in Sutherland Mrs. Stowe concluded (somewhat over optimistically) be describing the new system in the Highlands as,

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- 223 "an almost sublime instance of the benevolent employment of superior wealth and power in shortening the struggles of advancing civilization, an elevating in a few years a whole community to a point of education and material prosperity, which unassisted they might never have obtained."
- Napier Commission (1884) vol. III, pp. 2440-1.
- Rev. Adam Gunn and John Mackay (editors), Sutherland and the Reay Country, Glasgow, 1897.
This book was dedicated to the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, and it is interesting to note that although it was published in 1897 it only carried the history of the area up to 1800, thereby avoiding the rather more controversial nineteenth century.
224. Prebble, op. cit., pp. 58, 65.
- W. C. A. Ross "Highland Emigration" SGM vol. 50 (1934) pp. 162-3.
225. E. S. Richards, "James Loch and the House of Sutherland, 1812-1855" unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1967, p. 257 based partly on Sutherland Collection Correspondence in Staffordshire Record Office.
- Malcolm Gray, op. cit., pp. 96, 103.
- Prebble, op. cit. pp. 77-78
- John O'Groat Journal, July 6, 1855.
226. E. S. Richards, op. cit., p. 257.
- James Loch, op. cit., p. xi.
- Prebble, op. cit. pp. 115, 124.
227. E. S. Richards, op. cit., pp. 259-60 quoting Loch to Edwards 4/5/1820.
- Prebble, op. cit., pp. 123-4.
- Barron, op. cit. vol. II p. xxvii. Reference to the emigration from Sutherlandshire to Canada of over 900 persons in 1830.
- Norman Macdonald, Canada 1763-1841, p. 164.
228. ibid., p. 25 referring to Montreal Gazette, August 16, 1831.
- E. S. Richards, op. cit., p. 275 quoting Loch to Gunn 2/3/1833.

229. E. S. Richards, op. cit., pp. 277, 280-1.
David S. MacMillan, Scotland and Australia, p. 283 referring to
CO 384/50f288
230. PP 1842 XXXI (301) pp. 251, 255.
CO 43/99 p. 256 Sept. 24, 1841 Stanley-Sutherland.
E. S. Richards, op. cit., p. 285.
231. ibid. p. 285.
PP 1844 xxv (181) pp. 20, 13.
Glasgow Herald, May 12, 1843 from Inverness Courier.
Dunrobin Muniments Letter Book McIver to Loch 1846-9, pp. 103-118.
- 231a E. S. Richards, op. cit., p. 297.
232. E. S. Richards, op. cit., pp. 297, 281, 303.
A. M., Government Offer on Australian Emigration to the Duke
of Sutherland, February 9, 1847.
 , Letter from Marquis of Lorne to Duke of Sutherland,
saying that he was interested in such a plan.
Malcolm Gray, op. cit., pp. 208, 240.
Dunrobin Muniments Letterbook E. McIver to J. Loch 1846-49
pp. 141-4, 235-9, 253, 265, 271, 427. (Jan. - Feb. 1847)

The following group of footnotes in this chapter will make frequent references to three letterbooks of Evander McIver who was the Scourie Management Factor from 1845 until at least 1883. These books were made available to the present writer from the Dunrobin Muniments of the Sutherland estate. These books cover the following periods and will be referred to as DR1, DR2 and DR3.

- a) 1847-8 - DR1
- b) 1848-9 - DR2
- c) 1846-9 - containing mainly correspondence with
James Loch - DR3

233. D. R.3, pp. 97-101, McIver to Loch, December 28, 1846.
234. Rev. George Henderson (editor) Memoirs of a Highland Gentleman - Reminiscences of Evander McIver of Scourie, Edinburgh 1905.

235. DR3 pp. 118, 141-4, 213-7, 235-9, 271, 329-33 (Jan.-Mar. 1847)
DR3 pp. 347-51 McIver to Duke 2 April 1847.
236. E. S. Richards, op. cit. p. 306
DR3 pp 347-51, 359-62, 783-9 (April 1847, February 1848)
237. DR3 pp. 133-7, January 12, 1847, McIver to Loch
238. DR3, pp. 97-101, 103-118, 171-4, 329-33 (January - March 1847)
E. S. Richards, op. cit., p. 306
239. DR3, pp. 359-62, McIver to Loch, April 2, 1847
240. DR3 Pp. 347-51, 437 (April-May 1847)
E. S. Richards, op. cit. pp. 304, 306.
Glasgow Herald, September 20, 1847 from The Scotsman
Emigration British Colonies in North America, London, 1848
18 pp (printed by Duke of Sutherland) pp. 1-4 extract from
Montreal Herald, August 4, 1847.
241. ibid., pp. 4-18
E. S. Richards, op. cit., p. 305.
242. DR1 pp. 391-5, January 7, 1848
243. DR3 pp. 783-9, February 1, 1848.
Emigration British Colonies in North America, op. cit. p. 2
244. DR1 pp. 896-900, 962, 1010-18, April 1848.
245. DR1 pp. 962, 1000, 1004, 730 (March and April 1848)
1010-18, 1056, 1078, 1146 (April and May 1848)
R. G. Flewelling, op. cit., pp. 94-5
246. PP 1849 XXXVIII Buchanan's Report 1848, pp. 36-7, 39
247. DR1 pp. 986-90 April 18, 1848 and PP. 896-900 April 4, 1848
248. DR 1 McIver to John Broadfoot and Son, shipbrokers Leith,
April 11, 1848
DR3 pp. 213-7 McIver to Loch, February 10, 1847

249. DR2 McIver to John Sutherland (December 1848 - May 1849)
pp. 492, 627, 1236-40, 1390, 1426.
250. PP 1851 XL (348) pp. 14-15, 26-7.
PP 1852 XXXIII (1474) pp. 30-1
E. S. Richards, op. cit., p. 310
Barron op. cit. vol. III p. 229 quoting Inverness Courier,
June 26, 1851
251. David S. Macmillan, Scotland and Australia, p. 263
Glasgow Herald, May 12, 1848 from John O'Groats Journal
SRO Highland Emigration Society Promissory Note Book.
E. S. Richards, op. cit., p. 311
252. ibid. p. 311
DR3 p. 437 McIver to Loch May 3, 1847
Rev. George Henderson, op. cit., p. 62
Napier Commission (1884) vol. III Q26841
253. Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 212
W. M. Mackenzie, The Book of Arran, 2 vol. Glasgow 1914
vol. II pp. 216-20
Alexander Mackenzie (1966) op. cit., pp. 240-2 quoting from
Megantic by D. M. Mackillop
254. CO 384/20 pp. 253-9 November 29, and December 9, 1828
CO 384/22 pp. 2-7 March 1829
SRO GD 45 3/72, October 3, 1821.
CO 42/389 August 19, 1829 Colborne to Colonial Office
255. CO 384/28 p. 341. Duke of Hamilton to Colonial Office
W. M. Mackenzie, op. cit. pp. 216-20
Norman Macdonald, Canada 1763 - 1841, p. 328

256. Thomas Rolph, Emigration and Colonization, p. 108.
Glasgow Herald, May 30, 1842.
257. Poor Law Inquiry (Scotland) App. P+II, 1844, p. 149
258. ibid. p. 144.
259. PP 1842 XXXI (373) p. 19
CO 43/99 p. 255 CO to Neil Malcolm September 23, 1841.
260. Glasgow Herald, October 30, 1843 from Greenock Advertiser
261. A.M. A. Thomson to Duke of Argyll, June 11, 1849.
262. Prebble, op. cit., p. 261.
D. W. Martin, Map of the Distressed Districts of Scotland, 1847.
263. Brown Correspondence, L. Maclean to Robert Brown, April 21, 1824.
264. CO 384/83 pp. 273-6.
PP 1850 XL (173) P. 17.
265. Pamphlet-Relating to Highland Destitution Committee, 1849
17 pp. p. 2 + 3. in Macleod of Macleod Box 36 No. 1.
Alexander Mackenzie (1966) op. cit., pp. 194-5.
266. ibid. pp. 195-6
PP 1850 XL (173) p. 17.
Barron op. cit. vol III. p. 183, June 14, 1849.
267. M'Neill Report. 1851 p. xxvi
268. Thomas Mulock, The Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland,
pp. 64, 66, 69.
Napier Commission, 1884) vol. IV Q 31743-51.
269. Filidh na Coille (Poems of John Maclean) Charlottetown, 1901. p. 97
Malcolm Gray, op. cit., p. 70.
Helen I. Cowan, op. cit. pp. 53, 248.
Alexander Mackenzie (1966) op. cit. pp. 223, 225.

270. PP 1826-7 V (237) Q2947.
271. *ibid.* Q2907-13
Francis H. Groome, *op. cit.* vol. III p. 290.
272. CO 384/15 pp. 955-7 Maclean of Coll to R. W. Horton March 21, 1827.
273. Glasgow Herald, July 25, 1845 from Inverness Courier
NSA vol. 14, pp. 152-3.
Correspondence with Peter Wormell, warden, Nature Conservancy, Rum.
274. David S. MacMillan, Scotland and Australia, p. 283.
275. PP 1852-3 L (1576) p. xii
SRO Highland Emigration Society Book #3, p. 263 correspondence 1852.
276. Alexander Mackenzie, History of the Macdonalds, Inverness 1881, pp. 360-1
True Scotsman, July 4, 1840 from Glasgow Chronicle.
Prebble, *op. cit.* pp. 293-4.
277. J. Cameron Lees, A History of the County of Inverness, Edinburgh 1897, pp. 260-1.
Barron, *op. cit.*, vol. III p. 292
Ninth Annual Report of Board of Supervision of Poor, Scotland,
Edinburgh, 1854, Appendix A p. 2.
278. *ibid.* p. 2.
Donald Ross, The Glengarry Eviction's, Glasgow 1853, p. 6.
Alexander Mackenzie (1966) *op. cit.*, pp. 170-186.
PP 1854 XLVI (1763) p. 31.
279. Prebble, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-305.
Edward Ellice, Junior, A Letter to the Rt. Hon. Sir George Grey M.P. in Reply to a Report upon the Administration of the Poor in the Highlands of Scotland, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow 1855.
280. R. C. Macleod, The Macleods - Their History and Traditions, Edinburgh, p. 118.
I. F. Grant, The Macleods - The History of a Clan, London, 1959, pp. 582-5.

281. PP 1842 XXXI (301) p. 239.

Thomas Rolph, Emigration and Colonization (1844), p. 25.

282. Emigration from the Highlands and Islands to Australia, London, 1852, p. 41. J. Chant to Sir C. Trevelyan, July 5, 1852.

283. Macleod of Macleod, Box 36 #2.

- a) Norman Ferguson to Miss Macleod April 4, 1848
- b) David McDonald to Miss Macleod March 31, 1848
- c) Alexander Allan to Miss Macleod May 5, 1849
- d) Macleod's Address to His People, printed Inverness winter 1846-7.

SRO a) Highland Emigration Society Letterbook #1, pp. 61,93-4
b) Highland Emigration Society Promissory Notebook

PP 1852-53 I (1576) p. xii

Glasgow Herald October 25, 1852 from Inverness Courier

DR IV McIver to Macleod of Macleod April 25, 1848, p. 1042. Apparently Macleod has asked McIver if he could arrange for two or three families from Skye to be taken to Canada on the ships arranged for the Sutherland emigrants. McIver replied that this could not be arranged.

284. Edinburgh Courant, May 1, 1847.

Barron, op. cit., vol. III p. 216

Thomas Mulock, op. cit. p. 11.

284a SRO Highland Emigration Society-Promissory Notebook

This book contains the names of the various emigrants assisted by the Society and the name of the landowner (or estate) from which these emigrants came.

Further references to some of these proprietors can be found in -

Emigration from the Highlands and Islands to Australia, London, 1952

PP 1852-53 I (1576) p. xii

Glasgow Herald, May 24, 1852, and October 25, 1852.

Napier Commission (1884) Vol. I. pp. 448, 450, 584.

285. PP 1841 VI (182) Q2674-2997, 2647-52

Brown Correspondence, Countess of Dummore to Robt. Brown,
October 20, 1836.

Quarterly Journal of Agriculture, vol. 12, p. 533-4

286. Poor Law Inquiry (Scotland) App. Pt II, 1844 p. 369

Glasgow Herald September 6, 1841 from Inverness Courier

Glasgow Herald, August 5, 1842 from Inverness Herald

Inverness Journal July 29, 1842

287. M'Neill Report 1851 p. xxiii

Glasgow Herald, October 25, 1852.

PP 1852-53 L (1576) p. xii

SRO Highland Emigration Society Letterbook #4 p. 72 May 7, 1855.

288. Napier Commission (1884) vol. iv Q44731

The Loyal Reformers Gazette August 27, 1831

PP 1826 IV (404) Q639-42

289. Margaret C. Storrie, "Islay: A Hebridean Exception" Geographical Review, vol. 51 (1961) p. 91

John Ramsay, A Letter to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Advocate of Scotland on the State of Education in the Outer Hebrides in 1862, Glasgow, 1863.

John Ramsay, "Periodical Destitution in the Highlands and Its Remedy" paper read at meeting of National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Edinburgh, October 8, 1863.

Kildalton Account Book IV

Conversations with Mrs. Ian Ramsay Junior of Kildalton

290. John Ramsay of Kildalton, Diary of a Trip to America, Glasgow, 1891 72 pp.

291. CO 42/374 pp. 302-3 Bishop Macdonell to R.W. Horton, April 30, 1824.

292. Barron op. cit. vol. II p. 330.

Brown Correspondence, Duncan Shaw to Messrs. Hunter, Campbell and Cathcart, March 15, 1828.

PP 1857 (Sess. I) X (14) pp. 7-8.

PP 1837 LI (501) p.7.

A. Fullerton and C. R. Baird, Remarks on the Evils, (1838), p. 33.

293. PP 1841 VI (182) Q 1369

294. Napier Commission (1884) vol. IV Q29972

SRO GD46/13/199 (6)

In 1837 Mackenzie of Seaforth said that in his Torridon estate there were 800 people "to whom emigration would be the greatest and only real relief and who would be very willing to take the step were the means facilitated."

Barron, op. cit., vol. III p. 11 from Inverness Courier, July 13, 1842. The newspaper referred to 215 emigrants sailing for Canada from Gairloch who were from Gairloch and Torridon. These might possibly have been some of those assisted by Mr. McBarnet.

295. Glasgow Herald, June 17, 1842.

296. Buchanan's Report, 1843, PP 1844 XXXV (181) p. 15.

See also -

Report of the Select Committee of Inquiry into the Poor Laws, 1843 Appendix Pt. I Q11689-90, group of Paisley weavers aided by Mr. Houston of Johnston

Also - Mr. Wm. Houston involved with Paisley Relief Committee. See their minutes 13, January 1843, Hamilton Muniments, Box 170.

297. PP 1847-8 XLVII (964) p. 23.

298. PP 1851 XL (348) pp. 14-15, 26-27.

299. PP 1852 XXXIII (1474) pp. 594, 588-9.

PP 1852-3 LXVIII Buchanan's Report 1852 p. 17.

300. PP 1854 XLVI (1763) p. 31.

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CHAPTER 8

FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

This chapter will examine the role of friends and relatives in assisting and directing the emigrations from Scotland to Upper Canada in the period 1815 - 1855. Professor Norman MacDonald has written that "emigration induced emigration".¹ This phenomenon in turn is to a large extent dependent on the role of friends and relatives who have emigrated earlier, writing home and encouraging others to emigrate, as well as often providing assistance for the journey and after the arrival of the later emigrant in the new country.

There are frequent references to this process in newspapers of the period. The Dumfries Courier, referring to weavers and tradesmen who could barely manage to pay their passage to British North America during the season of 1822 added however, "but most of these have 'some friend, some brother there', at whose suggestion they have gone out, and to whom they look for temporary assistance."² In 1849, the Saturday Post discussed the large amount of emigration from Renfrewshire caused by the high level of unemployment and low wages and commented that,

"A large proportion of the emigrants were destitute of any means of support of their own to fit them out for a voyage across the Atlantic, and they have had to rely for assistance in a great measure upon their relatives that had gone before them to America."³

The Campbeltown Journal gave a very clear analysis of this process when it commented in October 1852 on the imminent departure of a number of respectable farmers in Kintyre for Australia,

"But the emigration of these individuals is perhaps more important in another point of view (other than Scotland, losing their skills and money), seeing that they are to be looked upon merely as the avant courriers of a large body of friends and relatives who, if return news from the land of promise be at all encouraging, will follow on the same road."⁴

The New (second) Statistical Account of Scotland, published in fifteen volumes in the period 1835-1845, also contained references to this process. The Rev. Jacob Wright, Church of Scotland minister for the parish of Hutton and Corrie, Dumfriesshire, wrote in March, 1833 that,

"this attachment (to the place of their birth), however, appears to be losing strength with many. And indeed such numbers of their friends and acquaintances have preceded them, more especially to the British North American possessions, that they no longer consider these to be the land of strangers."⁵

In presenting the account for the Parish of Lochs, on the Island of Lewis, the Rev. Robert Finlayson also wrote in 1833 that a poor fishing season and a slump in cattle prices, "together with the warm entreaties of their acquaintances and friends who emigrated to Nova Scotia in former years, seems to have inspired them with the spirit of emigration."⁶ Indeed this mention of a 'spirit' or 'fever' of emigration was often the result of encouragement from and contacts with friends and relatives who had emigrated previously.

The main link in this process of friends (relatives) attracting friends (relatives) to emigrate is the emigrant letter, from the new

country to the home country. Indeed Carlton Qualey describes these letters as "the most potent single factor" in the migration process as they were often critical in the decision making process of whether or not to emigrate by presenting new possibilities to conditions at home and often providing offers of help after arrival of the emigrant in the new country.⁷ As far as can be ascertained, the majority of letters that were circulated, or printed or have been preserved to the present day, were of a positive and encouraging nature. However there were certainly unfavourable reports and letters sent back to Scotland by people who found conditions unsuitable, or too difficult or who had suffered personal tragedies.⁸

Ingrid Semmingsen in her interesting article on "Emigration and the Image of America in Europe", gives a very vivid description of the effect and importance of these emigrant letters.

"At first it (the letter from America) was a rarity, a strange event which caused a stir far beyond the recipient's immediate circle. Later, as the flow of emigration increased, more and more letters arrived. The sensation caused by the first letters may have died down gradually, but a letter from America was never looked upon as a common every day event. We know that it was opened with great excitement and perused with interest. It was read by many people, its contents were told and retold, and discussed."⁹

Throughout the period under discussion numerous examples of these letters appeared in Scottish newspapers, and by far the majority spoke of the positive advantages of emigration to Upper Canada.¹⁰ During this period there were also published a number of emigrant guide books, usually with the object of encouraging and assisting emigration from the British Isles. These were discussed more fully in Chapter Five but several of them will be quoted in Appendix I in order to provide

examples of the general tone of these emigrant letters.¹¹

It would be fair to say that the average emigrant letter written from Scots in Upper Canada to their friends and relatives in Scotland described a rough life where hard work and perseverance were necessary to succeed. But there also were the rewards of independence and gradual prosperity which made the struggle worthwhile. These were the incentives which were absent at the time in Scotland for the average person. (see Chapter One) an absence which was made all the more obvious as a result of the receipt of emigrants' letters.

Frequent mention is made of the importance of these emigrant letters in assisting and directing the emigration from Scotland by various Government Reports and Select Committees. In the minutes of evidence before the Select Committee on Emigration, 1827, there are reproduced extracts from seven pro-emigration letters written by various emigrants, mostly weavers, who emigrated to Upper Canada with government assistance in 1820 and 1821, to their friends in the Glasgow area.¹² The Appendix to the Napier Commission of 1884, which inquired into the condition of crofters and cottars in Scotland, contained favourable extracts from sixteen emigrant letters written between 1851 and 1864¹³ by Lewis emigrants in Canada.

Gibbon Wakefield, who was a well known and very influential colonial theorist and advocate of systematic colonization, described in his book Art of Colonization the great importance of emigrant letters to the functioning of the emigration process.

"When once a colony is founded, emigration to it, of all classes, depends to a great measure on the reports which

the settlers send to this country of the circumstances in which they are placed in the colony...Whether or not, and to what extent, there shall be emigration to it, depends upon the letters from the colony itself, and the reports made by the colonists who return home for some purpose or other. I am inclined to say, that private letters and reports alone have this influence, for books or other publications about the colony, are suspected of having been written with the intention of puffing or disparaging. The private letters and reports have more influence than anything else, because they are believed to contain, as they generally do contain, true information."¹⁴

There are numerous other references available to show the significant role played by emigrant letters during this period.¹⁵

As well as providing information about the colonies, encouragement to emigration and contrasts between conditions at home and overseas by means of emigrant letters, friends and relatives often provided direct financial assistance to ensuing emigrants. It is however almost impossible to obtain exact details of the amount and value of such assistance. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners estimated that in 1850, £957,087 was paid in North America for passages or was remitted by persons there to the British Isles.¹⁶ In evidence taken before the Napier Commission in 1884, the Rev. Archibald Clerk of the Parish of Kilmallie claimed that in a number of years after 1852 when the Australian gold fields were in full scale operation, that more than £3000 annually was sent through bank agents in Ft. William to the surrounding/area from Australia.¹⁷ Before the same Commission in reference to the Sutherland area, it was said that, "if one emigrated he sent home money to take others out. That has been the principal way."¹⁸ References have also been found to this practice in Argyll and Aberdeenshire.¹⁹

However, Mr. John S. M'Caig of Oban in an open letter to Sir John M'Neil, H.M. Commissioner on Highland Destitution, published in the Glasgow Herald in 1851 felt that the amount of financial assistance provided

by friends and relations in the colonies was being overestimated by the government. M'Caig advocated increased government assistance to emigration, both to Australia (£15 each for 2000 from Emigration Commissioners) and to Upper Canada (£5 each for 6000 people by direct government grant). He felt that not more than £200 per year went through all the bankers in the Highlands from America and that the government was merely using the argument that such financial assistance would dry up if they intervened as an excuse to do nothing in a financial way to assist the emigrations.²⁰

The government's attitude is presented very clearly in a memorandum on this subject prepared in 1847 by Mr. A. B. Hawke, the government's Chief Emigrant Agent in Upper Canada. He said that -

"The sums remitted by settlers in Canada, to enable their relations to emigrate, are rapidly increasing in amount - a few years ago such remittances were rare, they are now becoming almost general. The effect of saving money for such a purpose is highly beneficial, as it acts as a spur to industry and makes them saving and prudent. I am apprehensive if once the Government interfered, it would check the present movement. The news would soon spread throughout the Province, and the remittance to a great extent cease."²¹

In summary, it is possible to say that while financial assistance from earlier emigrants was not as important to the emigration process as emigrants letters and their encouragement to the people in Scotland, financial assistance could be critical in individual cases, particularly from the late 1840's onward.

Any attempt at analyzing the importance of the role of friends and relatives in the emigration process is complicated by human factors. The decision to emigrate is of a personal and private nature and the evaluation and ranking of factors (pro and con) which lead to this decision is usually unrecorded, even if actually verbalized by the

prospective emigrant. However by examining the specific destinations chosen by the emigrants, it is possible to see more clearly the important role played by personal contacts in the migration process from Scotland to Upper Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century. The author is suggesting that prospective emigrants chose to settle in a locality where they had personal contacts or in a locality where there were already settled people with a similar outlook and cultural background. Such a situation would make the transitional adjustment period between emigration and assimilation in the new country smoother and easier. The new emigrant could also expect considerable guidance and help from friends and relatives who had emigrated earlier and were already established in the new world.²²

In this context it is worthwhile presenting the evidence given by A. C. Buchanan, who in 1828 was to become the much respected Chief Government Emigrant Agent at Quebec, when he was examined before the Select Committee on Emigration in 1826.

- "Q 1868 Do you find that the parties who settle endeavour to bring out their friends and relatives after them?
- They do invariably.
Q 1869 Do they bring out numbers in that way?
- Great numbers.
Q 1870 Do they settle near each other, so as to keep up the same ties of relationship?
- If a family go that had a relation before them, they generally go to that relation, to see how he is situated, and to consult with him."²³

Although Buchanan's above comments were referring in particular to Irish emigrants, there are frequent references to a similar process occurring among Scottish emigrants in Upper Canada.²⁴

J. MacGregor, in his book Emigration to British America, after commenting on the importance of emigrant letters and financial help provided by friends and relations who had emigrated previously, stated that,

"the following very prudent plan has long prevailed in Scotland, and, having been generally attended with success, can scarcely be recommended too much. When a family, or a few families, determine on emigrating, some of the sons or relations that are grown up, are sent forward to prepare for the reception of the families, who are to follow afterwards. It often occurs that the young men thus sent to America have, for two or three years, to earn money, which they remit to pay the passages of their friends".²⁵

The following sections of this chapter will examine several areas in Upper Canada to see, if indeed people from various parts of Scotland tended to settle together in the new country. To begin it should be noted that to date there has been very little detailed systematic work done on settlement in Upper Canada by the various ethnic groups and much more remains to be done before any meaningful conclusions on the overall pattern can be reached. However some comments can be made on certain areas for which information is available. Before examining the particular situation in Upper Canada it is important to note that group emigration from certain parts of Scotland, particularly in the Highlands, to certain areas in North America had been a noticeable occurrence from the eighteenth century.²⁶

Wellington County is located in south-western Upper Canada and has an area of about 1,020 square miles consisting of twelve townships. Clay loams and sandy loams are the predominant soils with about three-quarters of the area being gently rolling and cultivable. The area is well watered and the climate is suitable

for mixed farming operations. The District of Wellington was established in 1838 covering a somewhat larger area, while the present county was set up in 1854 with the town of Guelph as the county seat. The southern part of the county was first settled in the 1820's, while parts of the northwest of the county were not initially settled until the early 1850's.²⁷ The census of Upper Canada in 1851/52, giving information as to the birth places of the population, shows that, for Upper Canada as a whole, 8% were born in Scotland while in Wellington County 18% were born in Scotland. This considerably higher percentage in Wellington County indicates both that the county still had areas in a pioneer stage receiving emigrants from overseas and that there were large Scottish groups within the county who had settled earlier and continued to attract Scots over time.

In 1906 an atlas of Wellington County was produced which contained approximately 1000 brief sketches of some of the early families who were settlers in the county, and 288 of these were of families who had emigrated from Scotland. These sketches are of considerable value, in that, they provide details of the county of origin in Scotland, year of emigration, ages and size of families as well as the location of final settlement in Upper Canada. The information obtained from an examination of these sketches has been presented in Figure 8.1 and Table 8.1.

The figure and table seem to indicate that Scottish settlers tended to settle most frequently in certain townships. For example, Puslinch Twp. (19%) and Guelph Twp. (16%) contain a very high proportion of the Scottish settlers in the county while Peel Twp. (3%), West Luther Twp. (4%) and Maryborough Twp. (4%) contain a very low proportion.

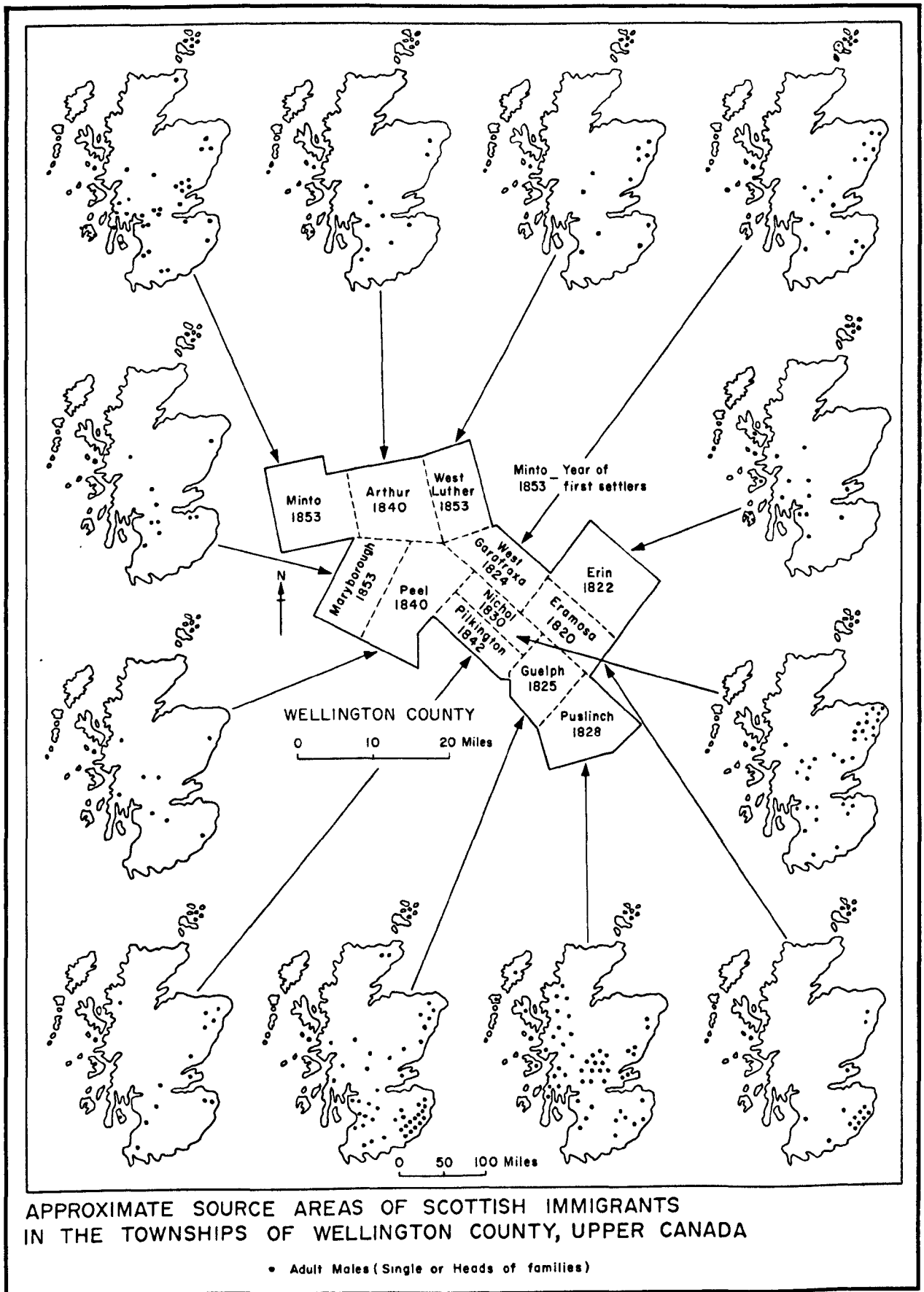


Figure 8.1

Table 8.1 ASPECTS OF SCOTTISH SETTLEMENT IN WELLINGTON COUNTY, U. C.

County of Origin in Scotland	Percent of Total Scots (100%) in Wellington County	Scottish County as percent of total Scottish Population in 1841	Main Township in Wellington County	Percent from this Scottish county in Township	Main Years of Emigration to Canada
Aberdeenshire	15	7	Nichol	41%	1834-37, 1853-59
Argyllshire	11	4	Minto	28%	1830-50
Roxburghshire	9	2	Guelph	22%	1831
Perthshire	9	5	Puslinch	19%	1831-35
Invernessshire	7	4	Puslinch	19%	1830-45
Ayrshire	6	6	Guelph	9%	1840-55

footnote 27

Examining this concentration even further, we find that 41% of the Scots in Nichol Twp. were from Aberdeenshire; 51% of the Scots in Puslinch were from the three Highland counties of Argyllshire, Perthshire, and Invernessshire; and 31% of the Scots in Guelph Twp. were from the two Lowland counties of Roxburghshire and Ayrshire.

It is worthwhile examining the settlement of two townships (Puslinch and Guelph) further to see if anything more can be learned of the actual migration process. Puslinch Twp. was surveyed between 1828 and 1831 when the first settlement began in the area. In 1831 a group of five young men and one woman left Badenoch, Invernessshire and sailed from Greenock to Montreal. Four stopped in Glengarry County for a short time but two men pushed on to Puslinch Twp. where they took up land, and were then followed by those who had stopped in Glengarry. In 1833 they were joined by three of their families from Badenoch. Moving on eleven years, there is the record in 1844 of at least eight adults and eight children arriving in Puslinch in a group from Badenoch, Invernessshire. From this it can be seen that over a period of time, people were attracted from one area in Scotland to another area in Canada.²⁸ In 1832 there was an auction of some land in Puslinch carried on in York (Toronto) and lots 9 - 21 Concession 1 were all taken up by people from Kintyre, Argyllshire, who wanted to form a community together. As early as 1834, Mr. Thomas Wardrope, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland settled in Puslinch, and Duff Church, which was dedicated in 1854, conducted its services for many years first in Gaelic and secondly in English.²⁹ Thus the Highland character of Puslinch Twp. was established early

and was continued throughout the period of settlement.

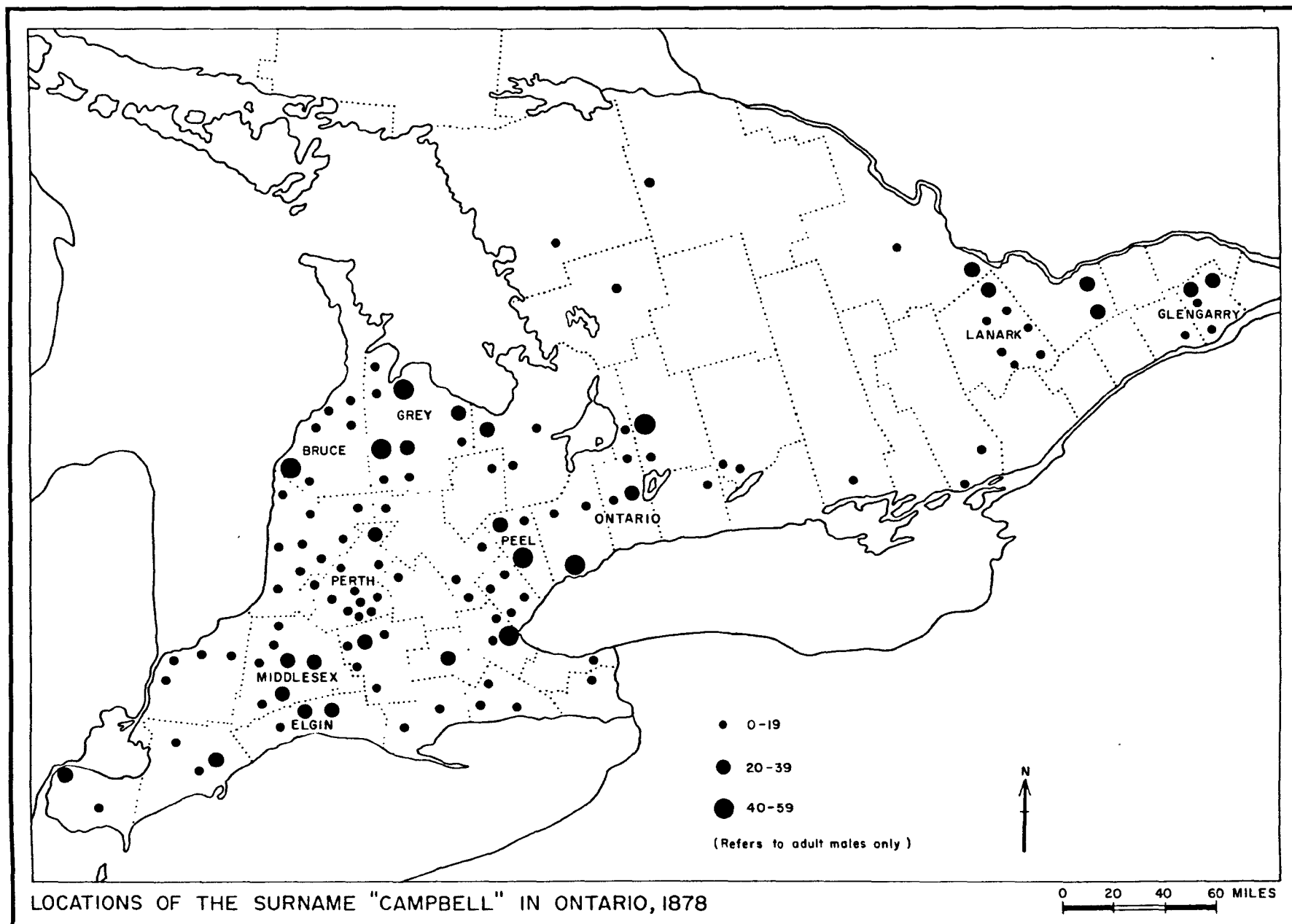
While Puslinch Twp. was definitely Highland Scots in character, Guelph Twp., which is adjacent to it, contained 60% Scots from the Lowlands. In 1828, four settlers took up land in the south-west area of the township. They had originally come from the Paisley area in Scotland, and as a result this section of the township became known as the "Paisley Block". Fifteen other Scots families moved into this section between 1830 and 1832 and although they were not all from Paisley, they were from other areas in the Lowlands.³⁰ Perhaps too, the fact that the Town of Guelph acted as a regional centre for Wellington County helped to attract businessmen and tradesmen from the Lowlands to the town and surrounding township. On the Elora Road, north of the town of Guelph there was also an interesting settlement known as the "Scotch Block" which was settled in the summer and fall of 1827. The story begins somewhat earlier in the autumn of 1825, when the ship Planet left the port of Cromarty, Scotland, carrying forty families who were intending to settle on land owned by the Columbian Agricultural Association in South America. Unfortunately the glowing picture painted by the prospectus of the company was mere deception and the company soon abandoned the settlers who were left struggling with poor land and an unfavourable climate. These "La Guayran emigrants", as they became known, were then forwarded by the British government to New York and hence to the Canada Company's land in Guelph Township.³¹ News of this unfortunate episode even appeared in the Glasgow Herald where an extract of a settler's letter was printed asking for help in starting anew in British North

America.³² Even after they were settled in Guelph Twp., disagreements arose between the Canada Company and the government as to who should bear the cost of assisting them and as a result of their poor condition (both physical and financial) on arrival in Canada the settlement over time was far from successful.

Figure 8.2 shows the distribution in Upper Canada of individuals with the surname Campbell who signed a memorial of greeting to the Marquis of Lorne when he arrived in Canada as Governor General in 1878.³³ This memorial contains the names and locations by towns and townships of approximately 2800 Campbells living in Canada of whom about 59% were in Upper Canada (Ontario). The figure shows very clearly a marked concentration in certain townships and counties (Elgin, Middlesex, Perth, Grey, Bruce, Peel, Ontario, Lanark and Glengarry). As the main periods of pioneer settlement in these various counties varied from the early eighteen hundreds (Glengarry Lanark) to mid century (Perth, Grey, Bruce) it would appear that over time as settlement spread throughout Upper Canada, certain areas became popular settlement locations for Campbells, who were largely Highlanders from Argyllshire. Even within the above counties, there was a further concentration in certain townships, i.e. twenty-five townships (of a total of 120 containing any signatures) account for forty-three per cent of the total names in Upper Canada.

Several other points should be mentioned concerning this memorial and figure 8.2. While on the whole it would appear that the signatories of the memorial were heads of families and that the

Figure 8.2



memorial reached most settled areas of the province, the result can be regarded as an unrandom sample, with a number of Campbells either not wishing to sign or not having the opportunity to do so. Obviously, figure 8.2 does not represent the complete settlement of Campbells in Upper Canada, but rather it gives an idea of the occurrence of a number of concentrations of settlement in certain areas. This in turn indicates to the present writer that the positive role played by friends and relatives was of considerable importance in the migration process between Scotland and Upper Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century.

There are numerous other examples of the settlement of Scottish emigrants in certain general areas in Upper Canada as well as in specific sections of individual townships.³⁴ These "Scotch Blocks" of either Highland or Lowland Scots in certain townships are an interesting feature of the cultural landscape. To date, there has been very little detailed research done of the pioneer settlement of Upper Canada by the various ethnic groups, however two studies in this connection should be mentioned here - W. M. Brown in the Queen's Bush (Bruce and Grey counties), figure 8.3³⁵ and H. L. Johnston in the eastern section of the Huron Tract (Perth county).³⁶

One valuable source of information, as to the settlement concentration by various ethnic groups, which has been seriously neglected to date is headstones (tombstones) in local cemeteries. The present writer has examined a number of cemeteries in areas

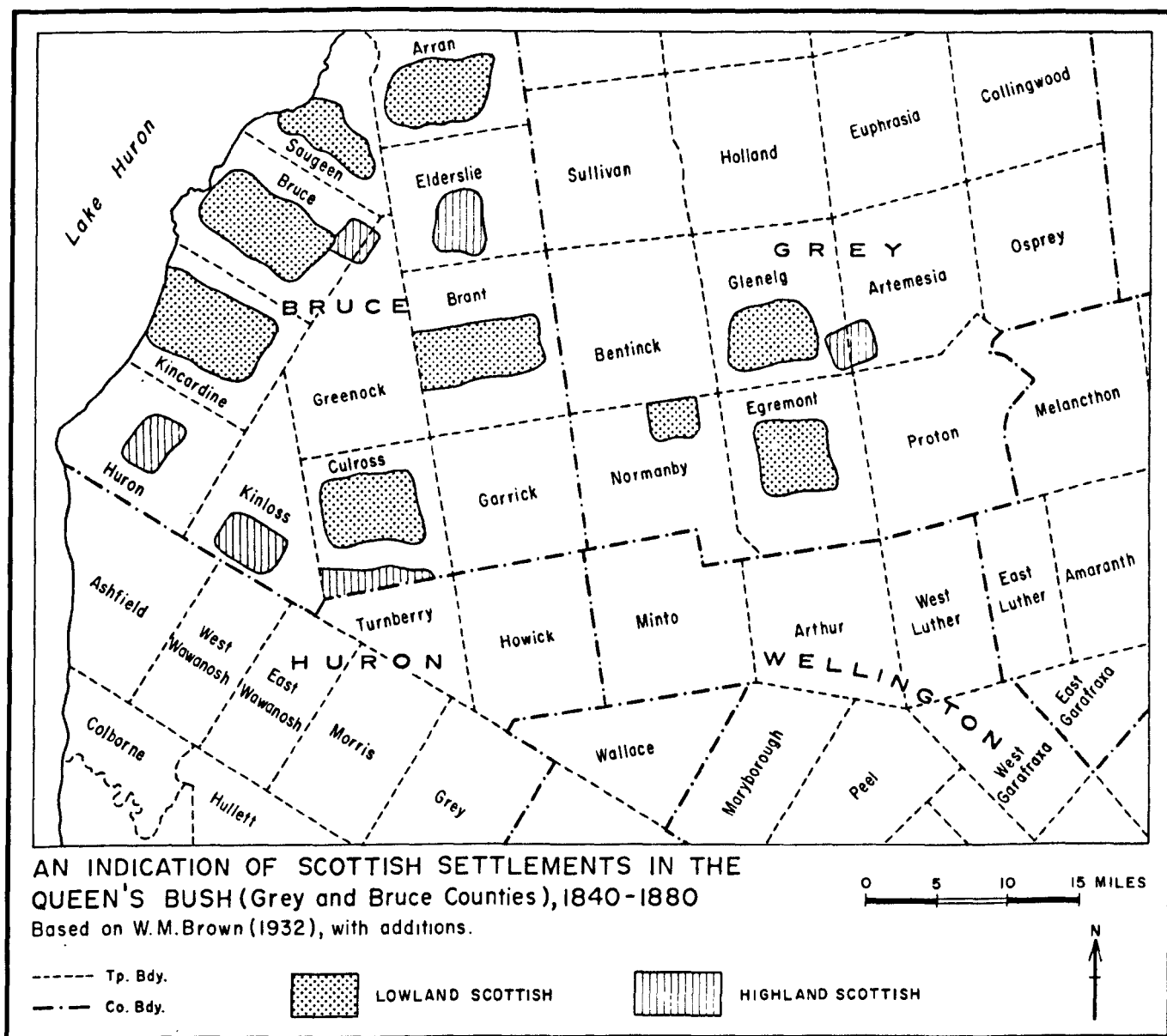


Figure 8.3

Table 8.2 AREA OF ORIGIN OF ADULT SCOTS ON EMIGRATION TO CANADA

(Time period, 1850's and 1860's)
in Queen's Bush, U.C.

A. Priceville Cemetery, Priceville, Grey County

Argyllshire	9	Highlands and Islands	6
Mull	9	rest of Scotland	4
Tyree	4		

B. Rusk's Cemetery, Lot 6 Con. 9, Elderslie Township, Bruce County

Colonsay	21	rest of Scotland	7
Argyllshire	4		

C. Lovat Cemetery, Lot 34, Con. 8, Bruce Township, Bruce County

Argyllshire	8	Ross-shire	6
Mull	7	Highlands and Islands	5
Iona	4	rest of Scotland	6

D. St. Andrew's Cemetery, Lot 23, Con. 4., Elderslie Township, Bruce County.

Argyllshire	11	Perthshire	3
Colonsay	4	rest of Scotland	4

of Scottish settlement in Grey and Bruce Counties of Ontario, and some of the information gathered is presented in Table 8.2. There are a number of problems involved in using this source. For example, no information at all is often given on the tombstone as to place of origin or when given it might be at the generality of Scotland or Argyllshire rather than a more specific location such as Colonsay. However this source of information would seem to indicate the settlement in certain townships in Upper Canada of Scottish emigrants from similar areas in Scotland.

Although in many ways it is very difficult to quantitatively assess the role of friends and relatives in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century, the present writer concludes that overall this factor was one of the most significant in this migration. Emigrant letters provided valuable information and encouragement to potential emigrants and established Scottish settlers in Upper Canada provided financial and other assistance to more recent emigrants both prior to embarkation and after arrival in the new country. The Times of London provided an excellent summary of this process when it commented in 1851,

"Emigrations commonly begin in repulsion, and go on with attraction. The leaders of the column fly their country because they cannot stay in it; but their followers go off more cheerfully because they hear a good report of the new country, and because their friends are already settled in it."³⁷

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2. Dumfries Courier, quoted in Glasgow Herald, April 26, 1822.
3. Saturday Post, quoted in Glasgow Herald, June 18, 1849.
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Quebec Mercury, May 10, 1832, from Glasgow Courier,
"Every one who goes away renders it more probable
that another will follow him. The great bar to
emigration is the dislike to go to a country where
one is a stranger. But now America is to the East
Lothian farmer not only a land of promise, but a
land filled with friends and acquaintances; and in
leaving his native land to cross the Atlantic, he
feels he is about to join those with whom his
earliest associations are connected."
5. New Statistical Account, vol. 4, Dumfries-shire, p. 539.
For further discussion of emigration information provided in
the New Statistical Account see Appendix II of the present study.
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doubt, avail themselves of the same comfortable conveyance."
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Letter from a settler in Canada who had emigrated from the Parish of Beith, Ayrshire, which recently appeared in the Ayr Advertiser.

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11. Martin Doyle, Hints on Emigration to Upper Canada, Edinburgh and London, 1831, pp. 91 - 106. Extracts of nine letters from settlers in Upper Canada to friends in the United Kingdom.

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A Four Years' Resident (James B. Brown), Views of Canada and the Colonists, Edinburgh, 1844, p. 35. Brown provided a somewhat sobering comment on the over reliance upon friendly letters when he said that persons emigrating "must prepare themselves for many unpleasant realities that seldom find their way into friendly letters."
12. Second Report from the Select Committee on Emigration, 1827. evidence of W. S. Northhouse, 20 March 1827.
13. Napier Commission, Appendix A, pp. 163 - 167.
14. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Art of Colonization, London, 1849, Letter XX, pp. 132-33.

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"The prospect then held out (in emigrant letters) was seized on as a raft is betaken to by shipwrecked mariners."

Emigration from the Highlands and Islands to Australia, London, 1852, p. 3.

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Illustrated London News, April 25, 1857 refers to large sums of money being received in Aberdeenshire from Upper Canada.
20. Glasgow Herald, March 7, 1851.
21. PAC MG24 A 10 vol. 32, Elgin-Grey, Emigration papers 1823-50, item #29.
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London, 1832, p. 21-2.

"If you have friends already settled in the province, the best thing you can do, is to write to them to select land for you in their own neighbourhood, if possible, - and to enter into such preliminary arrangements as will enable you to take possession the moment you arrive, and lose not a day in setting to work upon your farm."

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A. McMillan to Ewen Cameron Esq. of Fassfern, dated Montreal, October 20, 1805. (source: Achnacarry Castle, courtesy Cameron of Lochiel). This letter presents an interesting comment on the Scottish settlement process at an early period.

"Our countrymen have a great aversion to going on new land. They are afraid to encounter fresh difficulties and they live together among their friends formerly settled in the country, who encourage them as they find them useful in clearing their land, without considering that they are losing time for a bare subsistence."

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Glasgow Herald, June 13, 1836. In describing a group of about 400 emigrants who had recently sailed from Cromarty to Quebec it commented, "they were mostly in needy circumstances and go to join their friends settled in Canada."

C0384/69 pp. 314-5, February 25, 1842. A petition for emigration assistance from the government by a number of families in Breadalbane, Perthshire.

"Several of their relations were assisted by Government upwards of twenty years ago to emigrate to Upper Canada and are now in a comfortable way and very anxious that their friends should follow them."

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26. Earl of Selkirk, op. cit. (1805), p. 166.

Samuel Johnson, op. cit. p. 144, 195.

Henry G. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1964, p. 227.

Margaret I. Adam, op. cit. SHR, vol. 17, 1920, p. 75.

Helen Cowan, op. cit. p. 20.
27. Historical Atlas of the County of Wellington, Toronto: Historical Atlas Publishing Company 1906.
28. ibid., Sketches of Donald McLean and Angus McPherson.
29. ibid. p. 7 - 8.
30. ibid., Sketches of William Elliott, James Drew, Robert Amos. "Sketches of the settlement and early history of Guelph and the townships in the County of Wellington." compiled by editor of Guelph Mercury, published therein January-August 1866, p. 23.
31. ibid., p. 22.

Atlas of Wellington County, sketches of Donald Gillies and James Stirton.

George C. Patterson, "Land Settlement in Upper Canada." Toronto, 1921, pp. 203-4.

PP 1826-27 V (550) pp. 467-75.
32. Glasgow Herald, January 22, 1827.
33. Register of Campbells in Canada, presented to Marquis of Lorne while Governor General in Canada, 1878 - 1883. Inveraray Castle, Argyll.
There are frequent references to the preference that people on the Duke of Argyll's estates felt toward Canada as an emigration destination as opposed to other areas. (see below)

PP 1841 VI (333) Q3375 evidence of Duke of Argyll.

PP 1847 LIII (788) p. 125. Marquis of Lorne to Sir George Grey, October 22, 1846.

McNeill Letterbook (Mitchell Library, Glasgow) p. 65, July 1, 1852.

34. The following books provide some information about early Scots settlement in various areas in Upper Canada.

William Johnston, History of the County of Perth from 1825 to 1902. Stratford, 1903.

Norman Robertson, The History of the County of Bruce, Toronto, 1906.

W. Campbell, The Scotsman in Canada, Vol. I, Toronto and London, n. d.

Rev. W. A. MacKay, Pioneer Life in Zorra, Toronto, 1899.

C. O. Ermatinger, The Talbot Regime, St. Thomas, 1904.

Andrew Haydon, Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst, 2 vols. Toronto, 1925.

Edwin C. Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada, Toronto, 1963.

John Howison, Sketches of Upper Canada, Edinburgh, 1822, p. 188. Howison commented on the Highland Scots who had recently emigrated to the upper part of the Talbot settlement above Lake Erie,

"These people, with the clannishness so peculiar to them, keep together as much as possible; and at one time, they actually proposed, among themselves, to petition the governor to set apart a township, into which none but Scotch were to be admitted."

John Ramsay, Diary of a Trip to America, Glasgow, 1891. John Ramsay in his tour to North America in 1870 visited several areas in Upper Canada where settlers from Islay, Scotland were concentrated.

35. W. M. Brown, The Queens Bush, London, 1932.
36. H. J. Johnston, "Immigration to the five eastern townships of the Huron Tract", Ontario History, Vol. LIV (1962), pp. 207-224.
37. Glasgow Herald, October 24, 1851 from the Spectator, from the Times.

CHAPTER 9

SCOTTISH PORTS, SHIPPING AND EMIGRATION AGENTS.

The influence of the shipping trade, and in particular, shipping and emigration agents, in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855 will be examined in this chapter. The general significance of shipping to any discussion of Scottish emigration would appear to be self-evident. In other words, even if there had been a tremendous impetus (both push and pull) for emigration but no transportation infrastructure (both of a physical and organizational nature) then no emigration overseas would have been possible. It was the availability of this transportation infrastructure in the form of shipping facilities as well as the promotional activities of various agents that did much to overcome the inertia against emigration by providing both encouragement and the physical means of emigration overseas. We will also note in this chapter that the volume and significant orientation of Scottish shipping to the British North American colonies generally, and in particular to the St. Lawrence River ports of Quebec and Montreal, played a major role in directing Scottish emigrants to Upper Canada.

PART I PORTS

The approximate number of emigrants from Scottish ports to the port of Quebec and the various fluctuations in the volume of this emigration were discussed in Chapter 1 of the present study. There is no value in repeating the limitations of those figures here, other than to say that of necessity use has been made of the published evidence and that in the period before 1831 there is very little detailed information available concerning the volume and characteristics of Scottish emigration to Quebec, as there was no government agent at Quebec until that year. The following three tables give some information on the volume of emigration and the relative importance of the various Scottish ports in relation to trade with the British North American colonies in the period before 1830.

Table 9.1 gives details of emigration from Scotland to British North America for certain years during the period 1812 to 1820. This table demonstrates two features first, the large increase in the number of ships and emigrants particularly after 1815 with the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and second, although the average tonnage of these ships increased only slightly, the average number of passengers increased considerably.

Table 9.2 presents a ranking of the main Scottish ports trading with the British North American colonies in the period 1826 to 1828. Only a small number of these ships (under 20%) carried passengers, with the remainder carrying general cargo to the colonies or timber and wood products from the colonies to Scotland.¹ Several points should be noted here first, the overall importance of the ports of Greenock, Leith and Aberdeen and

TABLE 9.1

EMIGRATION FROM SCOTLAND TO BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

	<u>1812</u>	<u>1814</u>	<u>1815</u>	<u>1816</u>	<u>1818</u>	<u>1820</u>
Number of ships carrying passengers	21	21	41	74	87	102
Average Tonnage	196	188	206	202	218	229
Number of Passengers	333	209	549	1875	3704	4891
Average passengers per ship	16	12	13	25	43	48

Source-PP.1821
XVII (718) p.2

TABLE 9.2

RANK OF MAIN PORTS AND NUMBER OF SHIPS IN THE TRADE BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND BRITISH NORTH AMERICA 1826-28

<u>CANADAS'</u>	<u>NEW BRUNSWICK</u>	<u>NOVA SCOTIA</u>
Greenock 77	Greenock 85	Greenock 21
Aberdeen 28	Pt. Glasgow 67	Leith 10
Dundee 15	Dumfries 43	Stornaway 5
Irvine 22	Leith 62	Aberdeen 7
Leith 14	Irvine 4	
	Dundee 37	
	Aberdeen 33	

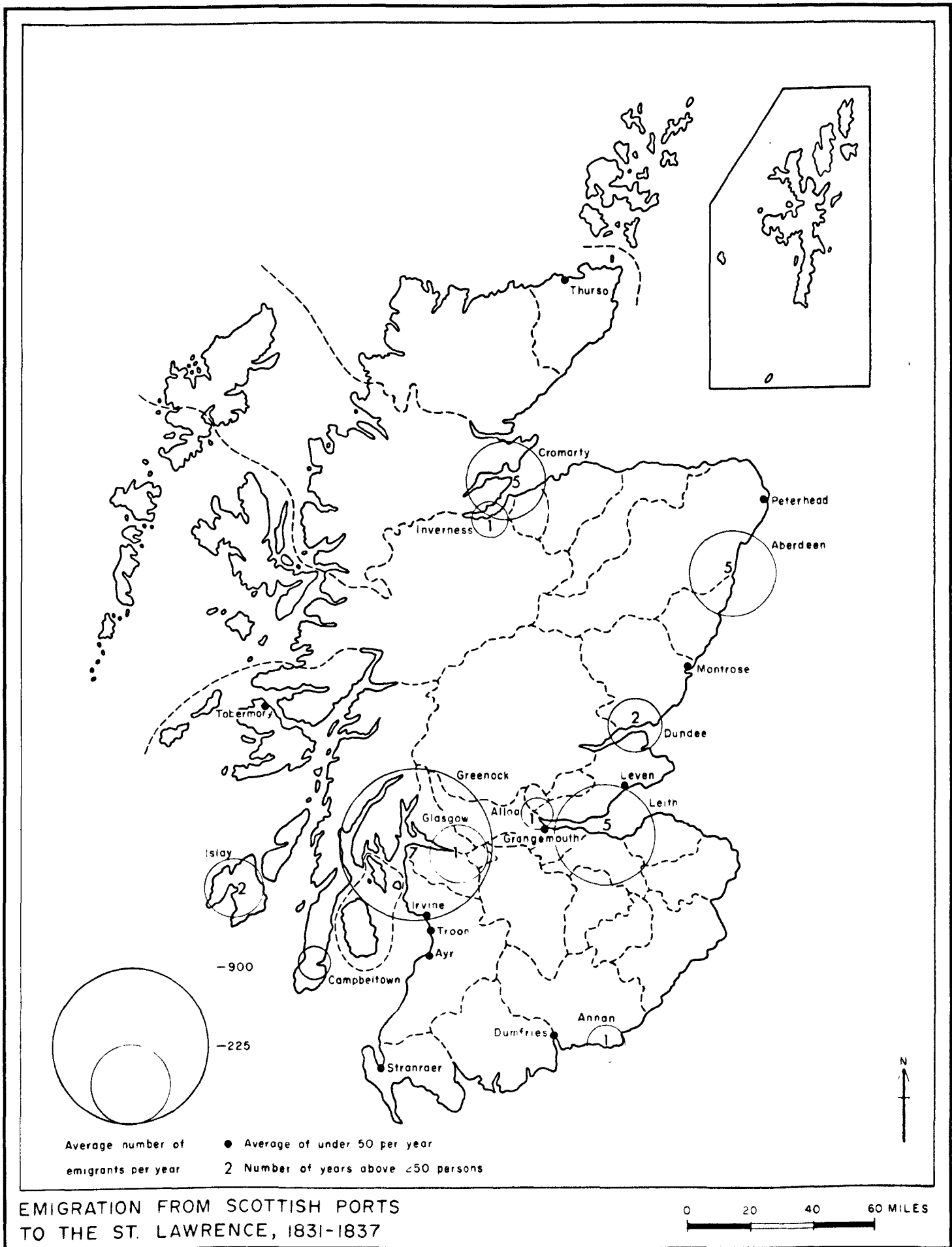
Source P.P.1829 XVII
(350) p. 4-5.

TABLE 9.3

RANK OF MAIN PORTS AND NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS FROM THEM TO BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

<u>1825</u>	<u>1827</u>	<u>1829</u>	<u>1831</u>	<u>1832</u>
Greenock 540	Greenock 1731	Greenock 1602	Greenock 3923	Greenock 3302
Aberdeen 80	Leith 80	Irvine 348	Inverness 1225	Inverness 1322
Dumfries 50	Dumfries 70	Leith 326	Leith 781	Leith 1138
	Irvine 61	Stornaway 171	Campbelltown 418	Aberdeen 701
	Aberdeen 54	Aberdeen 167	Aberdeen 270	Dundee 372
			Dumfries 220	Stornaway 288
				Dumfries 273

Source - P.P.1833 XXVI (696) p 2-4.



EMIGRATION FROM SCOTTISH PORTS
TO THE ST. LAWRENCE, 1831-1837

Figure 9.1

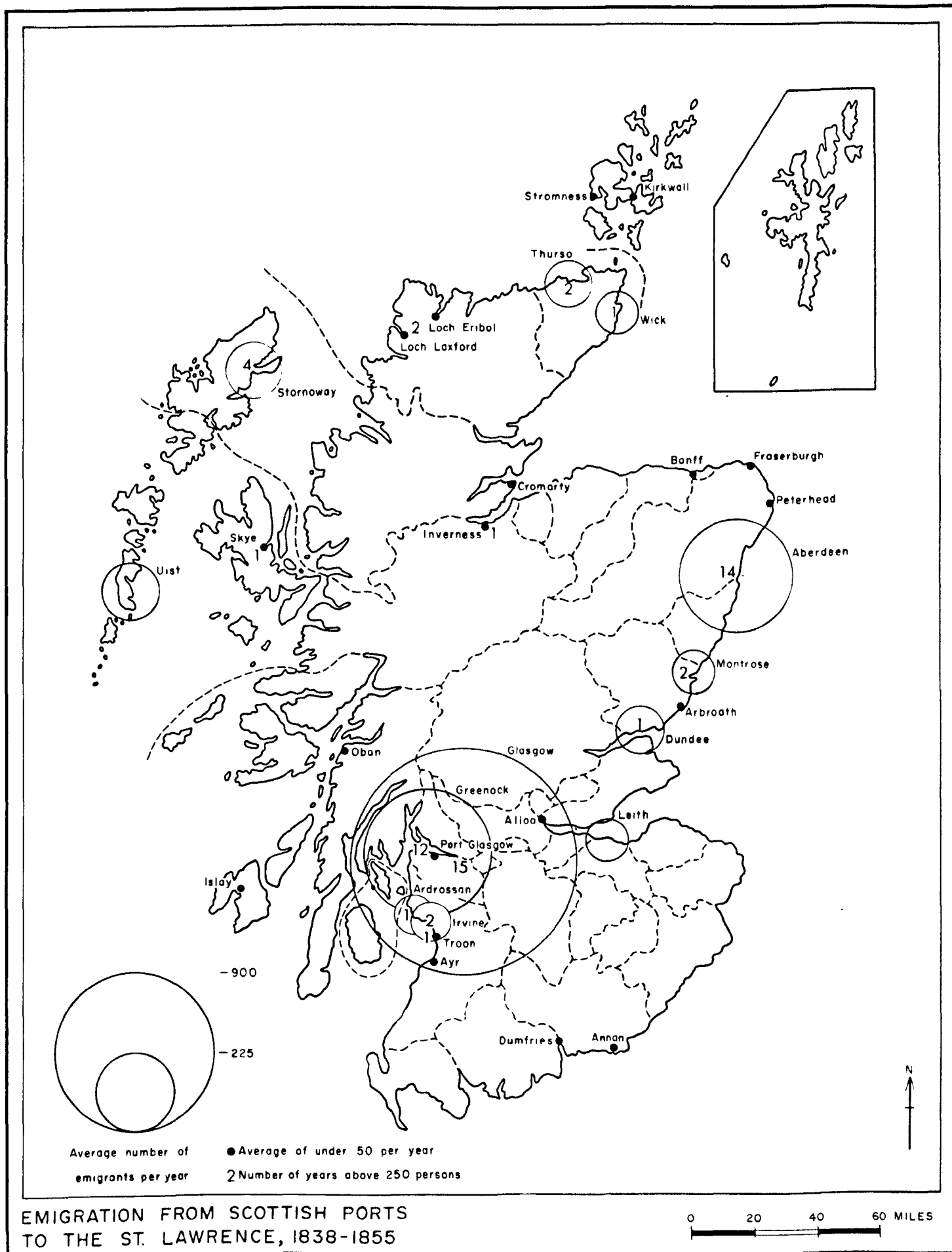


Figure 9.2

second, the large number of ships trading with New Brunswick as opposed to the Canadas. This last point can be explained by the fact that during this period the timber trade was much better developed with an in New Brunswick than in the Canadas.

Table 9.3 presents a ranking of the main Scottish ports from which emigration took place to British North America in several years between 1825 and 1832. Three points can be noted here; first, the same three ports of Greenock, Leith and Aberdeen were most important, with Greenock standing out in particular. Second, in conjunction with Table 9.2, it would appear that the west coast lowland ports of Irvine and Dumfries were active in emigration, particularly to New Brunswick. Third, the Highland ports of Inverness and Stornoway sent most of their emigrants during this period. to the Maritime colonies of British North America, rather than to the Canadas.

Figures 9.1 and 9.2 show the location of the various Scottish ports and an indication of the numbers emigrating from them to the St. Lawrence River ports of Quebec and Montreal during the periods 1831 to 1837 and 1838 to 1855.² The decision to divide the overall time into the above two periods in order to examine the volume of emigration from the various ports was made on two grounds; first, that the year 1838 marks a low point in the total emigration figures and second, that in the early 1840's, Glasgow began to surpass Greenock on the basis of annual emigration to the St. Lawrence. A figure is also given during which each port had more than 250 persons emigrating to the above destinations. As mentioned previously, there is frequently the difficulty of obtaining exactly accurate figures for the number of persons emigrating. However, what we are really concerned with is the relative importance of one port as opposed to the other ports and relative changes in the volume of emigration from a particular port over the two periods covered by Figures 9.1 and 9.2.

It should also be noted here that throughout the following sections of this chapter, references made to the numbers of emigrants and emigration, unless stated otherwise, refer to that which took place between Scottish ports or Scottish areas and the St. Lawrence River.

In the first period of seven years between 1831 and 1837, the port of Greenock stands out as being the most important point of embarkation, with Leith, Aberdeen and Cromarty being secondary centers. In the period of eighteen years between 1838 and 1855, the Clyde ports of Greenock and Glasgow increased their dominance in the emigrant trade between Scotland and the St. Lawrence by embarking more than two-thirds of these emigrants. There were however, a number of other changes in the pattern of major emigration ports. The extraordinary growth in the importance of Glasgow is very obvious from an examination of Figures 9.1 and 9.2 and will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent section.

The numbers emigrating from Aberdeen continued to grow until they almost equalled those from Greenock. The ports of Dundee and particularly Leith declined considerably, largely as a result of the growth of the drawing area of the port of Glasgow. In other words, Glasgow was able to provide a growing number of regular trading ships and special emigrant ships sailing to the St. Lawrence with which these two east coast ports could not compete. This second period (1844-55) also saw the improvement of transportation facilities (canal and railways) in the Central Lowlands of Scotland, which enabled people to come from greater distances at a reasonable cost to the Clyde for embarkation. The appearance of the three south west coast ports of Irvine, Troon and Ardrossan was the result not so much of increased local emigration, as of vessels being chartered and embarking emigrants there who had come from several Highland estates in the late 1840's and early 1850's

and been assisted by their landlords. The other significant change in this second period (Figure 9.2), was the large assisted emigrations in the period 1849-1855 when large numbers of people embarked from South Uist, Barra, Lewis and north west Sutherlands-shire on ships chartered by the landlords.

Figure 9.3 shows the approximate drawing areas of the main Scottish ports for emigration to the St. Lawrence for the period 1840 to 1855, which has been compiled by the author mainly from the shipping advertisements in various newspapers of the period. Further references will be made to these advertisements when each of the ports is examined. Partly on the basis of this map, as well as for convenience of organization and presentation, the following sections discussing individual ports in more detail have been decided upon.

- A) The Clyde ports
- B) Northwest Highlands and Islands
- C) South west coast
- D) Leith, Dundee and the Southeast coast
- E) Aberdeen and the Northeast coast

A) The Clyde ports -

For the purpose of the present study, the term Clyde ports will be taken to mean the three ports of Glasgow, Greenock and Port Glasgow. The Clyde ports began to develop as a major trading and shipping centre as early as the first half of the 18th Century. By the first decades of the 19th century, Clyde shippers were well established in trade with the United States, British North America (particularly the timber trade), the West Indies, the Baltic, and the Mediterranean. They were also beginning to make connections with the areas in the Far East. Most of the growth of the Clyde ports during this period was at the expense of Leith and other south-east coast ports in Scotland.³

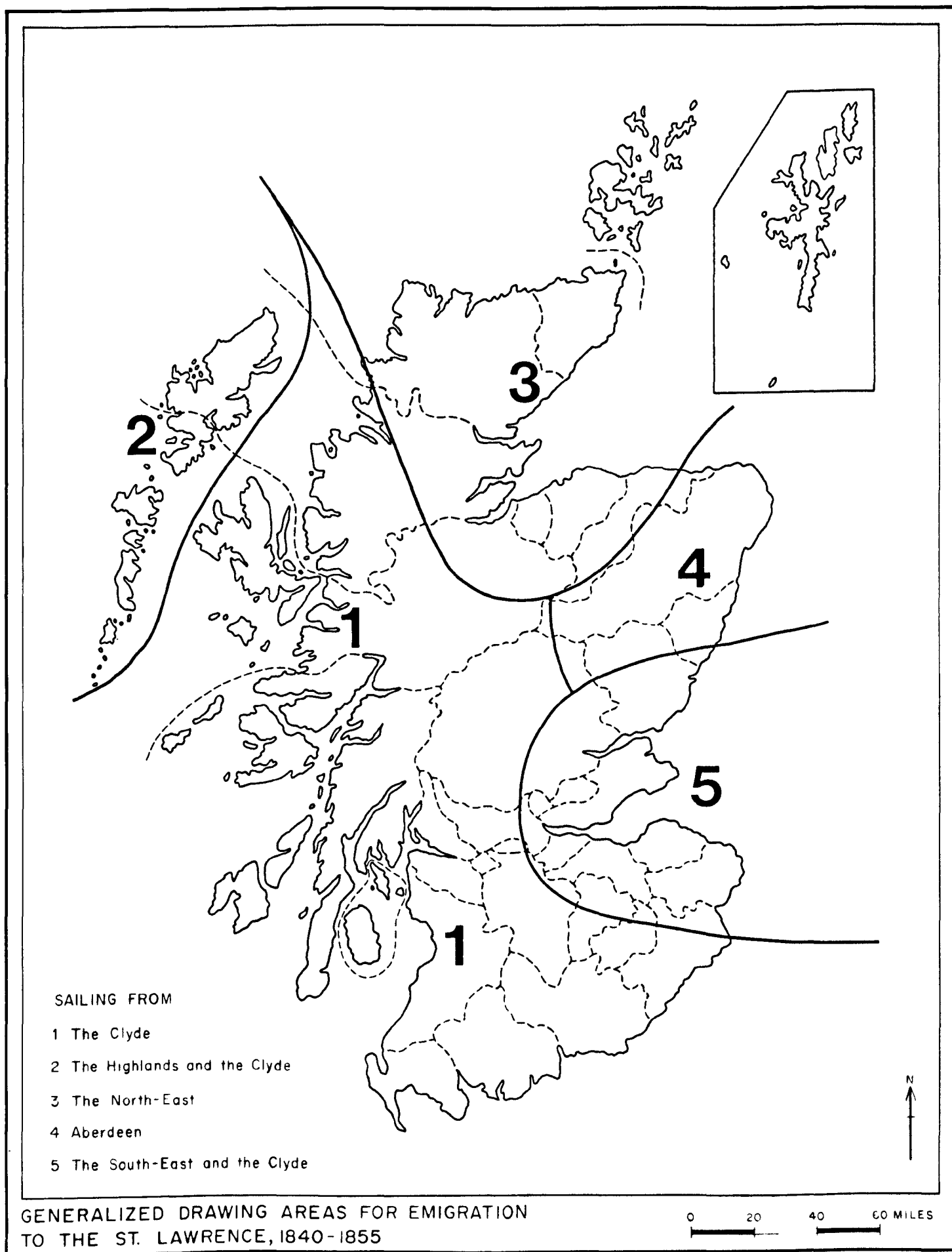


Figure 9.3

As the preceding tables and figures show, Greenock was the chief of the Clyde ports until the late 1830's when Glasgow began to take the lead. Before 1818 no vessels in the foreign trade came up to the Clyde beyond Greenock or Port Glasgow. There they were unloaded into lighters, which carried the cargo up to Glasgow. The rapid growth of the port of Glasgow can be seen by examining the following figures. The customs duties collected at Glasgow increased from £8,300 in 1815; to £59,013 in 1830; to £468,974 in 1840 and to £718,835 in 1856. The tonnage of the largest vessels arriving at Glasgow also increased dramatically from 320 tons in 1835; to 600 tons in 1840; to 1000 tons in 1850 and to 3600 tons in 1857. The main reasons for this growth, besides the industrial and commercial development of the city of Glasgow, were the improved dredging of the Clyde, provision of port facilities and the readiness of shipping agents in Glasgow to expand their connections overseas. Regular sailings from the Clyde to North America began as early as 1818.⁴

Most of the remainder of this section discussing the emigration from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence will be based on an examination of newspaper shipping advertisements in conjunction, where possible, with customs records and emigration reports. As it was beyond the resources of the present study to examine in detail the shipping activities for every year during the period 1815 to 1855, it was decided to focus wherever possible on a number of sample years - 1815, 1822, 1832, 1842, 1852 and 1855. This regular pattern of years was chosen to provide an even coverage of the period under examination, as well as the fact that most of the years chosen were ones during which relatively large amounts of emigration took place. The main aspects of the emigration from which some conclusions (some tentative, others more definite) will be drawn are - size and type of emigrant ship, number and organization of shipping or passenger agents,

volume and time period of departures and comments on the general drawing area of the particular ports. A generally similar pattern will be followed in discussing each of the five main port areas in Scotland.

1815

The information available for the year 1815 is rather scanty but some general points can be made after examining the Glasgow Herald and the Greenock Advertiser as well as the customs records for the port of Greenock. To begin, it should be noted that this period was just at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, (a number of the advertisements contained references to ships joining convoys at Cork) and trade with the North American colonies was therefore somewhat restricted. The shipping columns of the two newspapers contain advertisements of ships sailing from Greenock to the St. Lawrence (mainly to Quebec) for seven ships carrying freight and passengers and five carrying freight only. In addition the Glasgow Herald of May 6th, contained an advertisement for the ship Psyche sailing from Dundee to Quebec and Montreal, and interested persons were to contact an agent in Dundee or in Glasgow. The cargo of the majority of these ships consisted of miscellaneous goods, such as, linens, hats, shoes, cotton, glass, nails, candles, sugars. The customs records show that at least an additional eight ships carrying cargo left the Clyde for the St. Lawrence, which would seem to indicate that in this particular year the volume of emigration was small. This indeed was the case, as only 680 persons appear to have emigrated to all the British North American colonies from all parts of the British Isles in 1815.⁵

There were at least eighteen different shipping agents or brokers involved with the total of these ships leaving from the Clyde, (nine of whom dealt with passengers & cargo) but two agents, in particular, Robert Hunter and Alan Ker, both of Greenock, appear to have been the most active in

advertising ships that carried some passengers as well as a cargo. The return cargo of a number of these ships consisted of loads of timber, but those ships which carried out some passengers and miscellaneous goods could not be considered as timber ships. The overall question of the various types of ships used in the emigrant trade from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence will be discussed more fully toward the end of this chapter.

1822

The shipping columns of the Glasgow Herald and the Greenock Advertiser for 1822 carried advertisements for a total of nineteen ships carrying passengers and freight sailing from the Clyde (all but one from Greenock) to the St. Lawrence (all but three to Quebec). This number shows a considerable increase over that of 1815 and is the result both of a growth in the trade between the two areas, as well as an increase in the number of emigrants, (a total of 1186 persons emigrated from Greenock to British North America in 1822).⁶ The average size of these vessels from the Clyde was about 220 tons, which corresponds reasonably closely to the figures in Table 9.1.

The number of agents on the Clyde referred to in these advertisements was eighteen, but two agents, Messrs. Neill and Dunn of Greenock, (often associated with John Parker in Glasgow) and Alan Ker of Greenock were involved with at least half of these ships. It should be noted here, that over the entire period under discussion on the Clyde, while a ship might be sailing from Greenock (or Glasgow) there would be agents in each of the two places where intending emigrants could obtain information and make arrangements for their passage on a particular ship. During this period of the 1820's, the shipping and chartering business to British North America was somewhat of a speculative character. This is shown by the advertisement for the ship Mary Ann which was to sail from Greenock

to Quebec on March 29, 1822 which stated at the bottom that if a sufficient number of emigrants did not come forward within ten days, the vessel would accept another charter.⁷ Although the majority of these ships used the general term 'passage' in the advertisements, three stated that they had accommodation for cabin and steerage passengers.

The usual outward cargo of all these ships was miscellaneous goods, as noted in 1815, with timber products and ashes being a common inward freight.⁸ We also have an additional indication of the relation between the shipping of passengers and the return cargo of timber products. The Greenock Advertiser of August 6, 1822, carried an advertisement for freight and passage, (cabin and steerage), on the Saint Charles leaving August 18th from Greenock to Quebec, together with the announcement of a public roup on August 18th of Quebec timber and staves, which had just arrived on the Saint Charles. Finally it should be noted that at least two, and possibly four, of the ships, made two voyages from Greenock to the St. Lawrence in 1822. The shipping columns of the Quebec Mercury for the year 1822 were also examined and provide some additional information on the emigrant trade. These columns listed ten ships carrying, general cargo to the St. Lawrence from the Clyde, all but one from Greenock. Each of these ships carried passengers (total number 202) with the average number being twenty per ship. The other six ships listed as arriving from the Clyde carried only coals or ballast and brought with them a total of only four passengers. Thus it would appear that the vast majority of these emigrants from the Clyde sailed on what will be referred to later as packet ships.

1832

The shipping columns of the Glasgow Herald for 1832 carried

advertisements for a total of thirty-one ships carrying passengers and freight sailing from the Clyde (all but seven from Greenock) to the St. Lawrence (about equally divided between Quebec and Montreal). This total of thirty-one includes two outward trips made by each of seven ships during this particular season. It was this type of ship that was referred to in its shipping advertisement as a "regular trader". The average size of the ships from the Clyde to Canada was about 280 tons in 1832, which was a considerable increase over the previous figure. Although the majority of these ships used the general term 'passage' in the advertisements, seven stated that they had accommodation for cabin and steerage passengers and two for cabin passengers only. A total of 1876 persons emigrated from the Clyde (Greenock 1716, Glasgow 160) to the St. Lawrence in 1832, of whom approximately 70% sailed on eight ships, or, in other words, about one-quarter of the ships carried about three-quarters of these emigrants.

As in 1822, there were eighteen agents referred to in these advertisements, yet only three (or perhaps six) of these agents appear in 1822 as well as in 1832. Three agents, Neill and Gray of Greenock, Alan Ker and Co. of Greenock, Gilkison and Brown of Glasgow (who were also agents for the Canada Company), were involved with twenty of the thirty-one ships. However, these ships were not necessarily the ones which carried the largest number of emigrants. There is considerable difficulty in making statements which are any more definite in this regard as there are no complete figures available for the number of passengers carried on each of these ships to the St. Lawrence in 1832. Using information from the Glasgow Herald, Greenock Advertiser and Quebec Mercury, it was possible to locate tentative passenger figures for fifteen of the ships in 1832, as well as a general indication of the type of cargo carried. Ten of these ships carried general cargo and an average of seventy-two passengers, while the remaining five carried either coals (1) or ballast (4) and an average of 148

passengers. It would therefore appear that by this period a number of ships were beginning to concentrate on the outward carriage of emigrants from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence.⁹

1842

The shipping columns of the Glasgow Herald for 1842 carried advertisements for a total of forty-two ships carrying passengers and freight, sailing from the Clyde (largely from Glasgow) to the St. Lawrence (mainly to Montreal). The average size of these ships had increased to about 365 tons. Several other facts about the organization of this shipping trade may be obtained from these advertisements. There were twenty-seven shipping agents involved in the trade, but as in previous years, a small number of these agents were involved with the majority of the ships - Galbreath and Carswell (Glasgow), James and Alexander Allan (Glasgow and Greenock), Edward Walkinshaw (Glasgow), Sheppard and Co. (Glasgow), Urie, Thorburn and Co. (Glasgow). The location of these major agents largely in Glasgow is indicative of the dominant position which had now been achieved on the Clyde by this port.

In examining the departure dates as given in the Glasgow Herald several points emerge - first, that there was a distinct shipping season to the St Lawrence with sailings only between the end of March and the first part of September; second, about one-quarter of the season's ships left in the last two weeks of March, these were known as the "first spring fleet"; third, over the rest of the season the departures for the St. Lawrence were evenly distributed, but declining somewhat by the end of July and the beginning of August when the departures were largely ships making their second voyage of the season. The shipping advertisements also point out one other interesting aspect of the trade, and that is the frequent changes made in the times given for the ships'

departures. For example, on March 4, 1842 the Glasgow Herald carried an advertisement for the barque Queen of the Isles which was to sail from Glasgow to Montreal with freight and passengers on April 5th. Yet over the next two months the departure date was changed at least four times to April 15th, 20th, 23th and 29th. Similar changes were made by at least twenty-five ships (likely more) and the average delay for these was about two weeks.

Thus even though the trade between the Clyde and the St. Lawrence was growing and larger agencies were appearing, the trade still was somewhat unorganized and of a speculative nature. These frequent changes in sailing dates could also make it difficult and inconvenient for emigrants who had made arrangement to leave their homes and proceed to the Clyde at a certain time. It is also reasonable to suggest from this that the normal emigrant would not be willing to book in advance on a particular vessel, but would rather wait until he had reached the Clyde where he could see the various ships before committing himself.

When the information available from these shipping advertisements in the Glasgow Herald is combined with details of the ships cargoes (from the Clyde Bill of Entry) and the number of passengers carried by each (from Buchanan's report), several general points can be made regarding the type of ships used in the emigrant trade from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence during this period. Two main types of ships can be identified. The first type can be called packet ships or general traders. They carried outward general or miscellaneous cargoes of goods (cloth, small hardwares, clothing, etc.) as well as some passengers. They returned with cargoes of flour, wheat, ashes, as well as small amounts of wood products. The seven ships which made two trips from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence in 1842 were this type of regular trader.

For example, four of this type of ship (Caledonia, Jane Brown, Mohawk, James Campbell) which left the Broomielaw at Glasgow by the end of March, were back at the Broomielaw before the end of June with cargoes of flour and advertising for their next voyage to the St. Lawrence.¹⁰ Of the thirty-seven ships in the Clyde to St. Lawrence trade in 1842 for which figures could be found providing the number of passengers on each, twenty-six carrying 1425 passengers could be classified in this first type. The number carried on a particular ship varied from about 3 to 150. One of the major problems in analysing this shipping trade is the difficulty of not being able to trace the movements of these ships over a number of years. In the fall and winter period, when these packet ships could not trade with the St. Lawrence because of ice conditions, they were often sent elsewhere with (or for) cargo - for example, in 1842-43, four of them sailed to Valparaiso, Sierra Leone, Montevideo and Jamaica.¹¹

The second of the two main types of ships operating in the Clyde-Canada trade is somewhat more difficult to define. Broadly speaking this type of ship was mainly engaged in the timber trade. The role of timber trade will be commented upon in more detail later in this chapter. However these ships were not the average type of timber ships which usually had no facilities other than room to hold timber products. This type of ship, which carried emigrants on the outward voyage from the Clyde, had facilities installed to enable them to carry passengers. On the outward voyage as well as emigrants, these ships often carried heavy hardware, coals, and pig iron. It should be noted here as well, that true (as opposed to modified) timber ships regularly left the Clyde in ballast for the St. Lawrence. While the main destination of the packet ships with their cargoes of flour and ashes was Glasgow, the destination of the ships with timber, deals and staves was most frequently Greenock and Port Glasgow.¹²

Of the total of thirty-seven ships referred to previously the remaining eleven ships carried approximately 3030 persons to the Canadas. In other words, 30 per cent of the passenger carrying ships embarked almost 70 per cent of the emigrants from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence in 1842. The average number of passengers carried on each of these ships was 275 as compared with an average of fifty-four passengers on each of the packet ships. As well as the ships involving timber, there were several of the ships in this second group that carried only emigrants to the St. Lawrence, but returned with flour and ashes. In total, four agents, Pollock and Gilmour and Co., Jas. and A. Allan, Galbreath and Carswell, and R. P. Stephens accounted for 60 per cent of the emigrants carried in 1842.

Before proceeding to discuss the year 1852, several comments can be made about emigration from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence in 1847. There were twenty-six ships that could be classified as packet ships or general traders which carried 26 per cent (764) of the emigrants. Seventeen per cent of the emigrants were cabin passengers. There were nine ships that could be classified as timber ships or special emigrant ships, which carried seventy-four per cent (2170) of the emigrants. Less than one per cent of these emigrants were cabin passengers. Once again there was a concentration of the passenger trade with three agents - M'Symon and Hutton, T. Somervail, and D. Weir accounting for sixty per cent of the emigrants.¹³

1852

The shipping columns of the Glasgow Herald for 1852 carried advertisements for fifty ships carrying passengers and freight from the Clyde (all but two or three from Glasgow) to the St. Lawrence (largely to Montreal).

The average size of these ships was now about 460 tons, with individual ships ranging from 200 to 950 tons. By 1852 the number of agents advertising these ships had decreased considerably to only eleven, with two agents J. and A. Allan and T. C. Orr, both of Glasgow, accounting for about seventy per cent of the ships. About one half of these advertisements provided some information about the type of accommodation available, with the most frequent types being - cabin, intermediate, steerage (eleven ships); intermediate and steerage (five ships) and steerage (four ships). While the length of the shipping season was very similar to previous years with all the ships sailing from the Clyde between the third week in March and the end of August, variations from the scheduled times of departure were less frequent. About one third of the ships for which this information is available sailed on the day advertised, and the overall average change was only five days. Finally, nine ships sailed twice from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence in 1852, and these were managed by three agents.

The next step in examining the passenger trade between the Clyde and the St. Lawrence in 1852 is to compare the shipping advertisements with information from the Clyde Bill of Entry concerning cargoes and passengers carried. Several points of interest emerge - first, only forty-two of the fifty ships advertised appear to have carried passengers; second, at least seventy-three ships sailed from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence of which only about fifty-five per cent carried passengers; and third, the two agents, J. and A. Allan and T. C. Orr who advertised about seventy per cent of the ships for freight and passage accounted for seventy-five per cent of the passengers carried.

As in the earlier years, it is possible to differentiate between the two main types of ships engaged in this trade. There were twenty-six vessels that can be classified as packet or general cargo ships which carried twenty per cent of the passengers in 1852. The number of passengers varied from two to about one hundred, averaging about thirty-one people. The nine ships that sailed twice from the Clyde belonged to this type. As mentioned previously, these ships carried a miscellaneous cargo outward and returned with flour, ashes and some timber. These ships were engaged in carrying cargoes from various other parts of the world when the St. Lawrence was closed - for example, from Smyrna (madder roots), from Marseilles (madder roots), from Alexandria (beans), from Mauritius (sugar).

The second type of ships were those based on the timber trade, but which provided facilities for carrying passengers from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence on the ship's outward voyage. There were sixteen vessels that come under this classification which carried about eighty per cent of the passengers in 1852. The average number of passengers carried on each of these ships was 190, which was a considerably greater number than those carried on the packet ships. As might be expected, the average size of these ships was about 560 tons, being much larger than the packet ships. From information provided in the Clyde Bill of Entry, the usual annual cycle for these timber ships was to leave the Clyde in May or June, carrying passengers when possible (a number left carrying only coal and iron partly as a means of ballast) for the St. Lawrence; return to the Clyde in September or October with timber, deals, and staves; leave thereafter for the Southern United States (New Orleans, Savannah, Mobile) where they loaded with cotton and timber products for the Clyde where they returned in March, April and May of the following year.

Although this appears to have been the usual route for the timber ships, others might carry guano from Callao, Peru or brimstone (sulphur) from Girgenti, Sicily.

There is one other interesting point regarding this shipping from the Clyde in 1852. On May 7 the Glasgow Herald contained an advertisement announcing the sailing on June 5th of the packet ship Brooksby to the St. Lawrence. However on June 11th another notice appeared stating that the Brooksby would be sailing on June 30th solely with passengers for Port Philip, Australia "direct for the Gold Regions". It was the discovery of gold in Australia in 1852 which over the next few years was to turn the attention and interest of Scottish emigration from North America to the other side of the world.

1855

The same three basic sources were examined for the year 1855 - shipping advertisements in the Glasgow Herald, the accounts of imports and exports in the Clyde Bill of Entry and A. C. Buchanan's Emigration Report. Some of the main observations are summarized in Table 9.4 along with those for previous years. Several continuing trends will be mentioned here.

The total number of agents involved in advertising the emigrant trade continued to decline and the trade continued to be concentrated with several of these agents (J. and A. Allan, T. C. Orr, D. A. B. Murray). As the average size of the vessels continued to increase, a larger number of passengers could be carried on each ship. The available figures for the number of passengers carried on a particular ship are very sketchy, but on the basis of the Clyde Bill of Entry it would appear that about one half of the ships in 1855 were packet ships and that they carried somewhat less than twenty per cent of the passengers.

TABLE 9.4

SUMMARY TABLE OF SHIPPING AND EMIGRANT AGENTS FROM THE CLYDE
TO THE ST. LAWRENCE 1815 to 1855

No. of Emigrants		Ships adver- tised Passengers <u>Glasgow Herald</u>	Number of Agents	Average regis- tered Tons	Concen- tration of Agents	Return Voyages with Passen- gers	Packet Ships	Timber and Passenger Ships
1815		7	9				likely 7	
1822	206	19	18	220	2 agents 50% Pass.	2 to 4		
1832	1876	31	18	280	2 agents 66% Pass.			
1842	4343	42	27	365	5 agents 75% Pass.	7	26 ships 30% pass.	11 ships 70% pass.
1852	3916	50	11	460	2 agents 70% pass.	9	26 ships 20% pass.	16 ships 80% pass.
1855	2774	20	6	560	3 agents 80% pass.	2		

The Drawing Area of the Clyde

The previous sections have discussed the changes, organization and growth of the emigrant trade from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence. Figure 9.3 shows the approximate drawing area over the period 1840-1855 of the ports on the Clyde and several more detailed comments on this matter are necessary here.

In the period before 1815, the passenger traffic between Scotland and British North America was very decentralized as far as point of departure was concerned, with emigrant ships leaving from a large number of places on the coasts of Scotland. The points of embarkation varied considerably, being largely dependent on the spirit of emigration in the various parts of the country. On the whole there was little concentration, owing to the poor transportation facilities for travel from one relatively isolated area to another. For example, in the years 1801-1803, there was an emigration of people (approximately 5400) from the West Highlands to British North America (mainly to Pictou, Nova Scotia). Twenty-five ships carried these emigrants who embarked from at least twelve different places, only one of which was the Clyde and the rest were scattered through the Highlands.¹⁴

However following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, this situation rapidly changed as a result of the increased trade and industrial growth of the Clyde area and improved transportation, particularly the use of steam at sea in the West Highlands and Islands. Quoting Malcolm Gray,

"The importance of the steamship lay not so much in breaking open new routes, as in cheapening transport and making travel easier along the old. It strengthened the old commercial supremacy over the whole western seaboard of the Clyde region."¹⁵

The first voyage of the Comet took place in 1812 between Greenock and Glasgow and within a decade steamboat services were begun throughout the west coast - to

Campbeltown in 1816, to Belfast in 1818, to Liverpool in 1819, and to Tobermory in 1821-22. By 1845 large numbers of regular steamers were carrying passengers between the Clyde and Ireland (ten), Liverpool (five), South West Argyllshire (ten) as well as to Oban, Tobermory, Portree, Fort William and Inverness (seven).¹⁶

The construction of canals and railways also helped to increase the domination of the emigrant trade by the Clyde. In 1842, a person could travel between Edinburgh and Glasgow by canal at a cost of 2/4d and by rail for 4s (increased to 5s in 1848).¹⁷ The 1840's and 1850's witnessed the growth and consolidation of the railway network in Scotland, with connection begun with Glasgow and the following centres - Edinburgh (1842), Ayr and Paisley (1840), Lockerbie (1848), Perth (1848), Aberdeen (1850) and Inverness via Aberdeen (1858).¹⁸

Figure 9.4¹⁹ shows the area of origin by county of emigrants from Scotland who left from the Clyde to both the St. Lawrence and the Maritimes in the year 1832. Approximately one half of all these emigrants came from areas in the Highlands (Argyllshire, Perthshire, Skye and Uist), particularly the western Highlands and Islands. The next largest group came from the counties of Lanark and Renfrew in the immediate area of the Clyde. Finally, a smaller group from various other lowland counties left from the Clyde in 1832. This figure also shows very clearly that the preference at this period for emigration of Highlanders to the Maritime colonies in British North America was not as great as has generally been supposed. The large emigration from Uist did not occur on this magnitude every year.

The general pattern shown in Figure 9.4 can be considered reasonably typical for the entire period 1815-1855, with certain exceptions which will be pointed out below. Throughout this period frequent references

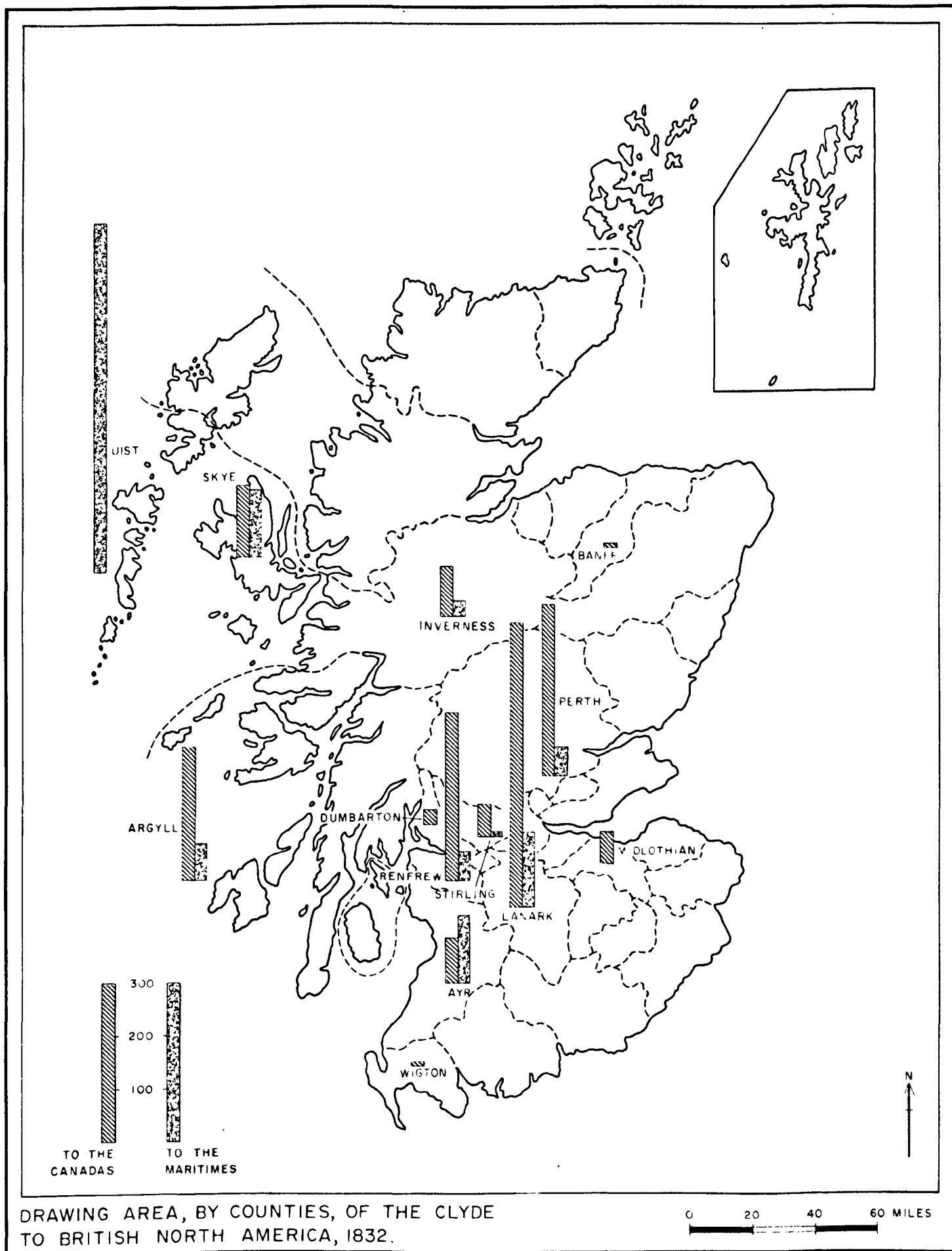


Figure 9.4

can be found both to large scale Highland emigrations from the Clyde²⁰ as well as to emigration from the central and lowland counties of Scotland via the Clyde.²¹ The two exceptions to the general pattern, shown in Figure 9.4, occur in the period after 1840 and are first, the expansion of the drawing area of the Clyde to the east at the expense of Leith and Dundee and second, during the late 1840's and early 1850's, the departure from the Outer Hebrides of landlord assisted emigrants, although some landlords continued to charter ships leaving from the Clyde (see Chapter Seven). One other interesting source area for emigrants from the Clyde should be noted here, although the only references to it have been found for the year 1849. In March of that year several German families (about seventy persons) sailed from Greenock for New York. They had reached the Clyde by way of Hamburg and Leith.²²

In the remainder of this chapter further references will be made to various newspapers throughout Scotland carrying advertisements for ships sailing from the Clyde to the St. Lawrence and to the overall importance of emigration from the Clyde.

B). The South West Coast

Although the ports on the south west coast of Scotland were relatively unimportant as points of embarkation for emigrants to the St. Lawrence, several points of interest can be seen by examining their contribution over the period 1815 - 1855.

1) Dumfries and area

For most of this period, the main shipping from this part of Scotland with British North America was to the Maritime colonies, particularly

to St. John and Miramichi in New Brunswick, in the timber trade. Partly as a result of this connection, a large number of the early emigrants from this area emigrated to New Brunswick. In April 1819, three ships carrying a total of 517 persons left for this destination. In 1821 and 1822, John Thomson of Dumfries chartered ships to carry passengers to St. John. All of these emigrants were not from Scotland, but many from the English county of Cumberland.²³

The Dumfries and Galloway Courier for 1821 carried a number of advertisements for freight and passage to the Maritime colonies. However, on April 10, 1821, there was an advertisement for the sailing of the brig Hope from Workington (Cumberland) to Prince Edward Island and Quebec. Although the vessel was to sail from England, the notice contained the names of five persons in Scotland to whom application for passage could be made. These were located in Dumfries (two), Annan, Langholm and Hawick. It was also stated that passengers from Dumfries would be transported (likely by sea) to Workington free of charge.

This relation between emigration from the counties in the south of Scotland especially Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, S. W. Roxburgh and shipping interests in the county of Cumberland, continued over the next decade and is particularly evident from an examination of the Courier's shipping columns in 1832. There were shipping advertisements for eleven ships sailing from Maryport (seven), Whitehaven (one), Dumfries (one), Workington (one) and Annan (one). Seven of these vessels, (six from Maryport, one from Whitehaven), were chartered for goods and passengers by a Captain Hayton of Maryport, who was assisted by a number of agents in the southern counties of Scotland and in Cumberland. Captain Hayton operated in

conjunction with at least seventeen different agents whose job it was to encourage and provide information to potential emigrants. Five of these agents were located in Scotland (Dumfries, Annan, Moffat, Langholm and Hawick) and the remainder in the county of Cumberland. The main agent in Scotland appears to have been Robert Neilson of Niths Place, Dumfries, who was referred to as "Agent for South of Scotland". Hayton and his agents also acted on behalf of the Canada Company, providing information about the prices of the Company's lands and its activities in Upper Canada. For example, the advertisement of March 6, 1832, stated that persons who purchased 100 acres of the Company's lands would receive free passage from Quebec or Montreal to York. It is also interesting to note the occupations given for a number of these agents - timber merchant, shipbroker, stationer, currier, saddler, minister, innkeeper and ironmonger. From this it can be assumed that, for the majority of these agents, the encouragement and organization of emigration was not a full time business, but rather a part time affair, whenever the opportunity arose, for which they would likely receive a small commission.²⁴

There were four ships advertised in the Courier by other than Hayton and his agents. The Maria, which was to sail from Maryport on April 10th for Quebec, listed two agents in Dumfries and families who booked passage on this ship were to be taken free of expense from Dumfries and Annan to Maryport. The Neried was to sail from Dumfries (Glencaple Quay) on April 4th, for Quebec, and was to call at Garliestown, Wigtownshire, for passengers. This vessel had agents who could be applied

to in Dumfries and Wigtown. The brig Phillis was to sail from Workington on June 15th for Quebec with passengers and arrangements could be made with agents in Workington and Dumfries. Finally, the Hercules^{which} was to sail from Anna^y Dumfriesshire on June 20th for Quebec with passengers and agents, could be applied to at Alston Moor, Carlisle, Whitehaven and Annan.²⁵

Over the next two decades, however, this feature of emigration from small ports in the Dumfries and Cumberland area was generally to disappear and the shipping columns in the Courier for 1842 and 1852 show that the concentration in emigrant shipping had now shifted to Liverpool and Glasgow. Liverpool was the main focus, largely as the result of frequent steam packets from the Solway Firth and regular emigrant ships to all of the colonies from Liverpool. The cheapest rates of steam passage from Dumfries to Liverpool dropped from 15s in 1822, to 8s in 1842, to about 5s in 1852, and various of the passenger brokers had agents in Dumfries.²⁶

In May and June, 1852, newspaper references occur to emigrants leaving Annan for Liverpool on their way both to North America and Australia. These emigrants from the 'vales' of Esk, Teviot and Yarrow (counties of Dumfries, Roxburgh and Selkirk) and their occupations were said to be shepherds, farm servants, tradesmen and mechanics.²⁷ In 1852, along with numerous advertisements for ships from Liverpool (particularly to Australia and the "gold fields"), were notices of two separate series of ships from Glasgow to the St. Lawrence (T.C. Orr and James and Alexander Allan), as well as a ship²⁸ from Port Carlisle to Quebec and one from Ardrossan to Quebec and Montreal.

2) Ardrossan, Irvine, Troon and Ayr.

These ports have several features in common with each other. They all carried on a timber trade with the British North American colonies, particularly with New Brunswick.²⁹ They all are located on the Firth of Clyde and their hinterland was dominated by the much larger ports of Greenock and Glasgow. Also in the period before 1849 each of them embarked very few (if any) emigrants for Quebec, yet between 1849 and 1854 they sent a much larger number than previously.

The Ayr Advertiser for 1826 carried four advertisements of shipping sailing with passengers and freight to the St. Lawrence, two from Irvine, one from Ayr and one from Greenock. Of the three ships from Irvine and Ayr, two could be considered as packet ships while the third was more concerned with the timber trade.³⁰ By 1832, the shipping columns in the Ayr Advertiser showed the growing domination of the Clyde in the passenger trade with the St. Lawrence (6 from Greenock, 1 from Irvine), although three ships from these small coast ports did advertise for passengers for Chaleur Bay, New Brunswick. After 1855, the passenger traffic with the St. Lawrence from this area was either from Glasgow or Liverpool, with the various large shipping concerns having agents in Ayr.³¹

The period between 1849 and 1854 is interesting for this area because of the large increase in embarkations to the St. Lawrence at this time, for example Irvine (1851 - 611 people; 1854 - 302 people) Troon (1851 - 48 ships, 615 people), Ardrossan (1849 - 1 ship, 449 people; 1852 - 2 ships, 102 people). Although it is difficult to account for all these emigrants or for every ship, the greater

part consisted of Highlanders, both landlord assisted and otherwise, who were emigrating following the period of the potato famine. This increase in the demand for shipping to carry emigrants meant that some vessels from these coastal ports that were normally engaged in other trade,(likely the timber trade),could temporarily obtain an outward cargo of passengers. The ship Atlantic,which sailed in July 1849 from Ardrossan to Montreal, came to Ardrossan earlier in the year for repairs, after having carried Irish emigrants from Liverpool to New Orleans in January 1849. At Ardrossan,it embarked 449 Highlanders (209 from Uist assisted by Lachlan Chisholm for Col. Gordon of Cluny and the remainder from Mull and Knapdale in Argyllshire).³² The emigrants from Troon in 1851 to the St. Lawrence,consisted largely of people from Lewis whose emigration was assisted by Sir James Matheson.³³ However as the factors creating this situation were only temporary, after 1854 these ports did not play any further role in emigration from Scotland to North America.

C). The Western Highlands and Islands

As mentioned earlier in this chapter under the drawing area of the Clyde, in the period before 1815 the ports of embarkation were very decentralized particularly in the Northwest Highlands and Islands. Robert Brown,in his book of 1806,provided considerable detail about the numbers, origin and destination of emigrants from this area in the years 1801 - 03. Approximately 5400 people left in 25 ships during these years from twelve different locations. The largest number,(six ships, 1300 people),left from Fort William,which was at this time the port of embarkation for most of central and western Inverness-shire. Other places of embarkation in these three years included Isle Martin,

Knoydart, Bracadale, Moidart, Lewis, Moray Firth, Greenock, Uist and Barra. The destination of these ships was by no means as varied with Pictou, Nova Scotia receiving 18 of the 25, Cape Breton (1) and North Carolina (1). Five ships sailed for Canada carrying about 25 percent of the total emigrants in these years, but the main focus of this period for emigrants from the west Highlands was decidedly Nova Scotia.³⁴

It is very difficult to obtain accurate and reliable information as to the number and destination of emigrants from the northwest Highlands in the period before 1831. No efforts were made by the government agent at Quebec to record the origin of the ships arriving there and although the government customs agents in the north of Scotland often noted the numbers of emigrants and their destinations it is difficult to know how complete their records are in this regard. The very large and often isolated coast line made their job very difficult.³⁵

Table 9.5

CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS OF EMIGRATIONS BEFORE 1829

<u>Tobermory</u>	<u>Stornaway</u>
1816 - 144 Pictou	1811 - 76 Pictou
1817 - 176 Quebec and Picton	115 Hudson's Bay
1819 - 442 Pictou	1816 - 271 Quebec
143 Quebec	148 Pictou
1820 - 141 Quebec	
1827 - 200 Canada	<u>Fort William</u>
193 New Brunswick	1807 - 36 Pictou
388 Cape Breton	1817 - 136 Pictou
24 Nova Scotia	108 Quebec and Montreal
	26 Halifax and Quebec
	1818 - 108 Quebec

Table 9.5 presents information about the number of emigrants from this area in the period before 1829, obtained from an examination of customs

records.³⁶ The fact that a certain number of emigrants were listed under a particular port does not necessarily mean that they came to that port to embark. Prior to 1823, the embarkation could have taken place at any point within the customs area of the port, but the ship would then proceed to the port to be cleared by customs. For example, the customs jurisdiction of the port of Stornaway extended over the entire Long Island. This table shows two points which should be noted, first, the sporadic nature of the emigrations from this area, and second, the growing importance of Quebec as the port of destination for Highland emigrants, although the Maritime colonies held the lead until the late 1830's. Although the customs records for these west Highland ports show their involvement with the timber trade both to British North America and to Scandinavia, because of the absence of information it is difficult to make any definite connection between the timber trade and emigration. This connection has been observed, however, in the case of Alexander MacIver who dealt both in timber and in emigrants. His activities will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

In the thirteen years 1831 to 1843, only about 2500 emigrants left directly from ports in the western Highlands and Islands for the St. Lawrence and more than half of these were from the island of Islay. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, the direct trade with the St. Lawrence from the west of Scotland had by this period become centred on the Clyde and it was to the Clyde that intending emigrants to the St. Lawrence proceeded. Emigrants did however proceed directly to the Maritime colonies from the west Highlands, for example, in 1841 and 1842,

1300 and 1000 persons, respectively left Stornoway for this destination. In the period between 1844 and 1855, the Canadas, as opposed to the Maritime colonies, received the majority of emigrants from the Highlands and the number of emigrants leaving directly from the area, particularly from Lewis, South Uist and Barra, increased considerably as the result of landlord assisted emigration directly to the St. Lawrence.

D) Leith and the southeast coast of Scotland

This section will examine the emigrant trade between the ports of the southeast coast of Scotland, particularly Leith, Dundee and Montrose with the St. Lawrence although several of the smaller ports will be mentioned as well.

1) Leith

After examining table 9.3, figures 9.1 and 9.2 and A.C. Buchanan's reports, it can be seen that the port of Leith until about 1835, was by far the most important embarkation port in this area for emigrants to the St. Lawrence. D. S. Macmillan, in his book on the connections between Scotland and Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century, provides considerable detail about the growth and importance of Leith in this early period. He also comments upon the growth of the Australian trade with Leith, although the overall trade of Leith declined in relation to the Clyde.³⁷

The shipping columns of the Edinburgh Evening Courant were examined for 1815 and 1822 and in each of these years three ships were advertised as sailing with freight and passengers to the St. Lawrence.³⁸ There were five different agents involved with these six ships. After examining the customs records of the port of Leith, at least four of

these ships can be classified as packet ships carrying a miscellaneous cargo of light goods (for example, bottles, candles, paints, wine, cotton cloth, hats).³⁹ The Courant in 1822 also carried advertisements for two ships sailing from the Firth of Forth (Dysart and Alloa) to the United States (Philadelphia and New York). At the end of June, 1817, William Allen, an energetic and prominent Leith shipowner, intended on sending a ship to Tobermory (Mull) on the west coast to carry 300 emigrants to America.⁴⁰

The largest number of emigrants in any year from Leith to British North America left in 1832, with nearly all of them sailing for the St. Lawrence (1145 persons). The Scotsman for 1832 carried shipping advertisements for twelve ships sailing from Leith to the St. Lawrence; one ship from Alloa to Quebec and one ship from Aberdeen to the Maritime colonies. The average size of the ships from Leith was about 280 registered tons, being the same as those sailing to the St. Lawrence from the Clyde in 1832. Seven of the fourteen ships were advertised by William Allan and Son, brokers of Leith, while John Broadfoot of Leith advertised six ships and James Duncan and Co., Leith ^{one} ship. Thus both Allan and Broadfoot promised a series of vessels throughout the season to the St. Lawrence. Broadfoot and Duncan were also active in the shipping trade between Leith and Australia.⁴¹

As a result of a gap in the available customs information, it is impossible to definitely divide the ships from Leith into various types, although several were likely packet ships it would appear that the majority of these emigrants were carried by regular or modified timber ships.⁴² It has been possible to determine the ports of ownership (registration) of seven of these ships and they were - Leith (2),

Alloa, Limekilns (Firth on the Forth), Liverpool, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Several other interesting points were found in these shipping advertisements in the Scotsman in 1832 which are worth noting here. Several pieces of information for potential emigrants include notices for the Janes on March 24 that "No Gunpowder will be taken by this Vessel on freight" and for the Oxford on May 10 that "Passengers are invited to inspect the ship". Reinforcing a reference made earlier in this chapter to the somewhat speculative nature of the emigrant and shipping trade at this period, the Scotsman carried an advertisement on June 13, 1832 by William Allan and Son that they "will lay on another Vessel for New York if encouragement is given; and Passengers intending for that Port will please apply without delay".

In the year 1842, only 150 emigrants arrived at Quebec from the port of Leith and in the same year the Scotsman only carried four advertisements for ships sailing from Leith to the St. Lawrence and one from Glasgow. John Broadfoot and Son, agents, and William Allan and Co., brokers each handled two of the ships which embarked in April (2), May (1) and June (1). Although no details were found as to the cargoes of these four ships, the port records do show a considerable involvement by William Allan and Co. (six ships between October 1841 to January 1842) and James Duncan and Co. (four ships November 1841 to October 1842) in the timber trade with British North America.⁴³

Although a few people emigrated from Leith to the St. Lawrence in all but one year in the period 1838 to 1855, figure 9.2 shows that, for this eighteen year period, an average of approximately fifty persons emigrated each year. In the year 1852 five ships carried

43 persons to the St. Lawrence from Leith and the Scotsman contained four advertisements for ships from Leith to the St. Lawrence and two ships from Glasgow to Quebec and Montreal. Two agents handled the four ships from Leith, John Broadfoot and Son (3) and James Duncan and Co. (1). As mentioned previously perhaps the main reason for the decline of emigration from Leith to the Canadas was the growth and extension of the drawing area of the Clyde ports throughout the central lowlands of Scotland, particularly in the period after 1840. The reason was certainly not that Leith had an insufficient shipping trade with the Canadas, as the port records of Leith show a large timber trade from Quebec. James Duncan (at least five ships in the period July 1851 - August 1852) and William Thomson and Co. (at least six ships in the period July 1851 - August 1852) were involved to a considerable extent in this trade.⁴⁴

The emigration drawing area of the port of Leith in the period up to about 1835 extended along the eastern coastal areas of Scotland from the English border to the Firth of Tay. There were also instances of ships leaving Leith and calling for passengers as far north along the east coast as Thurso.⁴⁵ An examination of the Kelso Mail, which served the south eastern counties of Scotland, shows a focus in this early period on the port of Leith. In 1821, the Kelso Mail contained advertisements for three ships, one from Leith to Quebec and two to Australia (one from each of Leith and Greenock). In 1822, this paper carried shipping notices for three ships to the United States, (two from Leith, one from Greenock). In 1831, the Kelso Mail contained details of the sailings of eight ships to the St. Lawrence, (six from Leith and two from Greenock). The three main shipping brokers involved

with these ships operated in conjunction with agents in the southeast - John Broadfoot of Leith (Kelso and Galashiels), William Allan and Son of Leith (Kelso) and Gilkison and Brown of Glasgow (Kelso).⁴⁶

After this period, it would appear that emigration from this area to the Canadas fell off considerably - for example, the Kelso Mail contained no advertisements in 1840 or 1841 for ships sailing to the St. Lawrence. The paper for 1841 did, however, contain notices for nine ships sailing for Australia from Greenock (five), Leith (three) and London (one).

2) Other Ports on south east coast

The other ports in this area which were involved in emigration from Scotland to the St. Lawrence in the period 1815 to 1855 are Dundee, Montrose, Alloa, Grangemouth, Leven, and Arbroath. The emigration activities from these ports and this area can be looked at in two ways - first, by examining the shipping columns of several local newspapers in the area, and second, by noting the actual numbers of emigrants arriving at the St. Lawrence from these ports.

The shipping columns of the Stirling Journal and General Advertiser for the Counties of Stirling, Clackmannan, Kinross and West of Perthshire were examined for several years. In 1822, there was an advertisement for only one ship to North America, from Alloa to New York. In 1832, the number of ships advertised had increased considerably to five from Greenock to the St. Lawrence, four from Greenock to New York and one from Leith to Quebec. In 1842, the Stirling Journal contained no notices for ships sailing from Scotland to the St. Lawrence but several from Glasgow to New York and one from Greenock to New Zealand. By 1852, the number of ships being advertised had increased again, particularly as a result of the growing interest in Australia. Ships sailing to

Australia were advertised from Glasgow (three), Leith (two) and Liverpool (nearly ten). Three ships sailing from Glasgow to New York also appeared in these shipping notices. The main points to be noted from the above information are the orientation of this area toward shipping from the Clyde and the relative unimportance of the St. Lawrence as a destination, particularly after the mid-1830's. The Stirling Observer tended to present a similar picture.⁴⁷

The Perthshire Courier, and General Advertiser for the Central Counties of Scotland, published in Perth during this period, contains notices for ships sailing from both coasts of Scotland. Notices appeared in 1821 for two ships from Leith to Quebec and in 1822 for three ships from Dundee to the United States (two) and Jamaica (one). By the early 1830's, the majority of ship advertisements were for departures from the Clyde as opposed to east coast ports. Notices appeared in 1831 for three ships to the St. Lawrence from Greenock (two) and Leith (one), and in 1832 for six ships to the St. Lawrence from Greenock (five) and Dundee (one). Finally, by the first half of the 1850's, the main orientation had shifted to Liverpool and to Australia.⁴⁸

The Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser published in Dundee during this period also contains notices for ships sailing from both coasts of Scotland, although the majority were from the east coast. In 1832 it contained advertisements for twelve ships sailing to the St. Lawrence from Dundee (nine), Greenock (two) and Leith (one). The ships from Dundee carried about 400 passengers to the St. Lawrence in 1832 and at least three of these ships were involved in the timber trade as well as in carrying emigrants. However the shipping columns of the

Quebec Mercury for 1832 list only six ships with passengers as arriving from Dundee, five of which carried general cargoes as well.⁴⁹ In 1842 164 emigrants arrived at the St. Lawrence from Dundee and the Advertiser contained notices of six ships for this destination from Dundee (four), Leith (one), and Glasgow (one). In 1852 only two ships arrived at the St. Lawrence, carrying 55 emigrants from Dundee and the Advertiser contained notices of at least three ships for this destination from Montrose (two) and Dundee (one). The two ships from Montrose were chartered by Robert Millar and Sons of Montrose, to whom application for passage (cabin, intermediate, steerage) and freight could be made either personally or by letter. Their notices contained the statement that "Parties from the Country will be conveyed free from any Station on the Scottish Midland and Aberdeen Railways."⁵⁰

The shipping advertisements in these various newspapers tend to reflect reasonably well the changes in the number of emigrants leaving from the ports on the southeast coast of Scotland, as shown in figures 9.1 and 9.2. The ports of Leith and Dundee were relatively important in this emigrant trade until the early 1840's, after which time the focus shifted to the Clyde and to Liverpool. The port of Montrose became active between 1852 and 1857 possibly as the result of local organization and initiative, as mentioned above. Although small numbers of emigrants did sporadically embark at four other ports, they did not constitute a significant aspect of the emigration from this area. Over the period 1831 to 1855 (25 years), the number of years when emigrants departed for the St. Lawrence and the volume of emigrants from these ports is as follows - Alloa (thirteen years, 403 people); Grangemouth (five years, 213 people); Leven (two years, 151 people) and Arbroath

(four years, 67 people). As the emigration from these ports was often sporadic and of usually small volume in any particular year, and in view of the fact that no regular traders operated between these ports and the St. Lawrence but that timber ships did arrive at these ports, it might be assumed that the majority of these emigrants travelled on ships involved in the timber trade from the St. Lawrence to this area.⁵¹

E) Aberdeen and the northeast coast

This section will examine the structure and organization of the emigrant trade between Aberdeen and the other northeastern ports of Scotland (for example, Inverness, Cromarty, Wick and Thurso) and the St. Lawrence. Figures 9.1 and 9.2 show the general importance in this respect of ports in this area between 1831 and 1855, with Aberdeen being the most important port over the entire period and with the volume of emigration from the other ports fluctuating during different years.

1) Aberdeen

In 1815 at the end of the Napoleonic Wars the shipping columns of the Aberdeen Journal and General Advertiser for the North of Scotland contained advertisements for four ships sailing with passengers and freight from Aberdeen to the St. Lawrence, one of which was via Halifax, Nova Scotia, with each of these ships being arranged by a different agent. The main orientation at this period for ships from Aberdeen was not, however, to the Canadas but rather to the Maritime colonies in British North America to which at least twelve different ships were advertised.⁵² The shipping columns of the Journal for 1822 show much the same pattern, with only two ships being advertised as sailing from Aberdeen to the St. Lawrence, but at least eight ships from Aberdeen to the Maritimes (mainly New Brunswick). The largest return cargo of these ships was most likely timber products.

Unfortunately no customs or emigration records are available for this period for Aberdeen. The newspaper also contained advertisements for ships sailing from Aberdeen to the United States (two), from Newcastle via Aberdeen to the United States (two) and sailing to Jamaica from the Moray Firth (two) and Leith (one).

For 1832 more information is available regarding shipping and emigration from Aberdeen and in that year 478 persons arrived at the St. Lawrence from this port. By 1832 the main destination for ships was the St. Lawrence, (largely Quebec) and the Aberdeen Journal contained advertisements for eleven ships sailing there with passengers and freight. The average size of these ships was about 300 tons(registered)and three of these ships made two outward voyages. There were five agents involved with these eleven ships with Robert Cato of Marischal Street, Aberdeen, advertising three of them. The majority of these ships returned with cargoes of timber products and the same agents who advertised for freight and passengers also advertised timber for sale when the vessel returned to Aberdeen.⁵³

As well as advertisements for ships sailing from Aberdeen to the St. Lawrence, the Journal contained an almost equal number of advertisements for ships sailing to Quebec from other ports, including Cromarty (four via Pictou, N.S.), Greenock (three), Peterhead (one), and Leith (one). One of the ships from Aberdeen the Alert, was to call at both Peterhead and Banff on the voyage to Quebec, and applications for passage could be made at any of the three ports. The four ships sailing from Cromarty to Pictou and Quebec were chartered by William Allan and Son of Leith and application for passage

could be made through agents at Ordens near Banff, Aberdeen and Cromarty.⁵⁴

This considerable shipping trade between Aberdeen and the St. Lawrence (nearly all to Quebec) continued in 1842 with fourteen ships being advertised in the Journal transporting 495 emigrants. In 1842 there was little trade between Aberdeen and other ports of British North America. The average size of these ships had increased to about 350 tons registered and four of these ships made two outward voyages. There were eight agents involved with these fourteen ships and two agents (Donaldson Rose and Co., and William Duthie, both of Aberdeen) accounted for half of these ships. Both D. Rose and Duthie dealt in timber products in Aberdeen, and, as in 1832, the majority of these ships returned from the St. Lawrence with cargoes of wood products.⁵⁵ From the port records at Aberdeen it can be noted that at least eight other ships left the port in ballast for Quebec and likely returned to Scotland with timber products.

The Aberdeen Journal for 1842 also contained advertisements for ships sailing from Glasgow to the United States and for two ships sailing from Peterhead to Quebec (one via Pictou, Nova Scotia). The ships sailing from Glasgow were advertised by Mr. E. Walkinshaw of Glasgow, whose agent in Aberdeen was James Gordon, junior. Gordon also acted as the Aberdeen agent for Sheppard and Co. of Glasgow which ran emigrant ships to parts of British North America and New Zealand from the Clyde.⁵⁶

The two ships sailing from Peterhead are worth mentioning in more detail here and they will also be referred to again later in this section. The Aberdeen Journal of February 16, 1842, carried a shipping advertisement for the sailing of the Superior of Peterhead which was to sail from there on April 1st for Pictou and Quebec carrying passengers and goods. It was to arrive at Cromarty on April 10th and remain there until the 18th after which it was to proceed to Scrabster Roads where it would lie for two days embarking passengers before leaving for British North America. In Buchanan's Report for 1842, the Superior is listed as having departed from Thurso and arriving at Quebec with 139 passengers and therefore has been included in figure 9.2 under the totals for the port of Thurso. The Aberdeen Journal of April 6, 1842, carried a shipping advertisement for the sailing of the Joseph Green from Peterhead on May 10th for Quebec. It was to be at Cromarty from the 18th to the 28th of May, proceeding then to Scrabster Roads and Lochinver, (two days at each) before leaving for Quebec. Buchanan's Report also lists this ship as sailing from Thurso and arriving at Quebec on July 17th with 289 passengers. Both of these ships were chartered for emigrants by Duncan M'Lennan of Inverness and John Sutherland of Wick, who were in charge of an extensive emigration network in the northeast of Scotland about which more will be said later.⁵⁷

Two of the fourteen ships sailing from Aberdeen to the St. Lawrence in 1842 also made similar stops on the northeast coast. The Pacific, which was owned by Alexander Cooper of Aberdeen, was to leave Aberdeen on March 30th, calling at Cromarty, Longhope and Scrabster to

embark passengers. Cooper arranged for agents at Cromarty, Wick, Reay and Longhope to give information and enrol the names of intending emigrants. Buchanan recorded it as arriving at Quebec on June 3rd from Aberdeen with 89 passengers.⁵⁸ On May 25th, the Aberdeen Journal contained a shipping advertisement placed by James Gordon, Jun., Insurance broker of Aberdeen, stating that "should a sufficient number of passengers apply" the Sir William Wallace would leave for Quebec on June 20th. The Inverness Journal of June 3, 1842 carried a similar notice by Gordon stating that if enough people applied, this vessel would also call at Cromarty and that application could be made to Gordon in Aberdeen or to Urquhart and Macqueen, Boot and Shoe Shop, Inverness. Buchanan reported that it arrived at Quebec on August 18th with 78 passengers from Aberdeen.

The activities of these four ships emphasise three main points which should be noted here. First, the larger shipping and/or emigrant agents had arrangements made with various local people to whom application for passage could be made. Second, a number of ships made frequent stops at harbours along the northeast coast wherever a sufficient number of emigrants could be assured. Third, the emigrant figures reported by Buchanan for each of these ships are credited to only one port, while in actual fact the emigrants embarked at several points along the northeast coast. Thus figure 9.2 slightly overemphasizes the importance of Aberdeen and more particularly Thurso at this period.

In the year 1852, five ships, carrying 515 emigrants arrived at the St. Lawrence from Aberdeen. The Aberdeen Journal for this year

contained advertisements for five ships from Aberdeen to Quebec which were arranged by the three agents. The average size of these ships had increased to about 430 tons registered, and two of them made two trips from Aberdeen to Quebec during the season. Again it would appear that timber was the main return cargo.⁵⁹ The Aberdeen Journal also contained notices of one ship from Aberdeen to the Maritimes and a series of ships from Glasgow to the St. Lawrence. The ship St. Lawrence, which sailed twice from Aberdeen to Quebec on behalf of Donaldson, Rose and Co., was advertised in the John O'Groats Journal on both occasions and application could be made to agents at Thurso, Kirkwall (Orkney), Lerwick (Shetland), and Aberdeen. The Sarah, which was to follow the same route and was organized by the same people, was advertised in the John O'Groats Journal but not in the Aberdeen Journal. There was no indication, however, that these ships were to embark passengers anywhere else on the northeast coast but Aberdeen. As it would appear that the prospective emigrants on these ships were expected to travel to Aberdeen, it is worth noting the costs of travelling by sea from Wick to Aberdeen (first cabin 12s, second 6s) and from the Moray Firth to Aberdeen, (cabin 10s, steerage 5s).⁶⁰

The years 1854 and 1855 saw a considerable increase in emigration from Aberdeen to the St. Lawrence with twelve ships carrying passengers embarking in each of these years, carrying 1606 and 1422 persons respectively. In both these years the same five ships made two voyages outward from Aberdeen to Quebec and they all returned with cargoes of timber and timber products. The port of Quebec at this period was the largest single timber exporting port in British North America. These ships left Aberdeen in two distinct periods, - in the

months of April and August. These ships were advertised by the following agents, none of whom held a dominant position in this trade - Donaldson, Rose and Co.; Alexander Cooper; Richard Cannon and Co. in conjunction with William Duthie; and George Thompson June. and Co., all of Aberdeen.⁶¹ The Aberdeen Journal also contained advertisements for ships sailing from Dundee and Aberdeen to Australia; from Liverpool to Australia and North America; and from the Clyde to New York and the St. Lawrence.⁶²

The considerable increase in emigration from Aberdeen to the St. Lawrence in 1854 and 1855 is somewhat difficult to explain, when the average number for the previous five years had been about 450 persons. Although the free soup kitchen in Aberdeen was very active during the winter of 1853-54, the newspaper reports of the emigrations in 1854 and 1855 make no reference to the emigrants being in distressed circumstances. Most of these emigrants appear to have been engaged in agricultural activities in Aberdeenshire and were referred to in 1854 as being "generally respectable and energetic individuals of some little capital."⁶³ One reason for the large numbers in these two years might have been an increase in favourable communications from the Canadas as "a considerable number (emigrants in 1855) were the relations and friends of persons who had previously emigrated."⁶⁴

In April and May, 1854, the Aberdeen Journal carried a series of advertisements for the brig Wallace of 200 tons registered which was being completed at Fraserburgh and would be ready to sail in June,

"should a sufficient number of parties come forward prior to 1st May and signify to the Undersigned their desire to proceed to America by said Vessel, the necessary arrangements will be made for prosecuting the voyage."⁶⁵

The 'undersigned' was Mr. George Wallace, of the Union Bank of Scotland at Fraserburgh. By April 12th it had been decided to send the ship to Quebec. Each intending emigrant was to pay a deposit of £1 and it was stated that the steerage fares would not exceed £5, with the final fare depending on the number of passengers carried. The Wallace was to sail from Fraserburgh about June 21st, and, by May 20th, all of the steerage berths had been arranged for and only a few cabin spaces were still available.⁶⁶ Buchanan's Report for 1854 records the arrival of 113 people on this ship from Fraserburgh.

The Aberdeen Journal and the John O'Groat Journal in 1855 each contained advertisements for three of the same ships sailing from Aberdeen to Quebec, all of which were chartered by Donaldson, Rose and Co. Steamships fares for regular sailings from Wick to Aberdeen in 1855 were given as fourteen shillings cabin and six shillings steerage.⁶⁷

In concluding this section, four main points can be made regarding the organization of emigration from the port of Aberdeen during the period 1815-1855. First, Aberdeen ranked among the first three Scottish ports on the basis of the number of people embarked for the St. Lawrence during this period. Second, there was a strong connection between Aberdeen and ports further north on the east coast, both as regards ships leaving Aberdeen embarking emigrants from these northern ports and some people travelling to Aberdeen to board ships. Third,

the major role of timber as a return cargo to Aberdeen from the St. Lawrence has been emphasized in this section. There appears to have been few packet ships, carrying out a miscellaneous cargo of light goods and returning with flour or ashes. However, as a number of these ships carrying passengers and timber can be regarded as regular traders in both these cargoes and were organized by established firms, it can be assumed that the vessels were modified to provide reasonable passenger accommodation. Fourth, the emigration trade from Aberdeen did not become centred on one or two firms as was the case elsewhere, particularly from the Clyde, but was divided more or less equally among four or five agents.

2) North of Aberdeen

In discussing the organization and volume of emigration trade between the ports north of Aberdeen on the east coast of Scotland and the St. Lawrence, two approaches will be used. First, some comment on the emigration statistics for this area and second, an examination of available newspapers of the period, in particular the Inverness Journal and Northern Advertiser and the John O'Groats Journal and Weekly Advertiser for Caithness, Sutherland, Orkney and Shetland (published in Caithness).

Figures 9.1 and 9.2 show the relative importance of ports in this area over the period 1831 to 1855, the chief being Cromarty, Wick, Thurso and Inverness. Table 9.3 indicates the large number of people leaving for British North America from Inverness, but, generally speaking, only a small number of these were sailing to the St. Lawrence. In 1831 only about a quarter (of 1225) and in 1832 none of the 1322 emigrants were destined for the Canadas but rather to the Maritime colonies,

especially Nova Scotia. According to government figures, of the 1374 emigrants who embarked at Inverness for British North America in 1841, none of them arrived at the St. Lawrence. Inverness was not the only port with this orientation. In 1840 and 1841, of the more than 1700 emigrants to British North America from Cromarty, Thurso and Loch Laxford, only about one half were recorded by A. C. Buchanan at Quebec.⁶⁸ The strong shipping and emigration connection between this part of Scotland and the Maritime colonies is obvious from an early period, but the present study is concerned in detail with the growth of the shipping with the St. Lawrence.⁶⁹ Although the orientation of this area was very largely to the Maritime colonies as opposed to the Canadas, the percentage embarking for this latter destination did increase over the period under discussion.

The shipping trade with North America was very much restricted during the Napoleonic Wars and the Inverness Journal for 1814 contained advertisements for only two ships, both to the Maritime colonies, one from Cromarty and the other from Aberdeen. The same paper for 1816 had notices in its shipping columns for three vessels to North America, two from Aberdeen to Nova Scotia(one)and New York(one),and one from Leith to New York, all of which would stop at Cromarty.⁷⁰ By 1822, the number of ships to North America advertised in the Journal had decreased with only one ship appearing which was to sail from Greenock to Quebec. There were several other indications of the influence of the Clyde in the north and east Highlands. During the winter of 1821-22 Robert Hunter of Greenock inserted a series of notices in the Inverness Journal, for the attention of intending emigrants. He planned on chartering a ship for Quebec or Nova Scotia which would proceed in early June 1822 to any port where it

was most convenient for passengers to embark. Details of fares and arrangements could be obtained from two agents at Fort William and one at Inverness.⁷¹ The Journal of May 24th, 1822 also contained details of regular steam communication between Glasgow and Fort William.

By the early 1830's the number of ships and emigrants leaving from Cromarty to British North America had increased considerably. The main agency behind the organization of this emigration was William Allan and Son of Leith. In the Inverness Journal and the Aberdeen Journal for 1832 seven ships were advertised by this firm as sailing from Cromarty to British North America. One of these sailed from Leith and called at Cromarty while the other six sailed directly from Cromarty. Allan operated in conjunction with various agents in the Moray Firth area with whom applications for berths could be made. These agents were situated at Inverness, Forres, Cromarty, Invergordon, Tain, Dornoch, Rogart and Banff. Of these seven ships, five sailed directly to Quebec while two called at Pictou, Nova Scotia and then to Quebec. William Allan and Son also advertised in the Inverness Journal ships sailing from Leith to Halifax and New York.⁷² The Inverness Journal of 1832 also contained shipping notices for ships sailing from the Clyde to New York (four) and Quebec (one).

By the 1830's, the number of ships advertised in this area from Leith and organized agents in Leith had decreased considerably. In examining the shipping columns of the Inverness Journal and John O'Groats Journal for 1842, there were notices for two ships from Aberdeen to Quebec stopping along the northeast coast; three ships

from Cromarty to the Maritimes and the St. Lawrence stopping along the north coast as well as several from Leith and the Clyde to Australia and New Zealand and one from Glasgow to New York. The two ships sailing from Aberdeen, the Pacific and the Sir William Wallace have been mentioned previously in discussing the importance of the port of Aberdeen.

A significant development during the 1840's in the area of the Moray Firth and further north, was the establishment of an emigration agency by Duncan M'Lennan of Inverness and John Sutherland of Nova Scotia and Wick. The three ships in 1842 that initially embarked passengers at Cromarty before proceeding north along the coast were chartered by this agency. M'Lennan had been involved in the emigrant trade from this area as early as 1832 and came together with Sutherland in the early 1840's.⁷³ By 1845, however, M'Lennan was no longer active. John Sutherland was born in Caithness but as a young boy emigrated to Nova Scotia with his family. He returned to the north of Scotland in the late 1830's with the object of encouraging and organizing emigration from this area to the British North American colonies. In the six years, 1840 to 1845, both on his own account and in conjunction with M'Lennan, Sutherland chartered nineteen ships carrying 2718 emigrants to Pictou and Quebec from the counties of Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness and Orkney.⁷⁴ On the basis of A. C. Buchanan's figures for arrivals at the St. Lawrence, it would appear that about one half of these emigrants emigrated to the Canadas rather than to the Maritime colonies. By 1842, Sutherland had appointed agents in British North America and intended to make arrangements

to purchase blocks of land in Canada and Nova Scotia which he would likely have resold to emigrants. Nothing further however has been uncovered by the present writer relating to Sutherland's activities in British North America.

As well as advertising extensively in the two local newspapers and by means of handbills concerning ship departures, Sutherland's name appeared in numerous newspaper articles during this period. The John O'Groats Journal contained the following: in February, 1842, an extract of a letter from an emigrant who had left in 1841 referring very favourably both to Upper Canada and John Sutherland; January - March, 1842, an exchange of letters to the editor between Sutherland and A. Farmer as to the advantages and disadvantages of emigration to British North America; in April and May, 1842, details of a disagreement between Sutherland and several emigrants concerning arrangements which these people had made with Sutherland; a two column article in June, 1842, entitled "A visit to an emigrant ship" in which the writer examined in some detail and commented favourably upon the ship Joseph Green chartered by Sutherland and M'Lennan; in May and June, 1848, favourable comments on the activities and ships chartered by John Sutherland.⁷⁵

In March, 1846, Sutherland sent a memorial to the government suggesting that a government emigration agent should be appointed for the northern counties of Scotland and that liberal encouragement should be provided to assist emigrants as,

"it would in a great means tend to relieve these counties of their superabundant population therein, and strengthen most materially our Canadian Colonies."⁷⁶

Sutherland also became interested in emigration to Australia and by 1848 was listed as an agent for Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.⁷⁷ In 1849, following the assisted emigrations of the Duke of Sutherland, John Sutherland carried on an extensive correspondence with Evander MacIver. Few people left in 1849 from the Sutherland estates mainly because of the liberal help provided earlier, but MacIver did tell John Sutherland to advertise in Assynt if he wished, but not to let anyone know that he had been in communication with the Duke.⁷⁸ In 1852 Sutherland advertised for a ship sailing from Scrabster Roads to Quebec, if a sufficient number of passengers would apply by May 25th, and as late as 1855 his name appeared in the John O'Groats Journal as the agent in Wick for a line of packet ships operating between Liverpool and Australia.⁷⁹

In the spring of 1842, both the Inverness Journal and the John O'Groats Journal carried a series of half column advertisements in their shipping pages containing details of three ships being chartered by Sutherland and M'Lennan. As well as stating that emigration handbills would be distributed and that the agents had information available about the Canada Company and the British North American Land Company, these advertisements contained information about prices, wages and progress in British North America, extracts of settlers letters which were favourable to emigration, and the names of a large number of persons and locations (nearly thirty) where arrangements could be made for passage on Sutherland and M'Lennan's ships. Figure 9.5 shows the location of these sub-agents during the period c. 1842 to 1845 with their overall pattern showing a concentration in the Moray Firth area and in coastal settlements generally.

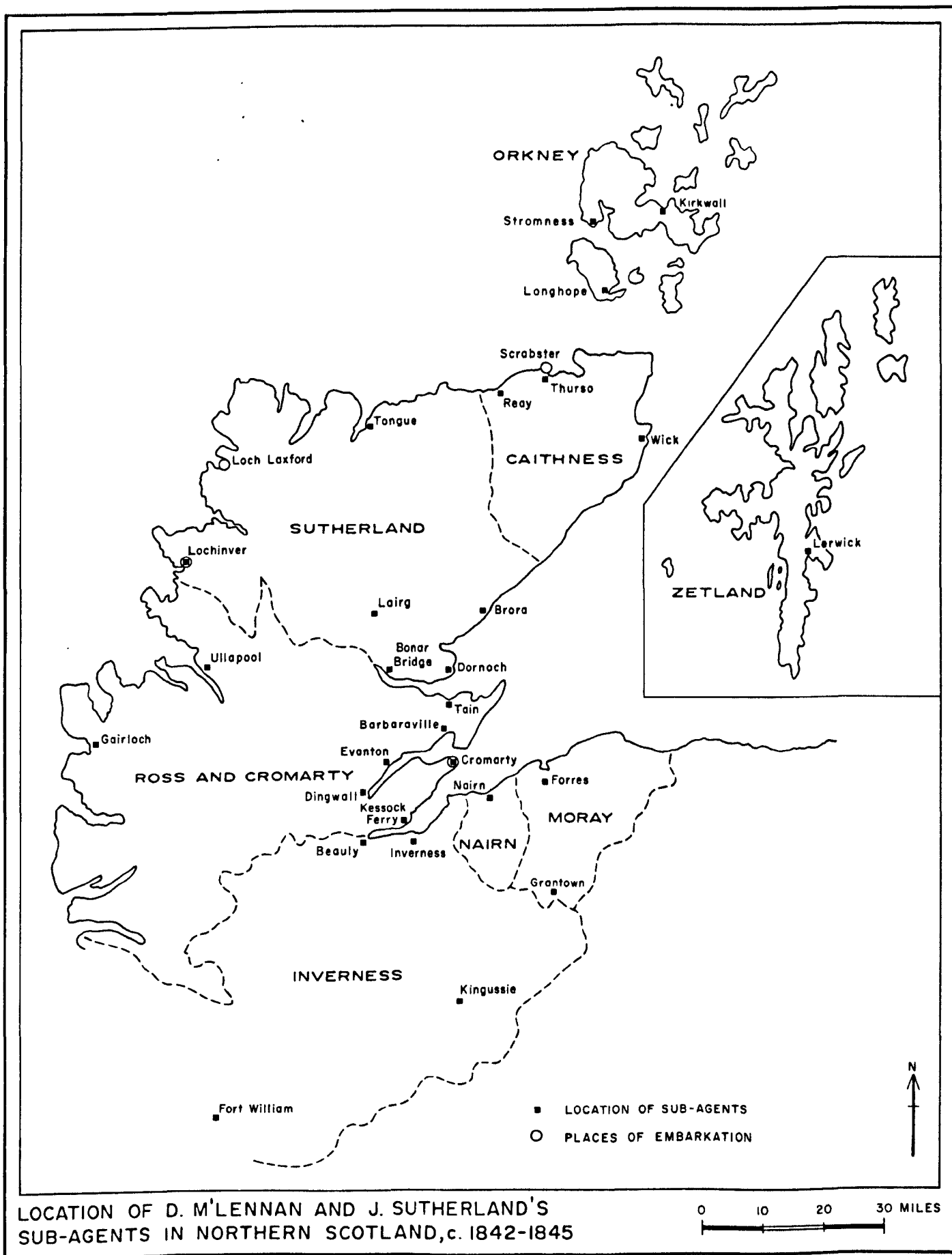


Figure 9.5

Of the twenty-two agents for whom an occupation was given in the advertisements, nine were merchants and five were innkeepers, with two each of postmaster and bookseller.⁸⁰

It is important to note the points of embarkation in Scotland before these ships proceeded to British North America. In 1842, the routes for the three ships were Cromarty-Scrabster Roads; Cromarty-Scrabster Roads-Lochinver; Cromarty-Scrabster Roads - Loch Laxford, while in 1845 both of the two ships sailed from Cromarty to Scrabster Roads.⁸¹ Because of the lack of available information, it is difficult to locate exactly the location of the original homes of the emigrants sent out by Sutherland and M'Lennan during this period, although the location of the four points of embarkation listed above does give some indication of the drawing area of these agents. There are, however, a number of references to the source areas of these emigrants, for example, in 1840 about 60% of them came from Caithness; in May and June, 1842, the ship Joseph Green sailed Cromarty-Scrabster-Lochinver-Quebec with 234 emigrants who came from the counties of Caithness (81), Sutherland (46), Inverness and Ross (86) and Aberdeen (21); in May, 1843, the Symmetry sailed Cromarty-Scrabster-Quebec with 131 emigrants of whom nearly 70% came from the county of Cromarty and the remainder from Caithness.⁸²

Sutherland and M'Lennan, in advertising their two ships in 1842 that called at Lochinver and Loch Laxford on the northwest coast of Sutherlandshire stated that, "intending emigrants from Lochbroom, Gairloch and Torridon (all of these are in Wester Ross) would do well to avail themselves of this conveyance."⁸³ In June, 1842, the Inverness Herald provided details of the emigration of ten to twelve families to Canada from Strath Bran

in Ross-shire. These emigrants walked from their homes to Dingwall, a distance of twenty to twenty-five miles, then by small boat to Cromarty where they embarked for the St. Lawrence.⁸⁴ Figure 9.5 shows that Sutherland and M'Lennan had a number of sub-agents operating in the Orkneys and Shetlands and although few ships left direct from these islands to the St. Lawrence, arrangements were made to transport emigrants to Thurso (Scrabster Roads) for embarkation to the Canadas.⁸⁵

Before concluding these comments on the emigration activities of Sutherland and M'Lennan in the north of Scotland, mention should be made of a two column article which appeared in the John O'Groats Journal on June 3, 1842, entitled "A visit to an emigrant ship". The ship was the Joseph Green, chartered by the above agents to sail Cromarty-Scrabster Roads-Lochinver-Quebec. The writer of the article visited this ship at Scrabster and describes in considerable detail the arrangements made by the agents and the conditions of the emigrants on board. The Joseph Green, (353 tons registered), had been built at Peterhead and was engaged in the whale fisheries in Davis Strait until chartered by Sutherland and M'Lennan. Improvements were then made in the ships so that emigrants could be carried in satisfactory conditions. The ship contained a total of 255 people including, steerage 179, second cabin 50, chief cabin 5, crew, captain and surgeon 19. The age structure of the 234 passengers, the majority of whom were natives of Caithness and Sutherland-shire, was adults 167, 7 to 14 years old twenty-eight, 1 to 7 years old twenty-six, under 1 year old, thirteen. The majority of the adults were young married couples (some of only a few weeks) who were healthy, well provided for and generally of a "superior class". Many of the men were busy reading emigration books and the general morale on the ship was high.

The overall impression produced by this article was indeed favourable both as regards the operation of the agents and the quality of the emigrants.

By 1852, an examination of the shipping columns in the John O'Groats Journal and the Inverness Advertiser shows the major shift away from ships embarking from this area towards embarkation from the Clyde and Liverpool, to both the St. Lawrence and Australia. John Sutherland offered one ship from Scrabster to Quebec and Donaldson Rose and Co. advertised three ships sailing from Aberdeen to the St. Lawrence, but the majority of ships sailing to the Canadas and advertised in these papers were leaving from the Clyde. Once again, it is impossible to be too definite about the exact number from this area leaving from ports elsewhere in Scotland and Aberdeen likely continued to embark emigrants from the north to the Canadas. In 1852, the cost, (excluding food), of sailing from Kirkwall to Leith was cabin 10s and steerage 6s.⁸⁶ This same pattern was evident in 1855 as well.⁸⁷

E) Liverpool

A few comments should be made here on the embarkation from the port of Liverpool of Scottish emigrants, both to the St. Lawrence and elsewhere. The preceding sections have shown that over the period 1815 to 1855 a concentration of emigrants departing from a few Scottish ports, particularly from the Clyde. With regard to ports throughout the whole British Isles, a similar concentration took place, focussing on Liverpool, so that, by 1853, nearly three quarters of all the emigrants from the British Isles to North America embarked from this port. The main difficulty in attempting to determine the number of Scottish emigrants leaving from

Liverpool is the lack of any reliable statistics until the 1850's. However a number of scattered references give some idea of this movement.

In October, 1832, the Glasgow Chronicle stated that in the past emigrant season to British North America, large numbers of people were "obliged either to stay at home, or go to Liverpool for want of vessels at Greenock."⁸⁸ The shipping columns of most Scottish newspapers carried a large number of advertisements for ships sailing from Liverpool to British North America particularly from the early 1840's onward. Liverpool also became an important port in the Australian trade and frequent references to ships sailing from Liverpool have been made in the previous sections of this chapter. A.C. Buchanan at Quebec noted, in June, 1850, the arrival of a few Scottish emigrants on two ships from Liverpool; the Dumfries Courier, in June, 1852, reported the sailing of 200 persons from Annan to Liverpool, the majority of them embarking for the United States and Canada; and the Inverness Courier of October 13, 1853, reported a wreck on the island of Barra of a ship from Liverpool to Quebec carrying 400 passengers of whom 360 were lost, including 100 house carpenters from Glasgow.⁸⁹ The number of Scottish emigrants from Liverpool to the St. Lawrence increased over the period and numbered about 750 in 1854, 512 in 1855 and 1195 in 1856. Thus by 1856, 30% of all the Scots arriving at the St. Lawrence embarked at Liverpool.⁹⁰

Not all of the Scots emigrating from Liverpool travelled to the St. Lawrence as the United States and Australia were also frequent destinations.⁹¹ However numbers of emigrants to the United States were travelling via the Republic as a route to the Canadas.⁹² The reason for the growing number

of Scots embarking for North America at Liverpool is understandable in that at Liverpool there was a greater choice of ships, with more frequent and regular sailings. In 1841, the Glasgow and Liverpool Steamships Co. ran twice weekly between the two ports with fares of saloon 22s and steerage 5s. By 1848, a steamer ran on this route at least four times each week. In 1842, Edward Walkinshaw, a passenger broker in Glasgow, advertised ships sailing from Liverpool to New York every three days and stated that "passengers (are) allowed a free passage from Glasgow to Liverpool."⁹³ Emigration agents in Liverpool were also well known for their large scale advertising and effective organization, particularly in dealing with potential emigrants from Ireland.⁹⁴

PART II THE EMIGRATION TRADE

The preceeding sections of this chapter have examined in some detail the emigration from the ports in Scotland with the focus being on the changes that occurred in various areas both separately and relative to each other. The following sections of this chapter will examine the organization of the emigrant trade dealing particularly with such aspects as : shipping agents, emigration agents, fares, type of ships, and frauds. Before beginning this discussion, reference should be made to the following points which are relative to a number of different terms which will be used.

SHIP OWNER(S) This is a relatively straightforward term in that the owner obtained his revenue from the ship either by operating it himself or by leasing it to a ship charterer. Frequently a particular ship would have several owners each of whom held a number of shares in the vessel.⁹⁵

CAPTAIN (Master)	The captain often acted as agent for the ship owner or charterer, and as well as being in command of the vessel he was involved in organizing and preparing for the voyage. In the period under discussion the captain was allowed considerable discretion regarding both freight and passengers. ⁹⁶
SHIP CHARTERERS	This term applies to persons who arranged to charter a particular vessel for a certain length of time. For example, the ship <u>Catherine</u> might be chartered by James Elliot for a period of 8 months. Elliot then would proceed to obtain an outward cargo (either freight or passengers) for the vessel for a voyage overseas where he would attempt to secure a return cargo.
SHIPPING AGENTS (Brokers)	These agents undertook to secure cargoes of either freight or passengers for vessels sailing to various parts of the world. Their income could come solely from a commission on the cargoes obtained or they might also be charterers and/or owners. ⁹⁷
PASSENGER BROKERS	These agents were generally involved solely in securing passengers for ships, which they may or may not have chartered themselves. In the years before 1842 the term passenger broker (or shipping agent dealing with passengers) is used in the present study to refer to those agents operating from business premises in the large ports of Scotland as opposed to emigrant agents (see below). From August 1842 (5 and 6 Vict. c107) no person, other than the owner or captain of the ship, was allowed to act as a passenger broker unless licensed by the magistrates at the petty or quarter sessions.
EMIGRANT AGENTS	This term is used here in reference to persons who were active in Scotland, particularly in the Northwest Highlands and Islands in the period mainly before the 1840's. These emigrant agents travelled from district to district and attempted to encourage and organize emigration. Details of the activities of some of these agents will be given later in this chapter.

The role played by shipping and emigrant agents in assisting and directing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada was a very significant one. They encouraged and organized the emigrants and advertised ships and a number of the writers of emigrant guides stressed the importance of dealing with reputable agents and selecting the best vessel possible.

"It will readily be allowed that it is of first importance to the voyager to be enabled to select a good sea-worthy vessel, well manned and equipped, and in the charge of a captain on whom reliance can be placed as an experienced seaman, sober in his habits, and of general good character and disposition."⁹⁸

Chapter 2 commented on the involvement of the British government in Scottish emigrations to Upper Canada, and in particular, the government's role in regulating the passenger traffic in order to improve the organization and conditions of the voyage. During most of the period under discussion it was the owner or master of the vessel who gave bond that the regulations were adhered to and it was not until 1842 that passenger brokers, (emigrant agents other than owners or masters of vessels), were required to be licensed. This Passenger Act, (5 and 6 Vict. c107), also stated that if the passage contract was not performed and unless the emigrant was maintained at the contractor's expense and provided with a passage to the same place within a reasonable time, the emigrant could by law recover the passage money which had been paid and receive a sum, not exceeding, £10 as compensation. A further Passenger Act in July, 1849, (12 and 13 Vict. C33), required these passenger brokers (agents) to give a bond to the Crown of £200 "for the due observance of such requirements of the Act as relate to their proceedings."⁹⁹ Details of these various acts, including regulations relating to passenger brokers were often given in emigrant guide books so that emigrants would not be taken advantage of.¹⁰⁰

Throughout the period 1815 to 1855, both passenger brokers and emigrant agents played an active and important role in writing and petitioning the British government on various aspects of the emigration trade. The chief aspects which they were interested in were the availability of free land for emigrants in the Canadas¹⁰¹; the regulations of the Passenger

Act;¹⁰² and the necessity for more government assistance and encouragement to the emigration from Scotland.¹⁰³ Although the majority of these brokers and agents confined their activities to procuring ships and organizing the emigrants, a number of them were involved in advertising particular areas of land in British North America.¹⁰⁴

It is worthwhile commenting here on several of the differences in the organization and the activities of passenger brokers as opposed to emigrant agents (see previous general definitions). The names and numbers of passenger brokers (shipping agents) who were based in the main Scottish ports and who were active during the period 1815-1855 have been given in the first section of this chapter. On the basis of information from newspaper shipping advertisements, it would seem on the whole that these agents in the larger ports did not have sub-agents in the country districts, but rather relied on newspaper advertisements (see figure 9.6) and communications by mail with intending emigrants. Persons living at a distance from Clyde, could secure a berth by sending¹⁰⁵ a deposit of £1 per person to the passenger agent in one of the larger ports. The two exceptions to this, which were described earlier in this chapter, were the two organized groups of sub-agents active in the Dumfries-shire area in 1830's and in the Moray Firth and North of Scotland area in the 1840's. A number of passenger brokers on the Clyde employed sub-agents in northern Ireland in order to obtain emigrants for their ships.¹⁰⁶ Some of these brokers also acted in conjunction with agents in the Canadas, (particularly at Quebec and Montreal), where arrangements for freight could be made and assistance obtained by emigrants.¹⁰⁷

An interesting reference to a temporary connection of this

Notice to Shippers.
AT GREENOCK,
FOR MONTREAL DIRECT.



THE fast-sailing fine A 1 Greenock-built coppered Ship **CANADA**, 329 Tons Register, (a Regular Trader), **ALEXANDER ALLAN**, Master, will pointedly clear for Sea on the 24th March.

And for Quebec and Montreal,

The Well-known fast-sailing A 1 coppered Brig **FAVORITE**, 296 Tons Register, (a Regular Trader) **JAMES ALLAN**, Master, will positively be despatched on the 10th April.

For freight or passage, apply in Greenock to Messrs. Alan Ker & Co., or the Masters on board; here, to Messrs. Stewart & Menzies, or at the Canada Company's Office, to

GILKISON & BROWN, Agents,
 23, Miller Street.

Glasgow, 1st March, 1832.

SUCCEEDS THE FAVORITE.

To Load at the Broomielaw.
FOR MONTREAL, DIRECT,



THE well-known A 1 British Built Brig **AMITY**, a regular trader, **EBENEZER ROY**, Master, will be despatched 20th April.

For freight or passage, apply at the Canada Company's Office, to

GILKISON & BROWN, Agents,
 23, Miller Street.

Glasgow, 9th March, 1832.

FIRST SPRING SHIP.

Notice to Shippers and Passengers.
AT GREENOCK—FOR QUEBEC,



THE well-known fast-sailing first-class Ship **NAILER**, 312 tons register, (a Regular Trader,) **ALEXANDER M'COLL**, Master, will sail from Greenock for the above Port, pointedly on the

25th March.

This Vessel has excellent accommodations for Steerage Passengers, being upwards of six feet between Decks, and Capt. M'Coll has been long known for his kind and humane attention to Emigrants; and she will carry a Surgeon.

For freight or passage, apply in Greenock to Messrs. Neill & Gray; or here, at the Canada Company's Office, to

GILKISON & BROWN, Agents,
 23, Miller Street.

From whom Persons intending to Emigrate to the Canadas will receive useful and valuable information.

Glasgow, 10th Feb., 1832.

Reference -
Glasgow Herald,
 March 23, 1832.

Figure 9.6

nature is a printed advertisement dated August 10, 1841 by David Gilkison, announcing the opening of his land and emigration office in Toronto. He was likely the son of Captain William Gilkison who was a cousin of John Galt and the founder of Elora, U.C. This circular states that he had arranged through his friends in Scotland in establishing agencies in Glasgow, Greenock, Aberdeen, Liverpool, Dublin and Belfast.

"Those Agencies will be the channel through which persons intending to emigrate to the Upper part of Canada, will be furnished with letters and information that will enable them to proceed on their journey, without delay and unnecessary expense to this part of the Province, where they will be able to make arrangements for settling and purchasing of lands."108

As no other references have been located to his activities, it is probably safe to assume that Gilkison's land agency was short-lived and not too successful. Also, by the 1840's, with the increased organization of passenger brokers on the Clyde they began to offer additional services to emigrants. The agents often carried supplies of maps and emigrant guides, as well as supplying the emigrants with stores for the voyage at wholesale prices, prior to departure, or bonded stores, after sailing.109

Another characteristic of the main passenger (shipping) in the Canadian trade, which was pointed out in the discussion of the individual port areas, was their general permanence, with certain brokers playing a large role over a number of years. Perhaps the outstanding example of this is the firm of James and Alexander Allan of Glasgow. In 1819, Captain Alexander Allan, a Glasgow shipmaster had the ship Jean built and by 1822, in conjunction with two other owners, began a regular service between the Clyde and the St. Lawrence. The activities of this firm increased tremendously until by 1852 the Glasgow Herald contained

advertisements for twenty-one trips (including three ships making two voyages) between the Clyde and the St. Lawrence by ships either owned or chartered by the Allans. The Allan line (first called the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company) was founded in 1854 and operated to the St. Lawrence from both Glasgow and Liverpool.¹¹⁰ The permanence and importance of these passenger brokers is also made clear by the large number of landlord assisted emigrants in the 1840's and 1850's who either travelled to the Clyde to be embarked, or were collected from the north west Highlands on ships chartered by established brokers.¹¹¹

On the other hand, emigrant agents who were active in the north west Highlands particularly in the period before 1840, travelled from area to area expounding the advantages of the British North American colonies and arranging for ships to collect the emigrants in the north west. Margaret Adam in her article in 1920, stresses the enormous influence of these agents and the fact that they were an essential link in the emigration process.¹¹² In December, 1802, Dr. W. Porter reported to the British Fisheries Society on the emigration situation in the north west Highlands and Islands and several of his comments are worth quoting here,

"We must now cast our eyes in a thousand directions to discover the agents of universal discontent; these are partly external, as high rents at home, the promise of better holdings abroad, invitations from those who have emigrated, or forgeries purporting to be such, the instigation of the restless who are easily led, and the insinuation of Transport Jobbers; - the internal disposition is much affected by universal fashion and example, and particularly by the delusion entertained in the hour of revelry -...I heard of a crimping conduct practised by certain persons to carry off Emigrants; it is effected by forging letters from Emigrants in America, by beating up with a bagpipe and a flag, and by distributing vast quantities of spirits; which by the bye are too abundant in these Islands." ¹¹³

There are frequent references in the period before 1815 to the activities of emigration agents, some named, others not, who were engaged in stimulating and organizing emigrations from this area.¹¹⁴ In 1844, John Sutherland wrote Mr. G. Traill, the Member of Parliament for Wick, stressing the importance of obtaining a person (possibly appointed by the government) who spoke Gaelic and could provide information about the resources of British North America and the advantages of emigrating as,

"in general very few of the lotters and crofters in the west Highlands ever think of Emigrating except when the advantages that attends thereto are particularly explained to them."¹¹⁵

This shows very clearly the importance of these emigrant agents in providing information about the lands overseas as well as organizing the transportation facilities. These agents also played a critical role in enabling the potential emigrants, particularly the poorer class, to obtain the costs of emigration. In May 1831 the Perthshire Courier gave an excellent description of this feature of the emigration.

"The circulation of money is very limited among them, and their whole property may be said to consist of a few black cattle and small horses, all of which are made over to the emigrant's agent at his own price, and which he sends to the south markets at his own risk, - the roof of their huts, their boats, in short, everything they have, must be converted into money by him, before the necessary sum for defraying the freight can be realized."¹¹⁶

Customs accounts in the period before 1830 contain scattered indications of the activities of these emigrant agents in the north and west of Scotland. In August of 1816, six ships departed from the customs area of Stornaway carrying a total of 419 passengers to British North America (271 to Quebec, 148 to Pictou). Four of these ships, being an average 100 tons registered, sailed to Quebec having as the agent a

Peter Ritchie. Ritchie's name appears again, in the customs records for Tobermory in July, 1819, when he sent one ship to Quebec (143 passengers) and two ships to Pictou (184 passengers).¹¹⁷ The names of other agents appear in the customs accounts during this period about whom nothing else is known. Possibly they were local merchants who saw an opportunity to make a profit in the passenger trade by taking advantage of a local 'spirit of emigration' rather than them being full time emigrant agents.¹¹⁸ Newspapers of the period also provide references to their activities, for example, the Inverness Courier in January, 1829, makes reference to two respectable natives of Skye who were chartering vessels to carry several hundred persons from Lord Macdonald's estates on the island to Cape Breton, "partly as a trading speculation, partly as an act of philanthropy".¹¹⁹

In the northwest Highlands and Islands the most active emigrant agent was Archibald MacNiven. He was a native of Islay and from about the year 1821 to the early 1840's provided ships for more than 16,000 emigrants from Scotland to British North America. Most of these emigrants left in the period before 1832 and their main destination was the Maritime colonies, especially Cape Breton Island.¹²⁰ MacNiven was active throughout this area, particularly Mull, Arisaig, Skye and the Uists, through which he travelled encouraging and organizing emigration. He arranged to take the people's possessions as payments for their fares and was in frequent contact with the British government on matters dealing with the Passenger Acts and possible government encouragement to emigration.

It would seem that most of the ships he chartered came to the west Highlands to embark passengers rather than the emigrants travelling to the Clyde to board the vessels. For example, in the summer of 1843, he chartered the Catherine of Belfast which embarked passengers from Islay and then proceeded to Tobermory on Mull. It waited there for three weeks for emigrants to arrive from Coll, Knoydart, Elgg, Arisaig and Uist before proceeding to sea with about 300 persons. Unfortunately the Catherine proved to be unseaworthy and was forced to put into Belfast where another vessel was obtained to carry the emigrants to Cape Breton and Quebec. No further references to MacNiven's activities have been located after this time.¹²¹

One of the most important aspects of the emigration trade which concerned both shipping and emigrant agents was the rate of fares charged for passages to various destinations. The two accompanying tables 9.6 and 9.7 attempt to provide information as to the amount of the fare charges and their change over time. Several points can be made in this regard - the fares were generally the same over the period with a tendency to be lower towards the 1850's; fluctuations did occur on a year by year basis largely related to the availability of shipping and the volume of emigration; packet ships were more expensive generally due to their better condition and facilities than ships specializing in large numbers of emigrants; fares from east coast ports of Scotland tended to be higher for steerage and lower for cabin accommodation than from the Clyde as the ships from the Clyde usually had better cabin accommodation and more steerage places available and finally, the fares to the St. Lawrence from Scotland were competitive to those from other British

ADULT FARES FROM THE CLYDE TO THE ST. LAWRENCE

TABLE 9.6

<u>DATE</u>	<u>CABIN</u> (with Provisions)	<u>INTERMEDIATE</u>	<u>STEERAGE</u> <u>provisions/not found</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
a) 1822	£ 18/0/0		£ 6/6/0 £ 3/10/0	On packet ship (regular trader)
b) late 1820's	£15/0/0		£ 3/10/0	
c) 1832	£12/0/0		£ 4/10/0 £ 2/10/0	Ages 7-14 £1/10/0 1-7 £1/1/0
	fitted emigrant ship traders		£ 6-6/10/0 4/0/0	Those from Clyde normally take their own provi- sions.
d) 1841	20/0/0	4/0/0 without provisions	3/10/0	-can be victualled for 2/10/0 -these prices are for private traders, emigrant ships slightly cheaper -children $\frac{1}{2}$ price, underage - free.
e) 1843	15/0/0	4/0/0 without provisions	2/0/0	
f) 1850		3/10/0 to 4/10/0 with provisions	3/0/0 to 3/10/0	
g) 1865	13/13/0	7/7/0 with provisions	5/5/0	by steamship (all previous were by sail).

Reference #121A

ADULT FARES FOR SELECTED OTHER PASSAGES

<u>DATE</u>	<u>CABIN</u> <u>(WITH PROVISIONS)</u>	<u>INTERMEDIATE</u>	<u>STEERAGE</u> <u>Prov.</u>	<u>Not Found</u>	<u>ROUTE</u>
a) 1819	10/10/0		7/7/0		Aberdeen to Pictou
b) 1822	52/10/0		31/10/0		Leith - Australia
c) 1822	36/15/0		21/0/0		Clyde-Jamaica
d) 1832	£ 7-10 (£8 usual)		£ 5-6	£ 3	Eastcoast-Quebec
e) 1832	50/0/0		£18-20/0/0		Leith - Australia
f) 1843	12/0/0		2/10/0		Leith-Quebec
g) 1852	21/0/0	12/12/0 No steerage with Provisions			Glasgow-New York Steamship
h) 1852	42/0/0	2nd cabin 25/0/0 3rd cabin 18/0/0		£15/-/0	Glasgow- Australia
i) 1854	£ 21/0/0	14/14/0	7/7/0		Liverpool to Montreal - Steamship

Reference #121B

ports to North America. Figure 9.7 is a typical example of a passengers' contract ticket during the 1840's.

Several other comments can be made on regard to the fares from Scotland. Robert Brown, in his book replying to Lord Selkirk in 1806, gave details of the charges of emigrant agents, in the early years of the century, for a passage from the north and west Highlands to America - in 1801 £10, in 1802 and 1803 to £6 (due to competition among the agents) and in 1804 and 1805 following the first Passenger^a Act the cost of steerage passage rose to £9. As has been pointed out in Chapter 7, Brown during this period was very much opposed to emigration and stressed, in connection with these figures on fares, the large profits which the emigrant agents were making from the unsuspecting emigrants. He claimed that these emigrant agents made profits per emigrant of £5 in 1801 and between 20 and 50 shillings in 1802 - 03. These profit figures might be correct for this early period but appear considerably higher than those for the period 1815 to 1855.¹²²

Alexander Hunter, who superintended the emigration from Rhum in 1826 stated that the ship broker who chartered the vessel and arranged for its outfit and provisions received only 5s 4d for each emigrant. This rate was likely smaller than usual, as an entire ship was booked at once but on the whole profits during the period under examination were far from excessive, although shipping agents continued to make a profit on their activities.¹²³

At the start of the emigrant season the fares were generally lower and increased later in the season, possibly because the number of ships available declined.¹²⁴ The present writer examined a large

Issued by ALEX. G. GILKISON, 93, Miller Street, Glasgow, Licensed Passenger Broker.

SCHEDULE (B.)

REFERRED TO IN THE 19TH SECTION OF THE PASSENGERS' ACT.

PASSENGERS' CONTRACT TICKET.

N.B.—Any one receiving money from, or in respect of, any Passenger about leaving the United Kingdom for any place in North America, without using this Form, and correctly filling up the blanks therein, and signing it with his name in full, will be liable to a penalty not exceeding £10 for each such Passenger.

SHIP Romulus of Greenock 166 tons register burthen,
to sail from Greenock for Quebec
on the 10 day of May 1843

Names.	Ages.	Equal to Statute Adults.
Daniel Gallacher	40	5 1/2
Mrs Daniel Gallacher	40	
William — " — " — "	20	
Margaret — " — " — "	16	
Rosa — " — " — "	12	
Daniel — " — " — "	10	
John — " — " — "	3	
JAMES — " — " — "	10 Mo	

I engage that the parties herein named shall be provided with a steerage passage to Quebec in the Ship Romulus with not less than Ten cubic feet for luggage, for each statute adult for the sum of £ 1. 17. 0 including head-money, if any, at the place of landing, and every other charge; and I hereby acknowledge to have received the sum of £ 10. 3. 6 in full payment.

Water and provisions, according to the annexed Scale, will be supplied by the Ship, as required by law, and also fires and suitable hearths for cooking

Utensils for eating and drinking will be provided by Passengers

Bedding will be provided by Passengers

Sig. Alex. G. Gilkison†

on behalf of Charter

Date Glasgow 10 May 1843

Deposit £ 10. 3. 6

Balance £ 0. 0. 0 to be paid at

Total £ 10. 3. 6

* Fill up these blanks by stating, in each case, whether the articles are to be supplied by the Ship or by the Passenger.
† If signed by a Broker or Agent, state on whose behalf.

[At the end of this Contract insert the Victualling Scale, which must in no case be less than required under the provisions of the Passengers' Act.]

SCALE OF WATER AND PROVISIONS REFERRED TO.

A supply of Water daily, at the rate of 3 quarts for each Passenger, and at convenient times, not less often than 2 times a-week; a supply of Provisions after the rate of 4 pounds of Bread, Biscuit, Flour, Oatmeal, or Rice, per week, One half at least of the supply shall consist of Bread or Biscuit, and that Potatoes may be employed (at Master's option) to the extent of the remaining half of the supply, five pounds of the Potatoes being computed as equal to one pound of the other articles above enumerated; and that such issues, as aforesaid, shall be made throughout the whole Voyage, including the time of detention, if any, at any Port or Place before the end of such Voyage.

Sold by Robert Jackson: Wholesale and Retail Stationer and Bookbinder, 5, St Enoch Square, Argyle Street, Glasgow.

Reference -
Ontario Archives
H. H. Robertson Papers, 1843.

number of shipping columns in various Scottish papers over the period 1815 to 1855 and only a very small number of the advertisements for ships sailing to North America contained information as to the fare which was being charged. Generally speaking, the intending emigrant would contact the shipping (emigrant) agent and an agreement would be reached between them as to the fare. In most of the larger Scottish ports where several agents were offering ships, for example to the St. Lawrence, the competition between agents helped to keep the fares down and permitted bargaining. These variations in the fares were likely more common in the period before 1850, as after this time the emigrant trade became focused on a few agents in the larger ports. Charles Franks, a governor of the Canada Company (for details of the activities of its agents see Chapter three of the present study), stated in evidence before the Emigration Committee in 1841 that,

"it is very usual in these emigrant ships to make special bargains with families, so that if they can get thirty or forty emigrants together, they make a special bargain as to the price."¹²⁵

Of course, the basic fare (with or without provisions) was by no means the total of the emigration costs and as well takes no consideration of the costs of supporting or establishing the emigrant and his family in the new country. The Select Committee on Emigration in 1826 was informed that the average total cost of transporting to Upper Canada a settler, his wife and three children, placing them on lands (50 to 100 acres) and supporting them for a year was £110 or £22 per individual.¹²⁶ Once the emigrant had arrived at Quebec he had to obtain transportation and provisions for the journey inland. In the 1830's, to reach York (Toronto), the capital of the upper colony,

it could take ten to twelve days for a total cost apporaching £2. Easterbrook and Aitken, in their book Canadian Economic History, point out very clearly the costs of acquiring land and making a success of farming.

"The rate at which immigrants became farmers depended, therefore, primarily on the amount of capital which they could command...during the period (1815-1849) it can never have been much less than £200, and this only on the assumption that the settler was prepared to take up a location of uncleared land in the back areas, away from the lake-shore and the main transport routes."¹²⁷

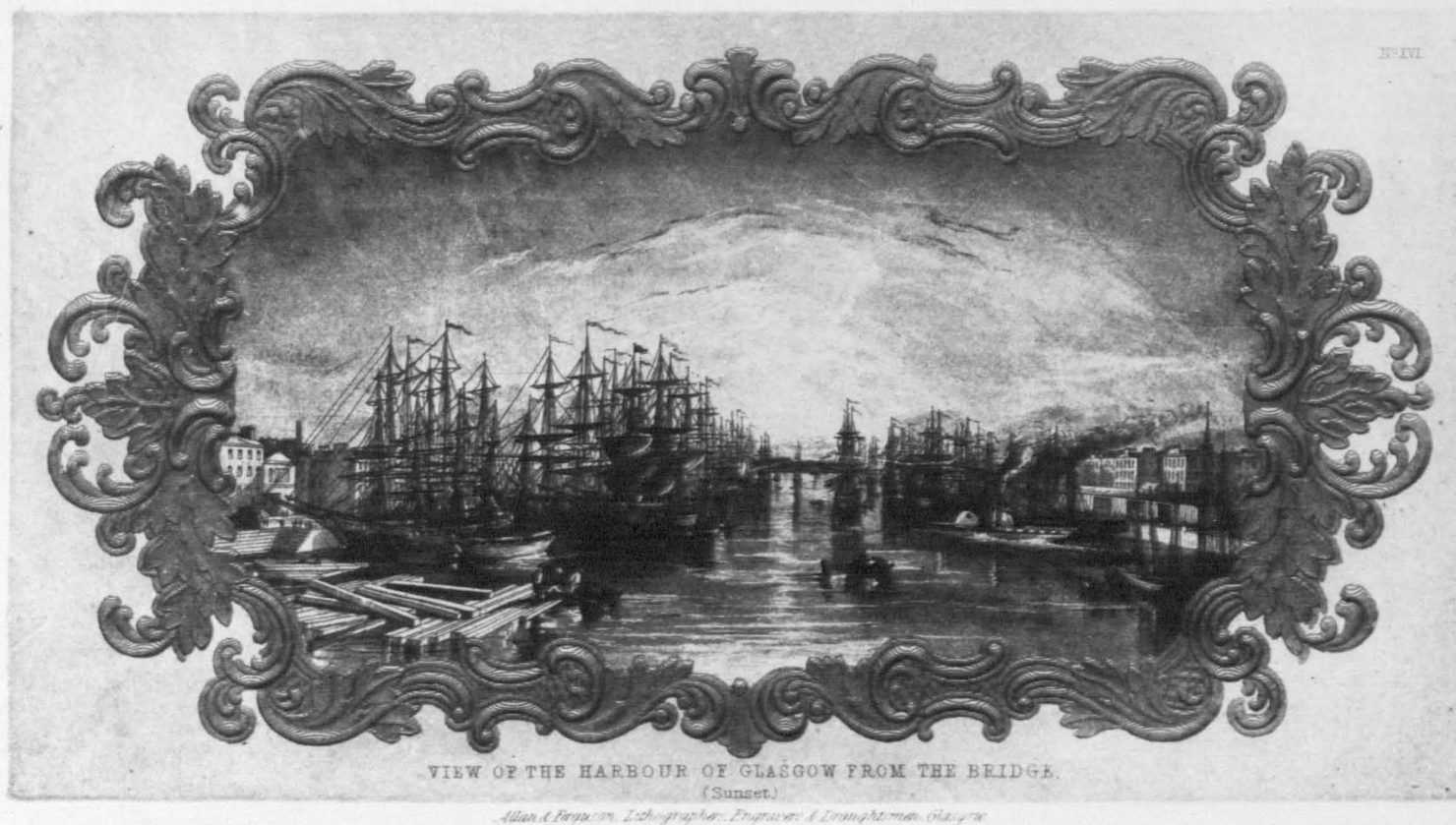
As has been pointed out earlier, not all of the emigrants had sufficient capital on arrival to become farmers. This topic is only mentioned again in order to show that there were many more factors in attempting to become a successful emigrant and settler than merely gathering enough money to pay the fare from Scotland to Quebec.

Overall, the shipping and emigrant agents who were involved, carried on their business with considerable integrity and concern for the emigrants. However, over the period 1815 - 1855, there were a number of individual instances of dishonesty and illegal proceedings. They are only mentioned here as an aside, to show that the emigrant could encounter difficulties and that it was important for him to only deal, if possible, with respected and established agents. There were a number of problems which could arise in this regard - the agent could refuse to honour the agreement which the emigrant claimed he made, or the agent could be dishonest and sell worthless passage tickets¹²⁸; disagreements could arise as to the planned day of departure of the vessel¹²⁹; once the vessel had sailed it could prove to be in poor condition¹³⁰, overcrowded, ill supplied¹³¹ and even disembark the passengers at another port than originally agreed to.¹³² There was also the chance of a

ship wreck before the emigrants reached the Canadas.¹³³ Although the port of Liverpool earned the reputation for frequent cases of fraud and ill use of intending emigrants,¹³⁴ the Clyde in particular and Scottish ports in general had on the whole a favourable record as far as the honest management of the emigrant trade was concerned.¹³⁵ The number of problems referred to above appears very small relative to the fact that between 1829 and 1855 nearly 100,000 emigrants arrived at the port of Quebec from Scottish ports.

Before concluding this chapter on Scottish ports, shipping and emigration agents several general points should be made concerning the various types of ships engaged in the emigrant trade and arrangements made for embarkation and the voyage. The first section of this chapter examined the volume and organization of emigration from the various ports in Scotland and it would appear that there were three types of ships involved in this trade: packet ships, ships especially fitted out to carry emigrants and timber ships. The packet ships, which might also be referred to as regular traders, carried as an outward cargo a miscellaneous cargo of manufactured goods and a small number of passengers whenever possible. Their return cargoes consisted of ashes, flour, agricultural produce and possibly some timber products. These ships were active in the Scottish shipping to the St. Lawrence, especially from the Clyde.¹³⁶ Figure 9.8 is a view of Glasgow harbour c. 1847 showing a variety of ships in the background and timber deals in the foreground. The second type were ships ~~which~~ because of their size and condition, were suited for carrying large numbers of emigrants, usually after some facilities had been erected below decks. Their outward cargo, as well as consisting of emigrants, could include heavy hardware, coal

Figure 9.8



Reference -
James Pagan
Sketch of the History of Glasgow,
Glasgow, 1847, p. 129

and iron as ballast. They returned with timber products.¹³⁷

In many ways it is difficult to distinguish, due to a lack of information, between this type and the third type which were solely timber ships with very few modifications made to them. Perhaps the main point in this regard is that it would have been the better class of timber ships which carried Scottish emigrants to the St. Lawrence, as on the whole, the supply of ships with some type of accommodation always exceeded the volume of emigration. Frequently these timber ships left the Clyde for the Canadas in ballast and it would seem logical that the intending emigrant would select the better ships available. The situation in the emigrant trade from Liverpool to North America was somewhat different however, as the large volume of emigration, particularly of Irish, meant that even the poorest of the timber ships could expect to obtain cargoes of emigrants for the outward voyage. It was this type of inadequate vessel that resulted in many of the stories of the horrors of the transatlantic crossings during this period. It is worth noting here that there was a considerable divergence of opinion as to the quality of the timber ships in the emigrant trade. Some observers felt that they were ideal,¹³⁸ while others thought these ships were poor, inadequate and unfit for emigrants.^{138A} This would suggest that there were both types of ships - suitable and unsuitable - in the emigrant trade. On the whole it would appear that the ships carrying timber and emigrants to and from Scotland were of the better type. One further point should be noted concerning the ships in the timber trade that carried mainly passengers. These ships often would sail to the Maritime colonies, particularly Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island and disembarked emigrants before proceeding

to the St. Lawrence.^{138B}

The timber trade between the various British North American colonies and the British Isles expanded rapidly at the end of the Napoleonic Wars as a result of heavy duties imposed in 1809 and 1813 on timber arriving in Britain from northern Europe. Although this colonial preference on timber began to be reduced in 1842, it was not until 1860 that it disappeared entirely.¹³⁹ The important role of timber in the early economy of British North America in British trade generally and in the emigration trade in particular, has been discussed in more detail elsewhere,¹⁴⁰ and it is sufficient to state here that one of the prime reasons that was given to maintain the colonial preferences on timber was its important connections with the emigrant trade.¹⁴¹ This connection was obvious in Scotland from an early date and the involvement of large numbers of agents and ships with both timber and emigrants has been pointed out in detail previously in this chapter.^{141A} This was a mutually beneficial relationship between the emigrant trade and ships engaged in the timber trade, with the ships proving an adequate source of transport at reasonable prices while the profits from carrying passengers on the westward voyage could often equal those earned by a cargo of timber from British North America.¹⁴² This chapter has shown the importance of the Clyde in the emigrant trade with the St. Lawrence and it was the Clyde which served as the base for the timber firm of Pollock, Gilmour and Company of Glasgow. The firm was founded in 1804, and from the 1830's to the 1850's, was one of the largest shipowners and timber importers in Great Britain. By the late 1830's, they were the owners of 21 ships (registered at 12,000 tons) that carried annually about six million cubic feet of timber

largely from various ports in British North America.¹⁴³ Although the company was also involved in exporting cloth and hardware on some of their ships, they did not advertise on their own account for passengers, but rather used shipping or passenger agents to obtain emigrants for their ships whenever possible.¹⁴⁴

During the 1840's, about four per cent of the emigrants from Scottish ports to Quebec were cabin class as opposed to steerage. Most of these cabin passengers embarked from the Clyde, due to the concentration of regular packet ships sailing from there. In 1841 the average length of the voyage from Scottish ports to Quebec was forty-nine days (longest seventy-five, shortest twenty-nine) which by 1850 had dropped to forty days.¹⁴⁵ By the late 1850's, the switch from sail to steam vessels began to change these figures. In 1860, nearly 1000 emigrants left Scottish ports (almost entirely from Glasgow) for Quebec on board eleven vessels (eight steamers, three sailing ships). The length of passage was sixteen days by steamer and forty days by sail. Over ninety-five per cent of these emigrants travelled by steamer.¹⁴⁶

In concluding this chapter it can be stated that it was the availability of a reliable transportation infrastructure in the form of shipping facilities, as well as the promotional and organizational activities of various agents, that did a great deal to overcome the inertia against emigration by providing encouragement, information and the physical means of emigrating overseas.

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6. NSA Vol 7 p450
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8. There were two types of ashes (pot and pearl) which
were exported from the Canadas during this period.
In essence these ashes were potash which was used in
making baking soda, glass and to hold colours fast in
printed cotton materials. It is likely that this final
use was the most important in the Scottish case.
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10. Glasgow Herald, July 1, 1842, Aug. 15, 1842
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11. Beginning in late 1841 the Clyde Bill of Entry was published which provided details of ships and cargoes, imported and exported on the Clyde. Although it theoretically would be possible to follow in detail over several years the voyages of any ship that operated regularly from the Clyde, in practice, the time that would be involved in such a project was beyond the scope of the present study.
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See also A. C. Buchanan's Reports for the years 1832-1855.
21. Rosalind Mitchison Agricultural Sir John London, 1962, p/ 194
In August, 1804, Sir John Sinclair met several groups of emigrants (men, women and children), travelling with carts and baggage to Greenock, on the road from Inverness to Perth, to get passage to America.

Glasgow Herald April 2, 1811 from Perth Courier.

Notice that "several individuals have left Rannock (western Perthshire) within the last ten days for Greenock, from whence they propose sailing for North America, principally young men, having some relations already out before them. Many more are said to be making the necessary preparations for following."

Glasgow Herald April 27, 1835.

"The emigrants this season (from the Clyde) are chiefly of the agricultural class, and principally from the inland counties."

Glasgow Herald, June 5, 1854.

Announcing departure of the ship Lord Sidmouth from Greenock to Quebec carrying about 300 emigrants, almost wholly of the agricultural class, the greater part of which were from Falkirk.

William Jamie The Emigrant's Family: or, Scotland and Australia, a tale founded on real life; and other Poems. Glasgow, 1854.

See also A.C. Buchanan's Reports for the years 1835 to 1855.
Four Year's Resident (James B. Brown)
Views of Canada and the Colonists op cit p. 355.

22. Glasgow Herald March 23, 1849 from Greenoch Advertiser
Glasgow Herald Jan. 14, 1850.
23. Glasgow Herald, April 16, 1819 from Dumfries Courier, April 13
Glasgow Herald August 16, 1822 from Dumfries Courier, Aug. 6.
SRO CE 51 4/8 Port of Dumfries 1840 - 1865
SRO E504 34/11 1813-1829, Port of Tranraer Customs and Records.
Departures and Arrivals.
24. Dumfries and Galloway Courier Mar. 6, Mar. 27, April 10, 24,
June 12, July 24, 1832.
25. ibid Mar. 6, 13, May 29, June 12, 1832.
26. Edinburgh Evening Courant May 20, 1822.
Dumfries and Galloway Courier, Jan. 31, Feb. 21, 1842; Mar. 9,
June 15, 1852.
27. Glasgow Herald, June 11, 1852 from Dumfries Courier
28. ibid, Feb. 3, Apr. 6, June 1, July 27, Sept. 7, 1852.
29. SRO E504 18/20 Port of Irvine Customs Records
SRO E504 4/15 Port of Ayr Customs Records
30. The Ayr Advertiser Mar. 9, Apr. 13, Apr. 27, 1826.
SRO E504 18/20 Apr. 3, Sept. 9, 1826; Aug. 23, 1827.
SRO E504 4/15. Apr. 28, Oct. 3, 1826.
31. Ayr Advertiser May 13, 1858.
32. Glasgow Herald July 20, 1849 from Ayr Observer
PP 1850 XL (173) p. 17.
33. PP 1852 XXXIII (1474) p. 20-21.
34. Robert Brown, Strictures (1806), Appendix
35. W. A. Carrothers op cit. p. 78

The following are several examples of the difficulty of using or relying upon these customs records. The customs

records for the port of Campbelltown (SRO E504 8/9 1815-1825) certain frequent references to trade (inward and outward) with British North America and yet no record of emigrants, although there were likely a number. The customs records for the port of Stornaway (SRO E504 33/3) for 1828 contain no reference to emigration. Yet Barron (Vol. 2 p XXVII) notes that two ships left Lochmaddy in the summer of 1828 (in the customs area of Stornaway), with 600 people for Canada. A similar situation occurs for the port of Oban (SRO E504 25/3 1815-1827).

The Quebec Mercury in 1822 (Aug. 23, Sept. 24) notes that three ships in ballast had arrived from the northwest Highlands (one Fort William, two Tobermory) carrying a total of 245 passengers, yet table 9.5 makes no reference to them.

36. SRO E 504 35/2 Tobermory 1816-1827
SRO E 504 12/6 Fort William 1806-1826
SRO E 504 33/3 Stornaway 1811-1829
37. David S. MacMillan Scotland and Australia p. 57058, 268, 412, 419.
38. Quebec Mercury June 11, July 5, Aug. 13, 1822.
39. CO 3841/1 p. 12 June 7, 1817.
40. Edinburgh Evening Courant 1815 and 1822
SRO E 504 22/68-70; E 504 22/97-8
41. David S. MacMillan Scotland and Australia p. 389, 408, 411.
42. SRO GD 229/2/4
The Scotsman May 19, July 28, 1832
Quebec Mercury Shipping Notices for 1832.
43. SRO GD 229/2/11-12 Port of Leith Records 1841-42.
The Scotsman April 2, April 23, May 25, June 4, 1842.
ibid Jan. 12, 1822; Jan. 28, May 26, 1832; April 1, June 17, 1848.
44. SRO/GD 229/2/ 21-22
Thomas E. Milne "A British Shipowning company in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century" (William Thomson & Co.). B. Litt Thesis University of Glasgow 1965 p. 19.

The Scotsman Mar. 3, Apr. 14, 1852.

45. Glasgow Herald June 17, 1850 from Edinburgh Evening Courant

Notice of the bark Argo sailing with general cargo and passengers from Leith to Quebec, which will call at Thunso for about 100 emigrants.

PP 1841 XV (298) p. 22 Record of the arrival of a number of respectable emigrants from the north of England on board the Westmoreland from Leith at Quebec Aug. 21, 1840.

Also see Sections D 2 and E of present study.

46. Kelso Mail or Roxburgh, Selkirk, Berwickshire and Northumberland Gazette
Feb. 3, Feb. 18, June 20, 1831.

47. Stirling Observer (begun 1836)

Feb. 7, April 11, May 30, Aug. 1, 1839.
Three to Australia, one to New York from the Clyde
One from Leith to Australia
July 6, 1854 - one ship to Clyde to St. Lawrence
Three lines of ships Liverpool to Australia.

48. The Perthshire Courier and General Advertiser
Aug. 3, Oct. 19, 1854.

The Perthshire Advertiser and Strathmore Journal
April 21, 1853.

49. Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser Feb. 16, Apr. 12,
Apr. 5, Aug. 30, Nov. 1, 1832.

50. ibid, Feb. 17, May 7, 1852

51. SRO E 504 2/13-14 Customs Records, Alloa 1817-1829
In none of the shipping notices in newspapers examined in this area did the author find a reference to a ship for the St. Lawrence from any of these 4 ports.

52. V. E. Clark The Port of Aberdeen Aberdeen, 1921 p. 131

SRO E504 33/3
In August of 1816, Peter Ritchie acted as the agent for four ships which left from the port area of Stornaway, Lewis for Quebec. They carried a total of 189 emigrants and all of these ships were owned in Aberdeen.

53. Aberdeen Journal Feb. 29, July 25; Mar. 14, Aug. 1; June 27, Nov. 14; July 4, Nov. 21, 1832.
54. ibid, Apr. 25, May 30, June 13, June 20, 1832.
55. ibid, Aug. 17, Sept. 14, Oct. 19, 1842, Sept. 21, Feb. 23. Dec. 9,
V. E. Clark, op cit, p. 149.
56. ibid, Jan. 26, April 27, 1842.
57. Aberdeen Journal Feb. 16, Apr. 6, 1842.
Inverness Journal Mar. 4, May 6, 1842
John O'Groats Journal Mar. 4, May 20, 1842.
58. Aberdeen Journal, March 2, 1842
Inverness Journal March 11, 1842
John O'Groats Journal March 11, 1842
59. Aberdeen Journal Aug. 5, Dec. 9, 1842; Mar. 17, Aug. 4, Aug. 9, 1852.
60. John O'Groats Journal Jan 9, Mar. 12, July 16, 1852,
61. Aberdeen Journal 1854 and 1855
V. E. Clark, op cit, p. 141, 149.
62. ibid Jan 4, Jan. 11, Apr. 12, May 31, June 14, Aug. 9, 1854.
63. Aberdeen Journal Aug. 17, 1853; May 17, Aug. 23, 1854; April 18, 1855.
Aberdeen Herald April 15, 1854.
64. ibid, April 18, 1855.
65. ibid, April 5, 12, May 10, 1854.
66. ibid, April 12, 1854
Aberdeen Herald, May 20, 1854.
67. Aberdeen Journal Mar. 28, July 18, 1855.
John O'Groats Journal Mar. 23, July 20, 1855.
68. ibid, May 20, 1842
Buchanan's Reports for 1840, 1841.
69. The following customs ledgers from the Scottish Record office indicate the trade with the Maritime colonies; particularly in return cargoes of timber.
E 504 36/1 Wick May 1826; Oct - Dec. 1827; July 1828, and Nov.
E 504 7/5 Caithness Sept. 1807; Aug. 1816; May 1817; Aug. 1829; Nov. 1822; Dec. 1825; Oct. 1825; July, 1828; Sept. 1829

E 504 17/8-9 Inverness Sept. 1812, July and Sept. 1815;
June And July 1820; June And July 1821;
June and Aug. 1822; April and Oct. 1828

Helen I. Cowan, opcit. 52,318
(1957)

Wilbur S. Shepperson, opcit, 299

70. Inverness Journal May 27, July 29, 1814; Mar. 1, Apr. 19,
May 10, 1816
71. Ibid Dec. 7, 21, 1821; Jan. 11, Feb. 22, Mar. 15, Aug. 2, 1822
72. ibid Feb. 3, Mar. 2, Apr. 3, 20, May 11, June 1, 8, 1832
Aberdeen Journal Apr. 25, May 30, June 20, 1832
73. Inverness Journal Feb. 17, May 18, 1832
John O'Groats Journal Feb. 24, 1845
74. CO 384/77 pp. 461-69 March 1846
Inverness Journal July 1, 1842 from John O'Groat's Journal
Number of ships and passengers 1840 c/369, 1841 6/1037
1842 3/566, 1843 3/416, 1844 2/188, 1845 2/142
75. John O'Groats Journal Jan. 7, 28, Feb. 11, 18, 25, Mar. 11;
Feb. 25, 1842, June 2, 1842; April 29, May 6, 1842,
May 19, 1848
Inverness Journal July 1, 1842 from John O'Groats Journal
Refers to Sutherland's "uprightness" and "integrity" and to
the fact that he frequently provided a free passage to some
members of a family if they did not have sufficient money.
CO 384/61 p. 452 March 30, 1840 letter from Duncan McLennan
Invern. Saying offering service of ships, Pictou & Que.
to
76. CO 384/77 p. 461
77. John O'Groats Journal May 19, 1848
78. D.R. 2 p. 492, 627, 669, 1236-40, 1364, 1390, 1426
(Dec. 1848-May, 1849).
79. John O'Groats Journal May 7, 14, 1852; Jan. 5, 1855.
80. ibid, April 1, 8, May 20, 1842; Mar. 14, Apr. 4, May 9, 1845
Inverness Journal Feb. 11, Mar. 25, June 3, May 27, 1842
81. ibid
82. Barron, opcit vol. 2 p. 280
Inverness Journal June 10, 1842
Glasgow Herald May 22, 1843 from Inverness Courier
83. Inverness Journal March 25, June 10, 1842

84. Glasgow Herald June 17, 1842 from Inverness Herald
85. John O'Groats Journal April 22, 29, May 6, 1841, June 27, 1845.
Inverness Journal Mar. 11, 1842, Notice of a Ship chartered by
Alexander Cooper of Aberdeen which called at Cromarty,
Longhope (Orkney) and Scrabster Roads (Thurso harbour).
86. Ships from Clyde to Canada - John O'Groats Journal Apr. 9,
Mar. 26, 1852.
Inverness Advertiser Apr. 20, 27, June 1, 13, 1852.
Ships from Liverpool to Australia Inverness Journal
June 1, 22, Aug. 10, Sept. 21, 1852.
87. John O'Groats Journal 1855
from Aberdeen to St. Lawrence Mar. 23, July 20
from Clyde to St. Lawrence Apr. 20, 27, May 25
from Liverpool to Australia Jan 5, Mar. 2, June 22, Aug. 22
from Leith to Australia Aug. 17
88. Inverness Journal Oct. 12, 1832 from Glasgow Chronicle
89. PP 1851 XL (348) p. 32
Glasgow Herald June 11, 1852 from Dumfries Courier
Scottish Patriot Aug. 22, 1840 from Dumfries Courier
Account of the ship Nith from Liverpool embarking emigrants
from the West Highlands for Prince Edward Island.
90. PP 1854 - 55 XXXIX (464) p. 2.
PP 1857 (Session I) X (14) p. 4.
PP 1857 (Session II) XXVIII (125) p. 4.
91. Glasgow Herald Aug. 6, 1852
Aberdeen Journal Feb. 1, 1854, Notice of the loss on the
coast of Ireland of the emigrant ship Tayleur
sailing from Liverpool to Melbourne. The ships
passengers included a number of Scots from Stirling,
Glasgow, Dundee, Falkirk, Fife and Aberdeen
ibid May 3, 1854 Notice of the emigration from Glasgow via
Liverpool and Boston to Holyoake, Massachusetts of
130 people, principally steam loom workers.

92. Glasgow Herald May 30, June 17, 1842 E. Walkinshaw
was advertising ships sailing from the Clyde to
the east coast of the United States, (New York,
Boston) as the best route for Canada
for people settling in the area of Lakes Erie
and Ontario.

Glasgow Herald June 5, 1848; April 14, 1851; May 31, 1852.

Chapter 1 of the present study contains a discussion of the
problems of emigration statistics and of determining the
final destination of Scottish emigrants during the period.

93. J. M'Ghee The Emigrants Guide and Directory through the
United States of America Paisley, 1842, p. 6.
He recommends that Scots emigrants sail from
Liverpool to Quebec and Montreal

The Scotsman May 29, 1841; Aug. 2, 1848.

Glasgow Herald July 4, 1842

94. PP 1840 XXXIII (613) p. 68

PP 1851 XIX (632) P. V.

W. F. Adams, op cit, 154-55, 204-05

95. PP 1851 XIX (632) Q 5228.

96. George Blake The Ben Line London, 1956, p. 15

Glasgow Herald March 10, 1820; July 6, 1827

Shipping Advertisements M. A. Jones, Ph.D 1955,
Oxford op cit, i

97. Glasgow Post Office Annual Directory for 1831-32

Glasgow, 1837, Appendix p. 49.

Gilkison and Brown, agents, who acted for the Canada
Company in Glasgow are listed as "ship and insurance
brokers, and commission agents".

98. Four Years' Resident (James B. Brown) op cit, p. 254
(actual quotation)
- A Backwoodsman (William Dunlop) Statistical Sketches of
Upper Canada, for the Use of Emigrants London, 1832
p. 15 - 16.
- Edwin C. Grillet The Great Migration op cit p. 61-2
- Thomas Fowler The Journal of a Tour through British
America Aberdeen 1832 p. 252-3
- The importance of selecting the best ship and captain was
frequently mentioned in shipping advertisements.
- Aberdeen Journal March 14, 1832 Aimwell, Capt. Morrison
- Glasgow Herald April 13, 1832 Portaferry, Capt. Pollock
99. PP. 1851 XIX (632) p. 801-06
- PP 1854 XLVI (255) p. 21
100. An Emigrant Farmer of Twenty Years Experience (Joseph Abbott)
op cit, p. 118-19.
- William and Robert Chambers The Emigrants Manual
Edinburgh, 1851, p. 83-87.
101. CO 384/1 p. 157 June 4, 1817, from John Davidson,
Shipowner, Glasgow.
- CO 384/1 p. 6-7 April 25, 1817 and May 20, 1817, from
William Allan, merchant and shipbroker, Leith.
102. CO 384/1 May 19, 1817, Wm. Allan, Leith
- CO 384/6 p. 10 May 10, 1820 William Allan, Leith
- CO 42/170 Nov. 20, 1816, Donald MacCrummell of Skye
- CO 384/1 p. 12 June 7, 1817 Robert Auld (representing
Wm. Allan).
- CO 384/67 p. 235 Jan. 19, 1841 Archibald MacNiven c/o
Tobermory, emigrant agent.
- CO 217/154 p. 877 April 5, 1832 Archibald MacNiven c/o
Benbecula.

103. CO 384/15 p. 981-1 April 30, 1827 Archibald MacNiven c/o Mull
CO 384/11 p. 1123 Dec. 13, 1825 Archibald MacNiven c/o Skye
CO 42/202 p. 302 Jan. 15, 1824, Archibald MacNiven c/o Arisaig
CO 384/177 p. 461-9 March 1846 John Sutherland, Wick,
emigrant agent (broker).
CO 384/7 p. 643-5 Feb. 9, 1821 Alex McCallum, Greenock.
CO 384/5 p. 5-6 Jan. 21, 1819 John Mitchell Jun, Leith,
Shipbroker
CO 384/6 Feb. 7, 1820 Neish and Smart, Dundee, Merchants
and shipbrokers
Scottish Patriot Dec. 12, 1840 Mention of petition to
Lord John Russell by the merchants and shipowners of
Glasgow concerning the organization of Govt. assisted
emigration to New Zealand.
104. Donald Cameron (see chapter 3) began as an emigrant agent
and then became involved in land speculation in Upper Canada.
John Sutherland (see previously in this chapter) in 1842
planned on acquiring land in British N. America to sell
to emigrants.
The Edinburgh Evening Courant Jan. 27, 1821
John Skene, shipbroker, Leith advertised for a proprietor
who had land for sale near Three Rivers, Lower Canada
Gilkison and Brown acted for a considerable period as
agents for the Canada Company - See chapter 3
Joseph Outram, shipbroker, Glasgow, wrote in the Glasgow
Herald April 22, 1850 concerning the advantages of
Nova Scotia and the Herald of April 26, 1850 carried an
advertisement by Outram for a ship sailing to the Maritimes.
Robert Lamont (see Chapter 4) was a shipbroker on the Clyde
who was active in organizing the government assisted emigra-
tion in 1820-21 as well as encouraging the formation of
emigration societies in the early 1840's (Glasgow Argus
March 18, 1841).

- Glasgow Saturday Post May 6, 1843.
Shipping advertisement Edward Walkinshaw 21,
St. Enoch Square, Glasgow, General Emigration Office
has supply of maps and travellers guides.
105. Glasgow Saturday Post May 6, 1843
F.M.A. Jones op cit, p. 108
Glasgow Herald June 28, 1844; May 21, 1852
David S. Macmillan Scotland and Australia p. 293.
pp. 1851 XIX (632) Q 5148 - 49.
106. ibid. Q 5359, 4925-27
107. Glasgow Herald Feb. 21, 1820 Duncan and John M'Naught
of Greenoch and Glasgow.
Post Office Glasgow Annual Directory for 1842-43
Glasgow, 1842, Appendix p. 53 R. P. Stephens,
Glasgow.
Glasgow Herald April 25, 1842
William and James Bisset
65 Jamaica St. Glasgow
Glasgow General Emigration and Colonial
Land Office - with agents in all the colonies
Glasgow Herald Feb. 16, 1852 Thomas C. Orr, Glasgow
Glasgow Saturday Post May 27, 1848 from Quebec Chronicle
May 4, 1848 J. and A. Allan, Glasgow
108. Toronto Public Libraries, Baldwin Room, Broadside Collection
1841, Gilkison.

109. Glasgow Saturday Post May 6, 13, 1843.
110. Frank C. Bowen A Century of Atlantic Travel 1830-1930
London, 1932, p. 8.
- George Eyre - Todd The Story of Glasgow Glasgow, 1911
pp. 127-8.
- C. R. Vernon Gibbs Passenger Liners of the Western
Ocean London, 1952. p. 244.
- W. S. Lindsay History of Merchant Shipping and
Ancient Commerce London 4 vols. 1874-76, vol. 4 p. 260-61
111. See chapter 7 dealing with landlords.
112. Margaret I. Adam SHR vol 17 (1920) p. 76
113. SRO GO 9 166/23
- Poems of John MacLean (Filidh Na Coille) Charlottetown
1901, p. 49, 50. Maclean sailed from Tobermory to
Pictou in Aug. 1819. One of his poems "A Choille Ghruamach"
refers to the emigrant agents as "the enticers who brought
us here with their false descriptions."
- Rev. Angus MacDonald (editor) The MacDonald Collection of Gaelic
Poetry Inverness, 1911, pag. 370-1
"Orm Le Uidhisteach an America"
(The Uist Man in America).
114. Alexander Mackenzie Highland Clearances (1960)
p. 253, 264-66
- Helen Cowan op cit p. 21, 25, 52.
- John Prebble op cit p. 199-200; 202-05
115. CO 384/77 p. 469 Memorial March, 1846.
116. Perthshire Courier May 5, 1831
- Lennoxlove Muniments, Brown Correspondence
John MacDonald to Robert Brown June 17, 1822
MacDonald had just attended the Ft. William Market
where 100 cattle from Barra belonging to emigrants
were sold at very poor prices.
- Prebble, op cit. p. 206.

Rev. Angus MacDonald (editor) The MacDonald Collection of Galic Poetry Inverness, 1911, p. 370.

Mac Talla (Echo) Vol. 2 No 49 p 2 Sydney, Nova Scotia

Glasgow Herald Aug. 29, 1828 from Greenock Advertiser

An Account of an emigrant agent named Fraser who took the cattle of a number of intending emigrants in the Uists in order to raise the money for their fares. He drove them to Dumbarton Muir and Falkirk fairs where they were sold at poor prices. Fraser turned out to be a crook and the emigrants were forced to return home from Greenock without their money and Fraser was arrested.

Colin S. MacDonald "Early Highland emigration to Nova Scotia" opcit p 47. The example is given of the head of a family who was allowed credit by the agent for the cost of his passage from Greenock to Pictou, Nova Scotia about the year 1817, on the undertaking that the 'emigrant would repay the money within four months of his arrival.

117. SRO/E504 33/3 Aug. 1816 Stornaway
SRO/E504 35/2 July 1819 Tobermory.

118. SRO/E504 33/3 June 1826; 1828 and CO 217/154 p 873
April 5, 1832
references to Alex MacIver who had dealings of Stornaway both in the emigrant and timber trade.

SRO/E504 35/2 Aug. 1817; Aug. 1819; July 1820; July and Aug. 1827.

SRO/E504 12/6 Ft. William June & Aug. 1817; July 1818.

119. Barron opcit Vol. II p 61-2 (Jan 28, 1829); p. XXVII
(Summer 1828) from Inverness Courier

Inverness Journal Sept. 14, 1832

David S. Macmillan Scotland And Australia p 291-95
Provides details of activities of emigrant agents during bounty emigration to Australia.

120. CO 217/154 p 877 April 5, 1832
CO 384/67 p235-36 Jan. 19, 1841

121. CO 384/11 p1123 Dec. 13, 1825
CO 384/15 p981-2 April 30, 1827
Glasgow Saturday Post Sept. 2, 1843 from The Chronicle MacTalla Vol. 2 No. 49 p2
pp 1844 XXXV (503) p 8 & 9
pp 1831-2 XXXII (724) p. 29

121A. a. Glasgow Herald July 19, 1822

- b. Martin Doyle, Hints to Emigrants, Edinburgh and London, 1831, pp. 82-3
 - c. CO 384/30 Custom House, Greenock to Treasury, Jan. 24, 1832, Glasgow Herald, June 29, 1832.
 - d. PP 1842 XXXI (301) pp. 206-7.
 - e. An Emigrant Farmer of Twenty Years Experience (Joseph Abbott), The Emigrant to North America, Edinburgh, 1844, p. 112.
- H. H. Robertson Papers 1843 Passengers Contract Ticket Ontario Archives, Toronto.
- f. PP 1851 XIX (632) Q 5584-5
 - g. Inverness Advertiser, Jan. 17, 1865.

Edwin C. Guillet, The Great Migration, p. 51.
Comments are provided as to the various types of accommodation, with intermediate or second-class usually consisting of a part of the steerage separated from the rest, although on better ships it would be somewhat improved.

- 121B a. Inverness Courier, March 4, 1819.
 - b. Edinburgh Evening Courant, Nov. 9, 1822.
 - c. Inverness Journal, Dec. 6, 1822.
 - d. Thomas Fowler, Aberdeen, The Journal of a Tour Through British America, 1832, p. 250.
 - e. Inverness Journal, Oct. 26, 1832.
 - f. An Emigrant Farmer of Twenty Years Experience (Joseph Abbott) op. cit. p. 112.
 - g. The Scotsman, Sept. 29, 1852.
 - h. Aberdeen Journal, Jan. 11, 1854.
 - i. Aberdeen Journal, Jan. 11, 1854.
122. Robert Brown, Strictures, p. 100.
Brown also stated (p. 113) that some of the Lord Selkirk settlers in Prince Edward Island had no money for their passages and as a result were bound under indenture for a certain number of years until the money

was repaid. Only one other reference however has been located to this practise occurring during the period of the present study, and very few people emigrated on this basis.
John McGregor British America Edin. 1832 Vol.I p463

Helen Cowan opcit. p 20

123. PP 1826-27 V (237) Q2994
W.F. Adams, opcit., p 306-07, 400-05
124. Aberdeen Journal Jan 26, 1842, Greenock Advertiser
Apr. 27, 1832, advertisement by E. Walkinshaw
125. PP 1841 VI (333) Q 2979; Edwin C. Guillet, The Great Migration Toronto, paper, 1963 p 51-2

James E. Handley The Irish in Modern Scotland
Oxford, 1947, p 22
126. PP 1826 IV (404) p 217
127. PP 1831=2 XXXII (924) p 9
PP 1841 VI (182) Q192
W.T. Easterbrook and Hugh G.J. Aitken opcit p 275.
128. Glasgow Herald Aug. 29 and Sept. 1, 1828 and
Paisley Advertiser Aug. 23, Aug. 30, 1828 both
from Greenock Advertiser
The case of an emigrant agent named Frazer who arranged to ship 18 families (93 people) from the Uists to Cape Breton. He sold their cattle and sent the people first to Oban and then to Greenock to board a ship but no vessel was forthcoming. He was arrested and the people had to return home after a public appeal was made on their behalf.

Glasgow Saturday Post Aug. 5, 1843 And Glasgow Herald Aug. 4, 1843.
The case of a clerk in an passenger broker's office who sold a young man a worthless ticket on a vessel from Liverpool to New York.

Glasgow Herald Aug. 25, 1843; Feb. 19, 1844
Glasgow Saturday Post Aug. 26, 1843
Mathew Sommerville, a Glasgow shipping agent, accepted part payment of the fares for nine people from Glonsay, for a ship sailing from Liverpool to Quebec. When the emigrants arrived in Liverpool the ship had already left. Sommerville was eventually fined £20 and costs.

Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser Sept. 9, 1884
A bankrupt firm of passengers brokers had

swindled some emigrants out of their passage money to Australia. The newspaper added a note at the end of their report that "we see another firm flourishing which emigrants would do well to watch".

Inverness Journal Feb. 16, 1816

The case of an emigrant agent in Sutherlandshire becoming bankrupt and the captain of the vessel which was to have gone to Picton disembarked the passengers at a number of Scottish ports including Ullapoor, Tobermory and Stromness.

129. Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine Vol 32 (Aug 1832)
pp 248-49

This contains a copy of a letter to the North Briton (Edinburgh Newspaper) by a Thomas Richardson (a Scot), dated at Whitehaven on June 11, 1832. Richardson had apparently arranged to sail on the ship Nancy from Whitehaven to Quebec however the shipping agents (Hayton, Neilson et alia) had apparently engaged nearly 400 passengers for a brig that could carry only 120 people. Richardson had already waited a week to get on board and stated that he would have to wait another week before the next ship was ready for sailing. He concluded his letter by advising

"Warn all my all my acquaintances who intend coming to America, not to pay any advance money to any of the whip-brokers, for they are a set of rascals".

Glasgow Herald July 24/43 from Ross-Shire Advertiser
A Mr. Andrew Thomson of Sanday Orkney won a case before the Justices at Wick against John Sutherland, passenger broker concerning Thomson's claim for subsistence money of 1 S per day for each day the vessel remained in port after the advertised departure date.

130. PP 1844 XXXV (503) p 8-9
Glasgow Saturday Post Sept. 2, 1843
Account of the Ship Catherine of Belfast
See details earlier in this chapter under the Activities of Archibald MacNiven.

PP 1841 XV (298) p 12
Account of the ship Ann Grant from Glasgow which took 77 days to reach Quebec during most of which time the passengers were required to man the pumps to prevent the ship from sinking.

PP 1841 XV (298) p. 22. Account of the ship Westmoreland from Leith which took 84 days to reach Quebec largely due to the fact that it was commanded by the second mate owing to the drunken state of the captain and the loss overboard of the first mate.

131. Inverness Courier July 29, 1819. Commenting on the large amount of provisions which were unfit for use on an emigrant ship sailing from Cromarty to Pictou.

PP 1842 XXXI (373) p. b.
Passengers only allowed small daily rations of water on Wanderer from Glasgow to Quebec.

PP 1844 (XXXV) (181) p. 16
Jane Duffus from Glasgow was fined £40 for having an excess of eight passengers out of a total of 254.

PAC MG 24 B 1 Vol. 21. Appendix D.
Neilson Papus - Report of Government Emigration Agent at Montreal for 1842.

Appendix D - The passengers on the Wingrave from Glasgow claimed that the captain overcharged them for food and failed to supply adequate water for the voyage.

132. ibid Appendix C. Seven families who had booked passage on the Salus from Greenoch to Quebec were disembarked instead at Sydney, Cape Breton Island.

PP 1837 (132) Sixty-seven emigrants from Thurso thought they had made arrangements with Messrs. Allan and Sons of Leith for a passage to Pictou but when the brig Mariner arrived they found it was sailing to Quebec. Rather than lose their fares (which the captain refused to refund) they embarked for Quebec and then waited for a ship to take them to Pictou. A. C. Buchanan the acting government emigration agent at Quebec could not help them as there was no written agreement between the emigrants and the shipping agents.

133. Inverness Journal Nov. 13, 1807 - An emigrant ship from Thurso was lost off the shores of Newfoundland with 130 persons aboard.

Glasgow Herald July 20, 1832 - Shipwreck in the St. Lawrence of the Wallington from Leith.

Glasgow Herald June 8, 1854 - Shipwreck in the St. Lawrence of the Helen Thomson from Troon.

Quebec Mercury July 9, 1822 - Thompsons Packet from Dumfries with 40 emigrants was grounded on Anticosti Island for sixteen days.

John Prebble op cit p. 206-07

134. PP 1851 XIX (632) p. VI - VIII.

PP 1854 XIII (349) Q 4090-93, 4108-4119.

Scottish Patriot Aug. 8, 1840 from Liverpool Mercury

Glasgow Examiner July 27, 1850

W. S. Lindsay History of Merchant Shipping, London, 1874-76
vol 3. p. 325-6

Edward Guillet, op cit. p. 66-154

135. PP 1851 XIX (632) Q 5147, 5530.

PP 1852 XVIII (1499) p. 31.

PP 1854-55 XVII (1953) p. 28.

PP 1856 XXIV (2089) p. 21.

136. Glasgow Herald March 29, 1844; May 17, Mar. 29, 1850

ibid April 1, 1836 The Amity "for freight, or cabin passage only"

PP 1851 XIX (632) Q 16.

137. Glasgow Herald June 24, July 4, 1831.

Tamerlane "Admirably adapted for carrying passengers. Well known as a fast sailer in the East India Trade." (carried 357 passengers to Quebec).

ibid, June 10, 1842. Lady Falkland "Specially selected for the conveyance of a number of respectable families". (carried 361 passengers to Quebec).

PP 1839 IX (333) Q 786-91

PP 1851 XIX (632) Q 5225)- 28.

138. A Backwoodsman Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada,
for the Use of Emigrants
London, p. 15-16
1832

PP 1839 IX (333) Q 181, 267, 786, 91

PP 1854 XIII (163) Q 2874 evidence of Dr. George Douglas
medical superintendant of the quarantine
station at Grosse Isle below Quebec.

"There are few vessels better adapted to the
conveyance of emigrants than the large sort
of ships that come out for timber, inasmuch
as they usually come in ballast. There is
ample room and space."

138A. PP 1839 IX (333) Q 112, 139, 403, 493, 633, 891.

PP 1854 (XIII) (163) Q 1121, 1137.

138B. Glasgow Herald June 10, 1822 Pilgrim from Greenock
to Pictou and Quebec

Glasgow Herald June 19, 1829, Duchess of Richmond
from Greenock to Quebec
"with liberty to touch at Cape Breton,
if passengers offer."

PP 1842 XXXI (301) p. 206-1 Arrivals at Quebec, 1841.

Aug. 22 Lady Jane Gray from Cromarty with 85 persons,
having landed 155 at Pictou

Aug. 23 John Walker from Isle of Skye with 49 persons
having landed 200 at Sydney

Aug. 30 Charles from Stornaway with 145 persons
having landed 233 at Sydney.

PP 1843 XXIV (291) P. 49-51

PP 1844 XXXV (503) p. 8-9

139. M. A. Jones op cit Ph.D. Oxford, 1955. p. 53-4
- Lucy Brown The Board of Trade and the Free Trade Movement, 1830-42 Oxford, 1958, p. 174-5; 185-190; 46-50.
- Werner Schlote British Overseas Trade from 1700 to the 1930's. Oxford, 1952, p. 94-96; 142.
- W. F. Adams Ireland and Irish Emigration Page 90-92.
- ibid, p. 70-73; 148-151; 198-99; 232-3.
140. Gerald S. Graham Sea Power and British North America Cambridge, Mass. 1941, pp 146-152.
- Mary Q. Innes An Economic History of Canada, Toronto, 1945, p. 150-153.
- W. T. Easterbrook and Hugh Aitken, op cit p. 199-200.
- M. A. Jones op cit p. 55-8, 118.
- A.R.M. Lower "A History of the Canadian Timber and Lumber Trade Prior to Confederation" unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto.
- Albert Faucher "The decline of shipbuilding at Quebec in the nineteenth century"
- Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science Vol. 23 (1957) p. 196, 200-01.
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141. PP 1833 VI (690) Q 8738-9, 8661.
- PP 1835 XIX (519) Q 3715, 4790, 4963.
- W. F. Adams op cit. p. 306-07; 400-05
- Hansard NS Vol. I June 5, 1820, p. 844.
- ibid Third series Vol. 63 June 6, 1842, p. 1282

Correspondence on the Alteration of the Duties on Timber, printed House of Commons Aug. 27, 1841 (4). Page 11-12.

This contains a memorial from the Board of Trade of the City of Quebec to the Governor General of Canada stating

"That the energetic measures lately undertaken in the United Kingdom and Canada to promote emigration, would, by an unfavourable change in the (timber) duties at once meet with a certain and unexpected hindrance in the destruction of the very cheap mode of conveyance across the Atlantic, which the ballast ships coming out for timber now afford to poor emigrants, who could not without such facility raise sufficient means to pay the cost of passage."

141A. Inverness Journal April 12, 1816.

In a notice informing the public that there would be no further government assistance to emigrants this year, John Campbell, the government commissioner in Edinburgh added that

"It is understood that a passage to Quebec may be obtained, particularly in the ships in the timber trade, upon moderate terms."

Edinburgh Evening Courant March 22, 1821.

In a shipping advertisement John Skene of Leith announced that the ship Neptune would sail from Leith to Quebec on April 1st.

"It being a very rare occurrence of such a fine new ship sailing to North America, the generality being old timber traders, immediate application is necessary to secure good berths."

141. David S. Macmillan Scotland and Australia p. 134; 141-2.

142. W. F. Adams, op cit, p. 306-07, 400-05.

143. New Statistical Account Vol.6 Lanarkshire, p. 169.

W. F. MacArthur History of Port Glasgow Glasgow, 1932, p. 96, 100.

W. H. Warwick Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland p. 104-05.

- Peter L. Payne Studies in Scottish Business History
London 1967, p. 63-4
- John Rankin op cit p. 21-1, 42-69.
- F. W. Wallace Wooden Ships and Iron Men
London 1924 p. 14, 37, 54, 59.
144. Bryan Latham Timber - Its Development and Distribution
London, p. 136 - 1957.
- Glasgow Herald April 12, 1852 Ann Rankin owned by
Pollock, Gilmour and Co., advertised
by James and Alexander Allan, agents.
- ibid May 14, 1852 Abeona owned by Pollock, Gilmour and
Co., advertised by T. C. Orr, agent.
- The Scotsman Feb. 10, 1841. Extracts of a Report of
the Immigration Association at Montreal
mentions
- "the excellent and fast sailing vessels of
Messrs. Pollock, Gilmour, and Co. of Glasgow
which come out annually in ballast."
- Quebec Mercury May 19, June 5, 1832.
145. PP 1842 XXXI (301) p. 285-87.
- PP 1851 XL (348) p. 24.
- Glasgow Herald Jan. 12, 1846.
- Buchanan's Reports 1840-1850.
146. PP 1861 XL (186) p. 498
- E. C. Guillet, op cit, p. 233-48 Chapter 22.
- Glasgow Herald Feb. 25, 1850. An announcement that
the first "steam-liner" would sail in
April 1850 between Glasgow and New York.

CHAPTER 10

OTHER ASPECTS OF THESE EMIGRATIONS

This chapter will briefly examine several aspects which should be noted in order to complete the present study of the factors that assisted and directed Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855. These aspects include some comments on the types of emigrants involved, and finally reference to a number of less important factors assisting these emigrants.

To begin^{with}, it is important to comment on the various types of emigrants. In essence it is these emigrants (both individually and collectively) who are the chief characters in this study. In other words, what class of people were they, what skills did they have, what were their financial circumstances? In some ways the previous chapters have tended to focus on the poorest and most destitute of these emigrants, the Lowland weavers and the Highlanders after the famines, however these particular groups only made up a small percentage of the total number of emigrants during the period of this study. While not denying that many emigrants arrived in Canada with little or no means, it is clear that the majority of emigrants from Scotland to Upper Canada during this period were average or above average with respect to skills and material possessions. And although skills and material possessions did not necessarily mean that the emigrant would be a success, these assets were certainly important.

It was a generally accepted opinion during this period that the more prosperous and industrious persons tended to emigrate first, particularly from the North West Highlands and Islands.¹ Samuel Johnson referred to this situation in his tour of the Highlands in the late eighteenth century as did Robert Brown in his report in 1801 on emigration from the Clanranald estates.² Duncan Shaw, Clanranald's factor in South Uist in considering the possibility of government assistance to emigration in 1827, felt that the factor and the established clergy must have the power to select those families who were to emigrate or,

"assistance will be given where it is not required, the most wealthy and industrious of our Population will Emigrate and we will be left with the dregs."³

This emigration of the better type of people was not limited only to the Highlands, as in 1831-32 James Hogg (the Ettrick Shepherd) commented that before the Napoleonic Wars a native of the Scottish Borders would not leave his area,

"but now all the best are leaving it; all the industrious, diligent, and respectable men who have made a little competency to carry them to another country, are hastening away as if a pestilence were approaching them."⁴

In the Highlands, before the famine of 1846, there was a tendency for the small tenants who had money or spirit to emigrate overseas, those who were less well off would go to the mainland, while the poorest would remain where they were.⁵ This, however, is not the complete situation as there were numbers of relatively prosperous crofters, in the period before the 1840's, who did^{not} leave their

homes but even these were soon reduced almost to destitution by the collapse of the Highland economy in the 1840's. In other words, while at one time they had had the means to emigrate, if they had so desired, by the late 1840's even this alternative was closed to them.⁶

By the early 1840's the situation in the North West Highlands had begun to deteriorate so rapidly that Alexander MacGregor, the Church of Scotland licentiate at Kilmuir, Skye, could write that,

"Unless a public grant for emigration be speedily obtained the better classes of the small tenants, seeing that the poor landless families will ever be a drawback upon their exertions, will doubtless make every endeavour to leave the country while they are able, and thus will leave the poor and destitute to labour and toil in circumstances more wretched and miserable than ever."⁷

This situation was particularly obvious in connection with the assisted emigrations from the Duke of Argyll's estates on Tiree, Iona and the Ross of Mull beginning in 1846(7). The Rev. D. McLean wrote from Iona to the Marquis of Lorne in February 1847 that the people who were the most reluctant to emigrate were "the poorest and most useless and worthless part of the population."⁸ It is worth noting here that many people in the Highlands during this period were very reluctant to migrate (either overseas or elsewhere in Great Britain). This of course is not surprising as the society had been generally traditional and static with little mobility either socially or spatially.⁹ However, once the decision to migrate had been made (either voluntary or forced) it apparently made little difference whether the final destination was the Lowlands of Scotland or Upper Canada.¹⁰ John Campbell, the Duke of Argyll's chamberlain in the islands, stated in March 1847 that if at

all possible the emigrant ships should come to Mull and Tiree to embark the emigrants for Canada, "as the people seem to think more of going to (the) Clyde, than the rest of the passage."¹¹

There were, generally speaking, three classes (or types) of emigrants from the British Isles to Canada. First, those emigrants bringing with them a moderate amount of capital, for example, a minimum of £300 to £500. With this amount of money, such people were in an excellent position to begin life in the new country. The second class were those emigrants who had some skills such as tradesmen, (carpenters, coopers, chandlers, tailors, butchers, masons, etc.), mechanics (plumbers, millwrights, engineers, blacksmiths) and farm-servants (ploughmen, barnsmen, waggoners, etc.)

General speaking, such skilled persons had no difficulty in obtaining steady employment in Upper Canada at reasonable wages. The third class of emigrants consisted of unskilled labourers and the demand for this type of labour tended to fluctuate depending on the economic conditions at a particular time period and on the particular area in Upper Canada where the emigrants intended on settling.¹²

As stated previously, this chapter will not focus on the various groups of destitute emigrants from Scotland to Upper Canada but will present the case that the majority of the emigrants during this period were average or above average with respect both to material possessions and skills. The main sources of information about the financial status of various emigrants are Scottish newspaper reports

and Buchanan's reports from Quebec. Some of these reports indicate that very large sums of money were often involved. In July 1819 it was reported that the ship Harmony had departed from Crinan, Argyllshire for Quebec carrying 275 passengers who took with them £12,000.¹³ In June 1820 the Glasgow Herald noted the departure of the Ben Lomond from Greenock for Quebec. The 218 passengers were mainly "respectable agriculturalists" who took with them £30,000 in specie (coin).¹⁴ This was a considerable amount of money, but other reports during this period (1815 - 1855) indicate that these two cases were not necessarily exceptions.¹⁵

It is, of course, very difficult to arrive at any valid figure for the amount of money taken by emigrants to the Canadas. For most of the period under consideration no efforts were made by the government to collect such information. The second problem in this regard was well presented by Capt. Charles Patey, R.N., the Government Emigration Agent for the Clyde in his evidence before the Select Committee on the Passenger Acts in 1850. During the year 1850 Capt. Patey asked the various emigrants with whom he was in contact how much money they were taking with them. On this basis he estimated that upwards of £47,000 left the Clyde in 1850. He added however, that this was a very conservative estimate, as the emigrants were likely somewhat reluctant in informing the government of their correct assets.¹⁶ In January, 1851, the Glasgow Herald estimated that approximately £52,000 was taken by emigrants from the Clyde in 1850. It added that,

"The greater proportion of the Scotch emigrants consisted of small farmers, and operative tradesmen, particularly working engineers, who were generally able to secure a comfortable passage for themselves, and carry out some small means with them."

"The emigrants to Canada, Australia, and the Cape, were, for the most part a superior class, in appearance of wordly circumstances, to those going to the States (large numbers of Irish)."¹⁷

The preceeding section has not intended to suggest that the majority of Scottish emigrants to the Canadas were independently wealthy. It does suggest, however, that they were not paupers.

An examination of the occupations of Scottish emigrants to the Canadas during this period also suggests that these people had a considerable diversity of skills. In attempting to examine these occupations the two main sources of information are the same as above, Scottish newspapers and Buchanan's reports at Quebec. Unfortunately neither of these gives a complete picture but some generalizations can be made.

Table 10.1 OCCUPATIONS OF EMIGRANTS FROM SCOTLAND ARRIVING AT QUEBEC IN 1842.

Agricultural labourers, mechanics (including some weavers)	- 999
Farmers, labourers	- 931
Farm servants, labourers, mechanics	- 817
Farmers, labourers, mechanics, servants	- 690
Trades, farmers	- 327
Farmers	- 267
Mechanics, labourers	- 216
Farmers, trades, labourers	- 187
Agricultural labourers, trades	- 153
Labourers	- 133
Mechanics, farmers	- 123
Mechanics	- 90

see footnote 18

Table 10.1 gives the occupations of emigrants from Scotland arriving at

Quebec in 1842, based on A. C. Buchanan's report. These figures do not indicate the absolute number of persons with the listed occupations. This is the result of two facts, first, that these figures are based on the occupation of the head of a family (i.e. farmer, his wife, four children - total 6 farmers) and second, only about eighty per cent of the emigrants from Scotland to Quebec in 1842 are given. Another problem with the information in Table 10.1 is that the classifications and groupings used were very broad and often unrelated to each other, for example, "farm servants, labourers, mechanics." However, the table does provide a general indication of the occupations of emigrants at this period, particularly those of farmers, mechanics and trades. A number of Buchanan's other reports provide similar information.¹⁹

Many other scattered references appear to the occupations of Scottish emigrants to the Canadas during this period. There are three main types of references in this regard. The first and possibly largest group relates to farming occupations, including farmers, skilled labourers and ordinary labourers, although the first two categories seem to have predominated.²⁰ The second group relates to various trades and mechanical occupations representing a wide range of skills.²¹ The third and final group of references relates to a combination of both of the preceeding groups as well as other occupations.²²

The second part of this chapter will mention a number of less important factors (agencies) which assisted and directed Scottish emigration to Upper Canada between 1815 and 1855. The majority of these factors

were of small importance relative to those discussed in previous chapters, yet they help to provide the overall picture with some of its finer details.

- a) British military garrisons stationed during this period in British North America consisted of a number of Scottish regiments as well as individual Scots.²³

"Almost every district in the Highlands had furnished some one officer or other whose services were rewarded by these grants of land (particularly in the period before 1815); so that every district was equally assailed with temptations to the discontented peasantry to emigrate."²⁴

It is of course very difficult to evaluate precisely the influence of these Scottish soldiers but as many of them were among the earliest settlers in Upper Canada following the American War of Independence, their impact was considerable. As well as receiving various land grants in the colony upon which they could settle when disbanded, Scottish soldiers in their letters home or when they returned to Scotland acted as carriers and distributors of information about conditions and opportunities in the Canadas.

- b) The early 1850's in the Canadas was a period of considerable activity in railway construction. Various railway companies advertised in Britain for specialist craftsmen (stone masons, carpenters, quarrymen, engine drivers and fitters) by offering good wages, guaranteed employment and advances of passage money for craftsmen and their families.²⁵ A number of Scottish mechanics emigrated to obtain such employment.²⁶
- c) Several references have been located to mining and manufacturing companies in North America encouraging emigration.²⁷ None of these, however, refer to the Canadas due primarily to the fact that up to

the end of the period under discussion, there were very few large scale industries. On the other hand individual skilled tradesmen could and did find employment.²⁸

- d) The Hudson's Bay Company owned extensive land in the north and west of North America during this period and operated trading posts and routes throughout this area. The Company's ships sailed from London via the east coast of Britain calling regularly at Stromness, Orkney and Stornaway, Lewis to engage labourers or apprentices and purchase final provisions for the voyage. More or less annually between forty and one hundred young men were engaged in this way.²⁹ Some of these would remain in North America after their employment was terminated but they all acted as sources of information about the new world. The Company also advertised land and job opportunities in British Columbia in the early 1850's.³⁰
- e) Commercial banks in Upper Canada and in Scotland played a role in assisting emigrants during this period. Arrangements for the transmission of money by means of letters of credit were established between a number of banks which provided a necessary service both to emigrants and businessmen.³¹ Also persons who had received banking training in Scotland could obtain similar employment in Upper Canada.³²
- f) One occupation in Upper Canada that appears to have contained a large proportion of Scots was the teaching profession.³³ The Scottish settlers in Glengarry County were among the first to take steps to secure the establishment of common (public) schools in the colony, and in 1804 petitioned the legislature of Upper Canada on this matter.³⁴ A number of Scottish churches assisted in sending

teachers to various British colonies³⁵ and a number of individual Scottish teachers petitioned the British government for help in emigrating to British North America.³⁶

- g) In 1835 a small group of children (six boys and five girls) were sent out to Upper Canada from the West Kirk workhouse in Edinburgh. They were destined for Port Stanley where arrangements had been made to receive them.³⁷ Somewhat later in the 1870's and 1880's about 2000 orphan and destitute children were sent largely from the Glasgow area to places in Canada.³⁸
- h) In June 1819 a group entitled the Sutherland Transatlantic Friendly Association was formed at Meikle Ferry Inn, Sutherlandshire for the purpose of organizing emigration from that area to North America. However, as the result of fraud on the part of its chief organizer, a Mr. Thomas Dudgeon, the Association collapsed in January 1820.³⁹
- i) In June 1822 a group entitled "the Association at Edinburgh for supplying persons emigrating from the County of Sutherland to North America" provided thirty-six spades, twenty saws and 800 pounds of nails (customs value £35) which were sent on two ships from Inverness to Pictou, Nova Scotia.⁴⁰ Nothing further has been located as to other activities of this group.
- j) Chapter nine of the present study examined various aspects of the considerable shipping trade between Scotland and the St. Lawrence. Ship owners were faced with the problem of sailors who would work on the outward voyage and then desert on arrival in Canada.⁴⁴
- k) Occasionally lands held by individuals in Upper Canada were advertised

in Scotland.⁴² One reason for this was possibly estate sales.

- 1) In 1842 an interesting scheme to promote and finance emigration to Canada was organized and publicized by Mr. Colin S. M'Laws a Glasgow merchant. With the title of an "Independent System of Emigration" M'Laws proposed a lottery scheme whereby working class people could purchase tickets with daily deposits of 1d or 2d. Draws would be made for prize money which then would be used to assist winning families to emigrate. He hoped that this scheme would be adopted throughout Britain and that large numbers of people (up to 250,000 annually) would be able to emigrate to Canada on this basis.⁴³

M'Laws ideas received wide publicity in the Glasgow newspapers and a number of public meetings were held in April and June of 1842 with the purpose of encouraging people in the Glasgow area to purchase the penny tickets.⁴⁴ M'Laws scheme reached its climax at the City Hall, Glasgow on the evening of November 8, 1842 before a large gathering of dignitaries (the Lord Provost, Rev. Dr. Norman M'Leod) and working class people. After a number of speeches, a blind boy drew two numbers, the holders of which each received £25 to enable them to emigrate. Mr. M'Laws stated that a ticket office would be opened at Glasgow Cross but that the scheme would have to be widely supported by the public or it would fail.⁴⁵ As no further information has been located, the conclusion is that such support was not forthcoming and the scheme ended there.

This chapter has examined two aspects of these emigrations which, while they were not covered previously, were felt to be of some importance in completing this study. The comments on the type of emigrants help to provide a better understanding of the individual emigrants situation in Scotland prior to emigrating and the contribution which these individuals were to make in Canada. The twelve less important factors (agencies) all assisted or directed these emigrations to some extent by providing either financial assistance, encouragement, or organizational structure or publicity and information about the Canadas.

REFERENCES

1. Alexander Mackenzie, Highland Clearances, p. 277.

George G. Mackay, On the Management of the Landed Property in the Highlands of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1858, pp. 67-8.

Angus M'Laine, The Population of the Highlands of Scotland, their deterioration, and its cause, Edinburgh, 1857, p. 37.

Glasgow Herald, April 16, 1819 from a Sussex paper.

This element of selection in the emigration process was not limited only to Scotland as the above reference notes emigration from Yorkshire to the United States, "chiefly of persons possessed of property sufficient to render them comfortable in their own country."

John Lorne Campbell (editor) The Book of Barra, London, 1936, pp. 163-4.

Roderick M'Neil to Rev. M'Donald, Barra, May 28, 1817.

On the subject of emigration M'Neil stated that "the loss of so many very decent people is much to be regretted: at same time, those that remain, will in time, be much better."

2. Samuel Johnson, op. cit., p. 195.

Lennoxlove Muniments, Brown Correspondence, Robert Brown to Hector Buchanan, 17 June 1801.

Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., pp. 20, 25, 53.

3. SRO GD 201/4/10/97 Duncan Shaw, Benbecula to Alexander Hunter, February 25, 1827.

4. Ettrick Shepherd (James Hogg) "On the changes in the Habits, amusements, and condition of the Scottish Peasantry, Quarterly Journal of Agriculture, vol. 3 (1831-32) p. 259.

5. D. F. Macdonald, Scotland's Shifting Population, pp. 37-8.

John de Vere Loder, Colonsay and Oronsay, Edinburgh 1935, p. 180.

From the late 1840's onward, "emigration was only a partial solution to the problem. The more prosperous could alone afford to seek new homes overseas. The poorer Gaelic-speaking classes would not even transfer themselves to the English-speaking mainland, where they felt they were foreigners."

QJA vol. II (1840-41) p. 298.

contd.

5. NSA vol. 14 p. 345 Inverness-shire, Parish of Durrinish, Rev. Archibald Clerk, February, 1841.

"it is well known to those who are acquainted with Skye, that the best educated among its common people generally, almost universally, have sought a foreign country where to advance their fortunes."

Napier Commission vol. III Q37858 relative to Reay, Carthness 1838-60.

"those who had money emigrated to America and elsewhere, those who remained became paupers."

PP 1826 LV (404) Q725-27, 731.

In evidence before the Emigration Committee, Sir Hugh Innes stated that a number of people with small capital had emigrated from the Lochalsh area two to three years previously, and many of the poor people who had remained now wished to emigrate.

Thomas Rolph, Emigration and Colonization, London, 1844, p. 199.

The Rev. Dr. Norman McLeod in a public speech in Glasgow on May 27, 1842 stated that since 1815 a considerable number of small capitalists (with £10 - £30) had emigrated.

Charles W. Dunn, op. cit., p. 20.

6. ibid., footnote 5.

Malcolm Gray, Highland Economy, pp. 147-8, 206, 221.

John Prebble, Highland Clearances, p. 174.

quoting Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod, after the famine 1836-7, "the means of emigration they do not possess."

NSA vol. 14 Ross and Cromarty p. 177 Parish of Kintail.

PP 1834 X (556) Q6059. A cotton weaver in Aberdeen when asked the question, "Do the best or worst go?" replied, "The worst class cannot get away."

7. Alexander MacGregor, "On the Advantages of a government grant" QJA vol. XI (1840-1), p. 298.

SRO Highland Emigration Society Letterbook #2, August 1852, p. 153.

Trevelyan to A. Matheson stating that the most eligible emigrant families have already left, leaving the least eligible and the most expensive, as far as assisted emigration was concerned.

8. Argyll MSS Blackbox #11 Rev. D. McLean to Lorne 16 February 1847.
"those who will be the first to show a willingness to move,
are the very persons that I am sure your Lordship would wish
to be the last."

PP 1847 LIII (788) p. 125.

PP 1851 XXVI (1397) p. 132.
9. NSA vol. 14 Ross and Cromarty
Parish of Kintail p. 177 "the love of country prevails most
Parish of Uig p. 154. strongly."

SRO GD 46/13/199(6) January 13, 1837 Mackenzie of Seaforth
regarding parishes of Uig and Lochs on Isle of Lewis.

PP 1847 LIII (788) p. 126. Marquis of Lorne to Sir George Grey.
October 22, 1846.
"the desperate attachment of the people to the patches on which
they annually are half-starved is something so wonderful that
emigration to any place is really their last resource."
10. ibid. "their exceeding repugnance to move at all is as decided,
if not greater against going to the adjacent district, as to
go to America."

Old Statistical Account vol. IV p. 574 Parish of Strachur
"and when he (Highlander) has resolved to set out, whether from
necessity or choice, he would as soon cross the Atlantic as he
would cross an arm of the sea." quoted in Earl of Selkirk
Observations, London 1805 appendix E

John Prebble, Highland Clearances, p. 28.
11. Argyll Mss. Black Box #11, John Campbell to Duke March 11, 1847.
12. PP 1844 XXXV (181) pp. 23-4.

PP 1843 XXXIV (291) pp. 42-4.

W. T. Easterbrook and Hugh G. J. Aitken, Canadian Economic History,
Toronto, 1963, pp. 274-6.
13. Glasgow Herald, July 2, 1819 from a correspondent in Argyllshire.
14. Glasgow Herald, June 5, 1820.
15. Glasgow Herald, April 16, 1819 from Dumfries Courier, April 13, 1819.
Report of about 500 persons carrying £18,000 leaving south-west
Scotland for New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

contd.

15. Glasgow Herald, July 20, 1827 - Extract of a letter from Montreal May 24, 1827

It described the activities of a wealthy East Lothian farmer who was in Montreal as the advance agent ("avant-courier") for 100 similar farmers and their families all of whom had capital varying from £500 to £3000.

Glasgow Herald, May 10, 1833.

Details of the sailing of the Dalmarnock from Greenock to New York. "It is worthy of remark, emigrants - are of the monied agricultural class, and are principally destined to settle in the Canadas."

PP 1841 XV (298) arrivals at Quebec in 1840.

- a) Quebec Packet from Cromarty, September 10th
60 persons (23 men, 15 women, 22 children) bringing with them £800 to £1000 in gold (page 26).
- b) Brilliant from Aberdeen, week of May 16th
"all in easy circumstances" (page 86).
- c) Sarah from Aberdeen, week of May 23rd
several families with "large capital". (page 86).
- d) British King from Cromarty, August 19th
157 emigrants (about 50 families) bringing with them £7000 to £8000 (pages 22-3).

PP 1842 XXXI (301) arrivals at Quebec in 1841

- a) Margaret Bogle from Leith, July 19th
117 emigrants (51 men)
"some very respectable, all in good circumstances" (page 250).
- b) Huron from Liverpool, July 24th.
carrying twenty-five "respectable Scotch" from Paisley (page 250).

PP 1843 XXXIV (291) arrivals at Quebec in 1842

- a) noted the arrival of three ships from the Clyde between May 10-13, 169 emigrants (76 men). They were farmers and respectable mechanics, "all in good circumstances." (page 15).
- b) Feronia and Blonde two ships from Glasgow, June 27th
"a fine intelligent body of people (chiefly farmers) and have brought a large amount of capital with them" as capital for investment, chiefly in land £10,000 to £12,000 pages 22-3).

Glasgow Herald, April 8, 1842.

The following comments were made on the departure of the "first Spring fleet" (eight ships to Canada, two ships to New York and one ship to Nova Scotia) from the Clyde in 1842.

contd.

15. "amongst the fleet are dispersed a considerable number of emigrants, all of whom, with the exception of the cabin passengers, are of the humbler orders, belonging principally to the small towns and villages in the neighbourhood. In noticing the departure of some of the ships, it was pleasing to observe from the bulk of the luggage which many of the passengers owned, that they will step on a foreign land with a fair amount of plenishing." It is also noted that many of those emigrating also carried out small libraries. The Glasgow Chronicle (April 8, 1842) printed a similar report.

Glasgow Herald, June 10, 1842.

Details of the sailing of three ships (935 passengers) from the Clyde to the United States. "We may state, generally, that the passengers by these fine ships were of a very respectable class, and chiefly destined for Upper Canada."

PP 1844 XXXV (181) p. 20 arrivals at Quebec 1843.

The Brilliant from Aberdeen carried "highly respectable farmers, and bring out considerable capital with them."

Glasgow Herald, June 17, 1850 from Edinburgh Courant.

The Argo embarked emigrants at Leith and Thurso who were "in respectable circumstances."

Glasgow Herald, June 17, 1850.

a) The Wadsworth embarked 415 passengers, "chiefly Scotch and of a respectable class" from the Clyde for Quebec. "Indeed, the emigration this season appears generally to embrace people of a superior order from those who have hitherto embarked at this port. It has been ascertained that many of the emigrants carry sums varying from £100 to £1200."

b) A report that 200 emigrants from Campeltown and vicinity had very recently left for North America, "taking with them in all not less than £20,000."

Glasgow Herald, April 14, 1851.

The Sarah embarked 232 passengers "seemingly possessed of means" from Glasgow for New York. They were "about to settle in either Canada or the United States."

Glasgow Herald, May 5, 1851 from Kelso Chronicle

"On Monday morning last this town was the scene of extraordinary excitement on the occasion of the departure of 31 individuals to America. They are mostly all people in good circumstances."

PP 1852-3 LXVIII (1650) p. 21. Arrivals at Quebec during August 1852 "Among the emigrants who came out at their own expense there were some highly respectable Scotch and English families, who possessed capital. They all proceed direct to Toronto and Hamilton; chiefly to friends."

Aberdeen Journal, August 17, 1853.

This edition provided details about emigration from Aberdeen to British North America between 1849 and 1853, (annual average of approximately 400 persons to Quebec during this period). It commented that these emigrants were the usual class, "healthy, energetic, possessing some capital."

Aberdeen Journal, August 23, 1854.

This edition described the approximately 1600 emigrants who embarked from the port of Aberdeen for Quebec in 1854 as "generally respectable and energetic individuals of some little capital, the majority from Aberdeenshire."

16. PP 1851 XIX (632) Q 5610

17. Glasgow Herald, January 27, 1851.

18. PP 1843 XXXIV (291) Buchanan's Report for 1842.

19. PP 1841 XV (298).

Buchanan's Report for 1840 contains this information relating to approximately sixty per cent of emigrants from Scotland to Quebec.

PP 1842 XXXI (301).

Buchanan's Report for 1841 contains this information relating to approximately thirty per cent of emigrants from Scotland to Quebec.

PP 1857 (Session I) X (14).

Buchanan's Report for 1855 contains references to the occupations of a number of emigrants from Scotland to Quebec. Those most frequently named were "respectable agriculturists and mechanics" and "generally respectable mechanics and farmers."

See also Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 304.

Table XIII gives trades and callings of emigrants who arrived at the Ports of Quebec and Montreal, 1846 - 1859.

20. Glasgow Herald, June 5, 1820.

Notice of the ship Ben Lomond from Greenock to Québec carrying 218 passengers, "respectable agriculturalists."

Glasgow Herald, July 20, 1827.

Extract of a letter from Montreal, dated May 24, 1827 containing information about the intended emigration of about one hundred wealthy East Lothian farmers.

Canada Company Letterbook, Letter from Andrew Mercer, Paisley, June 23, 1828 (see Table 3.1).

"It is to the Farmers to whom I chiefly allude because I have frequent opportunities from the nature of my profession to meet with them and I find them generally complain of the high rents which they pay their landlords, and that their capital employed has been very unproductive for some years past, owing chiefly to the low state of the Markets - If the prospectus of the Canada Company was pretty widely circulated among such, I have no doubt that many would embrace the opportunity, and speculate and settle on the Company's Lands, of which it is more than highly probable that purchases would be made in the outset.

I may safely say that Renfrewshire has furnished its quota of Emigrants for fifty years back to America - Our Farmers who are noted for their industry do not know how to get their Sons settled - and the Prospectus holds out advantages to such that I am sanguine, they would embrace the scheme."

Glasgow Herald, April 19, 1833.

Notice of the ship Isabella from Troon to the St. Lawrence carrying one hundred passengers, "chiefly respectable farmers, from Ayrshire with their families."

Glasgow Herald, May 10, 1833.

Notice of the ship Dalmarnock from Greenock to New York with passengers, "of the monied agricultural class, and are principally destined to settle in the Canadas."

PP 1837-38 XL (389) appendix p. 14.

Buchanan's Report for 1837, week ending June 17th,

"among the arrivals during the past week were a number of wealthy and intelligent English and Scotch farmers."

PP 1851 XIX (632) Q 5523-4.

Crofters and cottars from the Highlands who emigrated via the Clyde were referred to by the Government Emigration Agent as "small farmers."

Glasgow Herald, June 17, 1850.

Notice of the ship Three Bells from Glasgow to the St. Lawrence, "with a full complement of passengers, chiefly from the agricultural districts."

Glasgow Herald, April 14, 1851.

Notice of the ship Sarah from Glasgow to New York with passengers, "chiefly of the agricultural class," "seemingly possessed of means", who were "about to settle either in Canada or the United States."

There are a number of references to emigration from the Port of Aberdeen to the St. Lawrence of agriculturalists who frequently possessed some means.

PP 1843 XXXIV (291) pp. 16-18, 36-37, 52.

PP 1844 XXXV (181) p. 20.

Aberdeen Journal, August 17, 1853.

ibid., August 23, 1854.

ibid., April 18, 1855.

T. Ferguson, Scottish Social Welfare, Edinburgh, 1958, p. 40.

"Emigration was one of the factors responsible for the failing supply of labour that dogged Scottish agriculture during these fifty years (1864-1914). Of labourers in Fife it was said that the attractions of life across the Atlantic had drained away the cream, 'the very bone and sinew of Scottish farm labourers.'"

21. Quebec Mercury, May 10, 1832 from Glasgow Courier.

Notice of a number of people from Mathven and the Carse of Gowrie embarking at Dundee for Canada. Their occupations included ploughmen, wrights, smiths, weavers and taylors.

See Chapter Four, reference 12A for details of the occupations of members of several emigration societies.

Chambers Information for the People, Number 17, Emigration to Canada Edinburgh, 1842, p. 271.

Extracts of letters from Scottish emigrants - two millwrights, one farmer, one gardener.

PP 1834 X (556) Q6064.

A cotton weaver in Aberdeen when asked in July 1834 whether recent emigrants were all weavers replied, "No, a great many mechanics of different descriptions, such as blacksmiths, cabinet-makers and plasterers."

Glasgow Herald, June 5, 1848.

Notice of the ship Madawaska from Glasgow to New York carrying approximately 200 emigrants for the United States and Canada. These emigrants included "a number of the better class of workmen."

PP 1851 XIX (632) Q5045

Mr. Thomas O. Hunter, merchant and shipping agent stated in evidence before the Select Committee on the Passenger Acts that "a good many mechanics" emigrated from the areas of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Berwickshire.

22. SRO RH 9/17/237.

This list of seventy letters to the government (end of February to the beginning of March 1815) from applicants wishing to settle in the Canadas contains occasional details of occupation including, blacksmith, surgeon, ex. officer, teacher, student, gardener and farmer.

CO 42/358 W. Bell, Airdrie to Colonial Office, July 6, 1816.
An application asking for government assistance for a group of fifty families of farmers and mechanics who wished to emigrate to Upper Canada.

Glasgow Chronicle, April 25, 1820.

Notice of the ship Alexander from Greenock to Quebec carrying 110 passengers, chiefly from the Middle Ward of Lanarkshire. Their occupations included farmers, weavers, wrights and masons.

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

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

CO 384/15

This Colonial Office file for the year 1827 contains many petitions for emigration assistance from Scotland from soldiers, farmers, weavers, crofters and cottars.

Glasgow Herald, June 11, 1852 from Dumfries Courier.

Commenting on the emigration from Dumfries-shire to North America of shepherds, farm servants, tradesmen and mechanics.

23. Gordon Donaldson, The Scots Overseas, London, 1966, p. 133.

The following British regiments were in Canada during the period under discussion - Highland Light Infantry (1825-32), Royal Scots (1838-9) and Seaforth Highlanders (about 1850).

Quebec Mercury, June 16, 1832.

The 79th Highlanders were stationed at York, Upper Canada.

Alexander Fraser, The Clan Fraser in Canada, Toronto, 1895, pp. 11-2, 14.

Details of the 78th Regiment (Fraser Highlanders) in British North America in the late eighteenth century.

J. A. Macdonell, Sketches Illustrating the Early Settlement and History of Glengarry in Canada, Montreal, 1899, pp. 19, 23.

Details of a number of regiments containing Highlanders who settled along the St. Lawrence and the eastern end of Lake Ontario in the late eighteenth century - first Battalion of the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, first Battalion of the King's Royal Regiment of New York and Butler's Rangers.

Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., pp. 6, 9, 10, 12.

Gordon Donaldson, op. cit., p. 131.

Names of a number of Scottish regiments that fought against the Americans during their War of Independence.

24. Remarks on the Earl of Selkirk's Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1806, pp. 340-1.
25. A. W. Currie, The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, Toronto, 1957, p. 29.

Personal correspondence with Lt.-Col. G. R. Stevens of Montreal, June 6, 1968.

26. PP 1851 XL (348) p. 32.
A. C. Buchanan mentioned the good employment opportunities on the Montreal and Portland Railway during the summer of 1850.

Inverness Advertiser, March 9, 1852.

This edition contained the information that a number of the emigrants from Lewis assisted by Sir James Matheson in 1851 received employment in railway construction. These emigrants were not hired until they arrived at Quebec.

PP 1854 XLVI (1763)

Extracts from A. C. Buchanan's notes of arrivals for 1853, 1st to 31st of May.

"The emigrants from Scotland were respectable tradesmen and farmers; 104 were mechanics principally connected with railway work."

Glasgow Herald, June 19, 1854.

The ship May Flower sailed from the Clyde on April 17th, with workmen for the Grand Trunk Railway, and arrived at Quebec on May 25th.

PP 1854-55 XXXIX (464) p. 26.

A. C. Buchanan's Report for 1854 from 3rd to 31st July,

"The English and Scotch emigrants were agriculturalists and mechanics, many of the latter have come out under engagement to the Grand Trunk Company."

27. Glasgow Herald, June 25, 1830.

Notice of a number of coal miners from Mid-Lothian going to New York State to work in newly discovered coal mines.

R. G. Flewelling, Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, vol. XXVIII (1949), p. 100.

Refers to arrangements made by the General Mining Association to bring emigrants from Scotland to Pictou, Nova Scotia in 1848.

Glasgow Herald, April 24, 1854.

Notice of 110 females and twenty males, who were largely steam-loom workers leaving Glasgow for Holyoake, Massachusetts via Liverpool and Boston. They had been hired by Messrs. Hodlyfauls and Co. who had similarly engaged seventy-two females in Scotland in 1853.

28. Chapter Ten, footnotes, 12, 21, 22.

29. Andrew D. Gibb, Scottish Empire, London, 1937, p. 40.
From the mid-eighteenth century onward, it seems probable that at no time did Scotsmen make up less than two thirds of the Hudson's Bay Company employees in North America.

Napier Commission 1884 Evidence vol. II, p. 1593 Q 25255, comments of J. C. Mellis, Sheriff-Substitute of Orkney, "but in Orkney, I have been impressed by the enterprise of the young fellows in going off and making their way in the world.----They began many years ago to go abroad, going to Hudson's Bay, and I have no doubt most of the people there in the fur trade would be Orcadians."

John Shearer (editor), The New Orkney Book, London, 1966 pp. 64, 67-8.
In 1791 the Hudson's Bay Company had 530 men in North America, almost eighty per cent of whom were Orkneymen. The number of Orkneymen declined somewhat after 1821, but the Company's ships continued to call at Stromness until 1891.

Personal correspondence with Mr. Ernest W. Marwick of Kirkwall, Orkney, April 26, 1969.
In 1799 sixty-three men were engaged by the Company at Stromness and by the mid 1830's this number had declined to between thirty-five and forty men annually.

SRO GD 46/1/530 Alexander Stewart to Hon. Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth, dated Stornaway, June 26, 1832.
Stewart stated that the Hudson's Bay squadron had been in the harbour at Stornaway, Lewis, during the previous four days and took on board forty young men and supplies.

Glasgow Herald, July 9, 1849 from the Edinburgh Courant.
Notice of the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company ship Prince Albert at Stornaway on June 29. A ship called there annually for labourers and twenty-four were engaged in 1849. These labourers were engaged for a period of five years and were to receive a free passage to North America, food, lodging and £17 per year. At the end of this period they could either receive a free passage home or re-engage with the Company on a yearly basis.

30. Glasgow Herald, December 9, 1850 from the Kilmarnock Journal.
Notice of a number of coal miners being engaged by the Company in order to search for coal on Vancouver Island.

John O'Groats Journal, January 9, 1852.
Contained an advertisement for Hudson's Bay Company land for sale on Vancouver Island.

31. Glasgow Herald, February 16, 1835.
Announcement that arrangements had been made for the "transmission of money to Canada" by the Commercial Bank of Scotland and the British Linen Company.

Glasgow Herald, July 18, 1842 and The Scotsman, July 9, 16, 23, 1842.
Announcement that arrangements had been made for "remittances to Canada" between the Gore Bank of Hamilton, Upper Canada and the Bank of Scotland and the Glasgow Union Bank.
32. R. H. Campbell, op. cit., p. 80.
33. Annan Jameson, Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, Toronto, 1923 (new edition) pp. 183-4.
"I passed in these journeys some school-houses by the wayside: of these, several were shut up for want of schoolmasters; and who that could earn a subsistence in any other way, would be a schoolmaster in the wilds of Upper Canada? Ill fed, ill clothed, ill paid, or not paid at all -- boarded at the houses of the different farmers in turn, I found indeed some poor men, poor creatures! Always either Scotch or Americans."

W. Pakenham, "The Public School System" in A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, Canada and Its Provinces, vol. 18, Toronto, 1914, p. 293.
34. Edwin C. Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada, Toronto, 1933, pp. 43-4.
35. Rev. Norman L. Walker, Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1875, p. 182.
36. CO 384/1 p. 309. Robert Dallas to Hon. H. Goulburn, dated Edinburgh, April 11, 1817.
"May I request the favour of your informing me - if His Majesty's Government will be disposed to grant any Salary or Allowance to a person going out to Canada in the Capacity of School Master, or Teacher of English, Arithmetic, and Writing."
No reply was located, but the British government did not generally make such allowances.

CO 384/7 pp. 711-2. John Matheson to Colonial Office, dated Lochalsh, May 1, 1821.
A similar request to the previous.
37. PP 1836 XL (76) p. 22.
38. T. Ferguson, Scottish Social Welfare, Edinburgh, 1958, p. 573.

Edinburgh Review, vol. 92, October 1850, pp. 499-504.

This journal advocated the establishment of ragged schools and Union Workhouses where children could be trained in various skills so that they would be better able to manage when they had emigrated.

PP 1863 XV (3199) p. 35.

In 1862 thirty-two girls were aided in emigrating to Toronto by the Female Emigration Society of Edinburgh. Each girl received a dress and a free passage, but was expected to repay one half of the passage costs out of her first earnings.

39. John Prebble, op. cit., pp. 121-2, 128-9.

J. S. Martell, Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1815 - 1838, Halifax, 1942, p. 9.

James Loch, An Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquis of Stafford in Stafford, Salop and Sutherland, London, 1820, pp. xix-xx.

40. SRO E505/17/9. Customs records Inverness, June 26, 1822.

41. George Blake, The Ben Line, London, 1956, p. 22.

42. Glasgow Herald, July 18, 1842.

Advertising 1200 acres for sail near the Trent River in Upper Canada, application for details was to be made to Peebles and Campbell, writers, 16 Bath Street, Glasgow.

43. Colin Sharp M'Laws, Statement Explanatory of the Independent System of Emigration, Glasgow, 1842.

Glasgow Herald, June 17, 1842.

44. Glasgow Herald, April 4, June 17, 1842.

Glasgow Chronicle, April 4, 22, 25, 1842.

Glasgow Argus, April 18, 1842.

45. Glasgow Herald, November 11, 1842.

Dr. M'Leod stated, "his conviction of the absolute, and paramount, and awful importance of some measure of emigration to meet the necessities of Great Britain." The two winners were John Struthers, weaver of East Kilbride and George M'Farlane, porter to Mr. Sandeman, wine merchant of Glasgow.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

The final chapter of this study will draw a number of overall conclusions by evaluating the relative significance of the eight major factors that assisted and directed Scottish emigration to Upper Canada in the period 1815 to 1855.

The present study has left a number of questions unsolved - the exact number of Scottish emigrants leaving various parts at particular periods, detailed lists of the emigrants skills and occupations, precise information about the areas of origin in Scotland of these emigrants and finally an intimate understanding of the complex personal decisions which each emigrant made prior to deciding to leave his country for another home across the Atlantic. It is felt that these questions will not be significantly further answered due to the inadequacy of the available historical documents and the fact that the participants in this study lived and died several generations ago. It is, however, possible to draw a number of overall conclusions.

These conclusions are of two types: quantitative and qualitative. Allowing for the inadequacy of the available historical documents the quantitative conclusions are somewhat easier to arrive at. The chapters dealing with the roles of the government, emigration societies, landlords, and Scottish ports, shipping and emigration agents all contain considerable

details of the number of people involved, at various times and locations. It is therefore possible to say with some degree of confidence, for example, that in 1843, about 900 persons who were members of various emigration societies in the Glasgow area arrived at Quebec and that 300 persons left the Port of Aberdeen for Quebec.¹ The details contained in the specific chapters referred to above will not be repeated here other than to say that on the basis of the number of emigrants directly assisted the main time periods can be given - government (1815, 1820-21), emigration societies (1820-21, 1840-43) and landlords (1846 - 1853). It is interesting to note that generally speaking these time periods do not overlap as a result of the changes in government attitudes and the differing crisis periods in the Lowlands as opposed to the Highlands.

On the other hand, the qualitative conclusions cannot be stated with the same accuracy, although the author believes that the examination and analysis presented in the previous chapters have been detailed and complete enough to arrive at conclusions which are nevertheless valid. As in so many other areas of human behaviour there are no laws which can be relied upon.

"The ultimate constituents of the social world are individual people who act more or less appropriately in light of their dispositions and understanding of their situation. Every complex social situation, institution or event is the result of a particular configuration of individuals, their dispositions, situations, beliefs, and physical resources and environment."²

The purpose of the present study as set out in Chapter One was to evaluate the influence over time of eight factors on the character, volume and direction of a particular emigration. In particular, the focus was on

the effectiveness of these factors in overcoming a number of obstacles which consisted primarily of distance, cost and availability of transportation, organization, personal inertia and information about the area of destination.

In presenting the qualitative conclusions for this study, the most suitable form decided upon was that of a qualitative ranking into three groups.

Table 11.1 QUALITATIVE RANKING OF FACTORS

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| First order | - Friends and relatives
- Periodicals, newspapers and books
- Scottish ports, shipping and emigration agents |
| Second order | - Government
- Emigration societies and trade unions
- Landlords |
| Third order | - Land companies and land speculators in Upper Canada
- Churches |

After examining and weighing the facts and information which were brought together and presented in the preceeding chapters, this ranking by groups (Table 11.1) was arrived at on the basis of the factors' role in overcoming various obstacles and the number of emigrants who were felt to have been assisted and influenced. It should be noted also that any attempt to rank the factors within any of the three groups would have been extremely difficult and almost impossible to justify.

The three factors in the first order were all of critical importance in assisting and directing these emigrations. Emigrant

letters provided valuable information and encouragement to potential emigrants and established Scottish settlers in Upper Canada served as important contacts as well as providing financial and other assistance to more recent emigrants both prior to embarkation and after arrival in the new country. The various publications that were available in Scotland and which commented upon emigration in general, and Upper Canada in particular, presented on the whole a favourable view. 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. These publications provided useful and informative details and advice about the emigration process and Upper Canada, as well as giving encouragement to their readers who might have been considering emigration. The third factor entitled, Scottish ports, shipping and emigration agents was of particular importance in this emigration process in view of the distance and organization involved. It was the availability of a reliable transportation infrastructure in the form of sufficient and satisfactory shipping facilities, as well as the promotional and organizational activities of various agents, that did a great deal to overcome the inertia against emigration by providing information, encouragement and the physical means of emigrating overseas. The common element among the first order factors was that they acted as positive and continuing links in the migration process by providing information, encouragement and some organization.

The three factors in the second order were in some ways less

significant in these overall emigrations. The British government, after an initial period of hesitant yet significant assistance, both financial and organizational, decided on a policy of providing regulation and information. Its role in this regard was important in that it established a humanitarian framework within which these emigrations could take place. The role of the Canadian government was minimal during the period under discussion, yet overall, the role of government was a positive and beneficial factor in these emigrations. Emigration societies were of importance in encouraging, assisting and organizing large numbers of emigrants from Scotland to Upper Canada during particular periods, (the early and late 1820's and the early 1840's) and in particular areas (western central Lowlands). The role of trade unions was somewhat more ambiguous and over the period as a whole the vast majority of working class emigration was on the basis of individual persons or families. The third factor in the second order the Scottish landlords was important, both negatively and positively, over the entire period in view of their influence upon individual persons, public opinion in Scotland and the British government. More specifically, the role of these landlords was critical in particular areas (north west Highlands and Islands) at particular periods (1847 to 1853) when they provided financial assistance, encouragement and organization. The common element among the second order factors was that they tended to act as positive links in the migration process during limited time periods and in specific areas. This statement does not apply as fully to the role of the British government, which generally attempted to create a

framework within these emigrations could take place. However the government did focus its efforts on specific problem areas when crises arose.

The two factors in the third order were the least significant relative to the six factors commented on above. Land companies and land speculators in Upper Canada did provide information, assistance and some organizational framework to these emigrations but their significance was often related to small groups and overall they were not a critical factor. The role played by the various Scottish churches and individual ministers was an interesting and occasionally significant facet of these emigrations by providing encouragement, assistance and continuity in the emigrant's life. The common elements among the third order factors were that they often related to small groups and individual personalities. Also, these two factors tended to be of more significance, when the emigrants began to settle in their new environment.

This study, in focusing on a dynamic aspect of population - migration - has examined in detail the spatial distribution of a variety of factors influencing and directing the movements of large numbers of people: source areas of emigrants, transportation routes and terminals, the location of agencies assisting these emigrants and aspects of their final destinations. The changing influence and distribution of these various factors combined to create a new pattern both in Scotland and in Upper Canada.

The study of these emigrations from Scotland to Upper Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century is a fascinating one. It was a period of change and development both in Scotland and in Upper Canada. However, the real story of the time and its place in the growth of these two areas should focus on the individual participants.

"Whether the Highlander emigrated from economic necessity or from personal choice, he certainly could not have relished parting from the homeland which he loved; yet even the most wretched emigrant, as he embarked on the voyage, must have nourished some ray of hope in the new and unexploited land of the New World."³

"The conquering energy of a host of nameless men and women driven out into exile by the fiery sword of economic pressure, to eat their bread in strange places in the sweat of their faces, and to bear their children in sorrow that through them the men of the future may subdue nature and inherit the earth."⁴

REFERENCES

1. Chapter 4, footnote 56,
Helen I. Cowan, op. cit., p. 292.
2. J. N. N. Watkins, "Historical Explanation in the Social Sciences",
British Journal for the Philosophy of Science, vol. 8 (1957) p. 106.
3. Charles W. Dunn, Highland Settler, Toronto, 1968, p. 16.
4. K. N. Bell and W. P. Morrell (editors), Select Documents in British Colonial Policy, Oxford, 1930, p. xlix, quoted in Helen I. Cowan,
op. cit., p. 238.

APPENDIX I

EMIGRANT LETTERS

A. Manuscript Sources

1. "It is a very good country we cannot complain.
...It is yourself we want...Certainly letters is
welcomed but yourself would be much better."

Letter from Dugald McMaster, Vankleek Hill, Upper Canada to his son Duncan McMaster, Clash, Argyllshire, November 10, 1847. The father listed all the advantages of emigrating and offered to pay his son's outward and return passage to Scotland if he did not wish to remain in Canada. The original is in the possession of Mr. Ian Cameron of London, England.

2. "Please let Brother John know that Mr. Stirling has a son schoolmaster in St. James School Glasgow to whom his Brother is writing home a copy of some letters wrot by his Brother and the Buchams son. The letters are well worthy of his parusal as they contain a particular account of the settlement of the Ochio (Ohio) and other places in the states, and making a comparison betwixt them and Canada if he wishes to seem them he must call down upon Mr. Stirling as he is to send them to a batchelors club in Dumblain."

Letter from James Macfarlane dated Quebec, July 13, 1825 to his brother David Macfarlane, Cross Arthurlie, Neilston, Scotland.

This letter points out two interesting features, first the interest in comparing the situation in Canada with that in the United States and second, the passing of emigrant letters from one person or group of people to another. Other letters in this collection relate to the emigration to Canada of other members of the Macfarlane family to join James. The originals are in the possession of Mr. A. Struthers, Barrhead, Scotland.

3. "You wold like me to say what I like and what I do not like in this countrie. I never was happier and Magdlen was never in all our lives, mony is scarce but meat is plenty and I intend to tack land next fall a canadein farmer is the happiest man in this woreld."

Letter from John and Magdelene Good dated Newhope, Upper Canada January 9, 1842 to his brother William Good, Paisley, Scotland. The original is in the possession of Mrs. John Smith, Melrose, Scotland.

4. "It is not to other people that we are working as you are, but for ourselves and family, and suppose we work hard, we know we will have the benefit in the end. Men in that country (Scotland) are only working for their living and nothing else, but while we are working we will make our living and a property beside. Every one that came here has got land in some shape or other. ...It is my advice to you, come! If you had come when I came you would be an independent man now. I am glad that I came. ...This is a good country, fertile land, mild climate, very healthy, very palatable food, and genteel way of taking it."

Letter from Duncan Ferguson dated Yarmouth, Upper Canada, September 30, 1837 to his brother in Argyllshire who was considering emigration. The original is in the possession of Mrs. Dorothy Maclean, Greenock, Scotland.

5. "I thought that father would lose heart on the country but he is in good heart yet. There is a difference in this country where a man has a piece of land of his own he can be very content when he raises a living on it."

Letter from Andrew Gray dated Chatham, Canada West, December 23, 1855 to his cousin in Roxburghshire. The original is in the possession of Mr. John Murdie, Baggerton, Forfar, Scotland.

B. Newspapers

1. "Liberty and equality are the predominant principles here. A common labourer from Scotland is entitled to a lot of land. ...It is nothing uncommon to see a poor Glasgow weaver, who came among us with scarce a stitch to cover his nakedness, strutting between the stumps of his trees as pompous as an Edinburgh magistrate."

Extract of a letter from Perth, Upper Canada dated January 18, 1820 quoted in Glasgow Chronicle, April 22, 1820 and Glasgow Herald April 28, 1820.

2. "I can say with truth, that we have no occasion to rue leaving our native land; Heaven hath blessed us far beyond our deservings. ...we are truly happy in a thriving family and plenty to give them. Anne desires me to inform you, that her most earnest desire on earth is, that we had you with us, that you might spend the remainder of your days in ease and quiet... If there is any possibility of your attempting it, I think you never could do better than come next season..."

Extract of a letter from a settler in Perth, Upper Canada quoted in the Greenock Advertiser and reproduced in the Morning Herald, December 31, 1821.

3. "Perserverance and industry is sure of bringing comfort and independence. Often do I regret the fate of many in Scotland pursuing anxiously what they can never accomplish, and what could with equal exertion be certainly obtained in Canada."

Letter from a settler of seven years experience in Upper Canada, quoted in Glasgow Chronicle, April 27, 1842.

C. Books

1. "Urge my brothers to come out, if they ever wish to free themselves from bondage; this is the land of independence to the industrious - the soil that will repay the labourer for the sweat of his brow - and where grinding lairds that harass and oppress the poor of Scotland, are unknown."

Letter from a Scotsman, who sailed from Leith dated February 11, 1834 at St. Clair River, Upper Canada; in Sequel to the Counsel for Emigrants (Aberdeen: John Mathison, 1834), p. 38-9

2. "Canada has justly been called the 'poor man's country' - A man with a small capital and a family of industrious sons, can soon get independent. He will, perhaps, be subjected to 2 or 3 years' hard labour, with but few comforts, but afterwards, he has little or no difficulty. Should your brother conclude to try Canada, I shall be happy to be of any service to him."

Letter from a Scotsman dated September 26, 1832 at Kingston, Upper Canada; in Sequel to the Counsel for Emigrants (Aberdeen: John Mathison, 1834) p. 68-9.

3. "So much do I prefer liberty to confinement, that I would on almost no account exchange my present for my former situation; and I assure you everything in it is not smooth, easy, and agreeable as yet, but I hold fast the hope that it will be increasingly so. ...Were I to consult merely my own feelings and comfort, I should say without hesitation - come, come, every one of you - come as soon as possible. Here, with hard labour and industry, after three or four years, you might find yourself in possession of a piece of land, at least 50 acres, which you could call your own."

Letter from a person who left Aberdeen in 1832 dated January 21, 1833, Zorra, Upper Canada; in Counsel for Emigrants (Aberdeen: John Mathison, 1834), p. 33-4.

4. "For this is now my home, and as far as a prospect of independence in this world is concerned, I every hour wish that you were all with me, and then we could go on together, and never feel the painful thought of home and friends far away, which alone can disturb us here. Oh man! come out - if you would only come, Peggy would come with you, and if I had her here I would laugh at care."

Letter from a respectable young man who left Buchan in 1831-32, dated 1833, Banks of the Trent, Upper Canada; in Counsel for Emigrants (Aberdeen: John Mathison, 1834) p. 114-15.

5. "I would not for twenty thousand pounds return to Scotland. I want not money to lead a useful life."

Extract of a letter from Upper Canada quoted in Chambers Information for the People number 17 (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 269.

6. "I now finish my letter by giving my opinion on the subject as a whole. If a man has firmness, patience, and fortitude, combined with perseverance and prudence, he will in the course of a few years be quite comfortable - I might say independent."

Extract of a letter from a settler in Nichol Township, Upper Canada to a friend in Scotland which was quoted in the Aberdeen Herald and Chambers Information for the People number 17 (Edinburgh, 1842) p. 270.

APPENDIX II

THE NEW STATISTICAL ACCOUNT (1835-1845) AND EMIGRATION
FROM SCOTLAND

The New (second) Statistical Account of Scotland (1835-1845) contains a wealth of information about Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century. The following comments are based on an examination of these parish accounts, appraising the information provided about emigration from Scotland. Although emigration from Scotland to England, Europe and overseas had been going on for many years, the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a large increase in the volume of emigration which in this period was particularly attracted to North America. In the period 1831-1834 an average of 5,000 Scots arrived each year at the port of Quebec alone.¹

This appendix is divided into three sections - first, an examination of the two maps showing the locations of parishes where emigration was mentioned in the accounts; secondly, the reasons for and character of the emigrations as seen by the parish ministers and thirdly, some comments as to the overall views held by the various ministers toward emigration.

Before examining the individual parish accounts some background is necessary. The First (old) Statistical Account, consisting of twenty-one volumes, was edited by Sir John Sinclair and appeared in the period 1791-97, being largely the work of the parish ministers of the Established Church. The second Statistical Account was also written by ministers of the respective parishes, under the supervision of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy, although

occasionally the authors were schoolmasters or doctors. Each parish account was presented under six main headings: topography and natural history, civil history, population, industry, parochial economy and miscellaneous observations. Details of emigration was usually to be found under the sections on population and miscellaneous observations. Perhaps the greatest liability, which prevents the account from giving a balanced overall view for Scotland, is the considerable variation both in the quantity and the quality of the information provided for the various parishes. For example, in Argyllshire, the account for the parish of Ardchattan consists of forty pages, while the account for the united parishes of Kilchrenan and Dalavich consists of only four pages. Such variations can usually be explained by the different abilities and interests, (or lack of interest), on the part of the individual parish ministers.

I

Figures 1 and 2 show the distribution of parishes where emigration was mentioned. Of approximately 870 parishes in Scotland at the time, only about 100 or eleven per cent made reference to emigration. However, it is safe to assume that during the first forty years of the nineteenth century emigration took place to some extent from each and every parish in Scotland. When emigration is not mentioned in a particular parish it could be due to any or several of the following reasons - the volume of emigration was numerically or relatively small; the minister did not know enough about the past history of the parish; the minister did not think that emigration was a fact worth noting or lastly, the writer felt that emigration was best left unrecorded.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the various parishes where emigration was noted as having taken place, ('emigration parishes'), and differentiates between the various destinations given for the emigrants. In about one third of the cases however, no definite destination was given, only the fact that emigration had taken place. It should also be noted that the term America, when used at this time, did not always refer specifically to the United States of America but could refer to North America generally, for example 'the wilds of America'.

The distribution pattern in Figure 1 tends to be quite scattered, although several generalizations can be made. In the Borders there is a concentration of emigration parishes, with the primary destination being definitely to Canada. The east of Scotland between the Moray Firth and the Firth of Tay contains a large number of emigration parishes, for which few destinations are given. Emigration parishes tend to be scattered throughout the Western Highlands and Islands, although it should be noted that the individual parishes usually cover a much larger area of land. In the Central Lowlands, and in particular the cities and growing industrial areas, there is no mention of emigration having occurred or occurring when the Account was written. Perhaps this points to the fact that, with the exception of certain very depressed trades such as handloom weaving, industrial Scotland, during the first half of the nineteenth century, was on the whole prosperous and an area of strong in-migration.

Several other points should be mentioned in connection with Figure 1. The majority of specific destinations given are in North

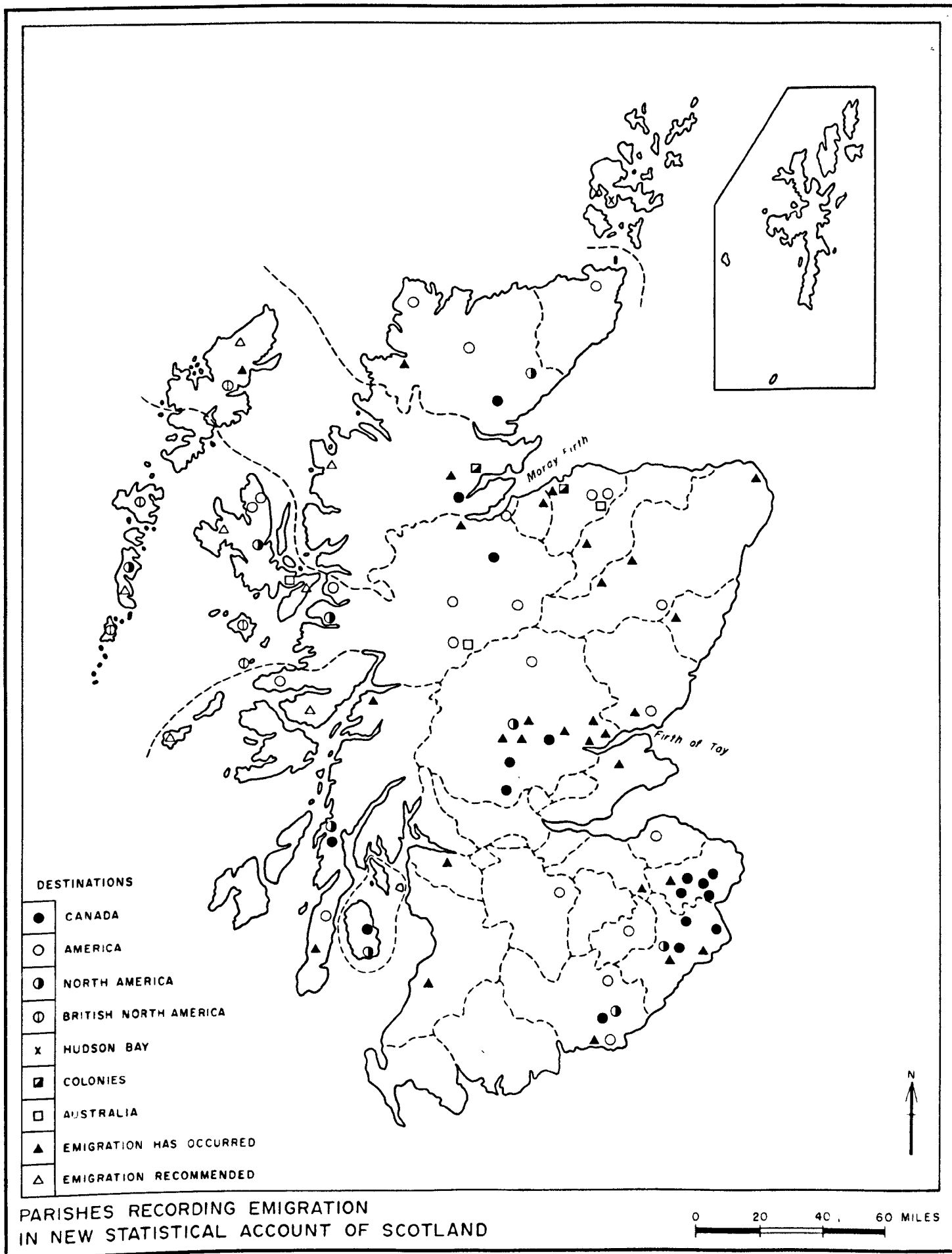


Figure 1

America, that is, Canada and the United States. Australia as a destination is only noted on a few occasions, and this lack of mention is reinforced by government emigration statistics which show that before 1850 by far the greatest flow of emigrants from Scotland was to North America.² This map also shows the location of seven parishes in which the minister suggested or recommended that emigration was necessary or should be carried out in order to benefit the people - both those who emigrated and those who remained. All seven of these parishes are located in the North-west Highlands and Islands and appear as reasonable indicators of the areas which were to be hardest hit by the famines and distress of 1836-37 and 1847-49. Thus indications of the inevitable forthcoming crisis were obvious by the early 1830's, at least to a number of parish ministers. One interesting point is that most of these ministers who recommended emigration remained in the Church of Scotland following the Disruption of 1843 which could possibly indicate that they were supporters of the landlords, who were beginning to look at emigration as one means of relieving their growing financial difficulties. Finally it should be noted that this map gives no indication of the actual numbers of people emigrating. Only in about fifteen per cent of the emigration parishes was there any indication given of the numbers of emigrants and, as these figures are so scattered both areally and over time, no use can be made of them in this analysis, although they are of some value as far as the history of individual parishes is concerned.

Figure 2 shows the location of the various emigration parishes for which information was given as to the time period at which the emigrations took place. Only some sixty-five per cent of the authors

in emigration parishes provide this information, which tends to be of a rather general nature, covering a ten or twenty year period or merely saying, for example, that emigration was considerable before the year 1830. Yet several generalizations can be made. In the Borders, emigration was most active in the 1820's, partly as a result of the agricultural depression following the Napoleonic Wars. In eastern Scotland, the most frequent decade mentioned is the 1830's. However, it should be pointed out that the 1830's appears as the predominant time period on this map for the whole of Scotland. Although this fact can be supported to some extent by government emigration statistics, which show an increased emigration from Scotland during this period, it is also influenced by the fact that the 1830's was the time period closest to the writing of the accounts, and the writer's memory tended to be fresher and therefore more accurate for this period. In the north-west Highlands and Islands the 1830's again tend to predominate, although frequently the earlier period, even before the year 1800 is mentioned, indicating the early Scottish migrations to North America, particularly to the original Thirteen Colonies.

II

Many of the accounts provide information regarding some of the reasons for and the character of the emigrations as seen by the various parish ministers. Again it is worth noting that only a relatively small number of the writers concerned themselves with the reasons for the emigrations. The factor which was given most frequently as a cause of emigration both in the Lowlands and Highlands is that of agricultural reorganization. The minister of the parish of Jedburgh, Roxburghshire,

wrote in October, 1834 that,

"In general, one individual now possesses what formerly supported five or six respectable families. The monopoly of farms, though undoubtedly favourable to agriculture, has yet deprived the community of many of its most valuable members, by reducing them to the necessity of emigrating. It has lowered the character of the peasantry, and promoted the increase of pauperism."³

In July 1838, the minister of the parish of Fortingal, Perthshire wrote that "the system of uniting several farms together, and letting them to one individual has, more than any other circumstance, promoted emigration."⁴ In the parish of Boleskine and Abertarff, Inverness-shire in 1831 the author's views were that "the cause of the late decrease of the population may be partly emigration to America - which has been occasioned by the introduction of the sheep-farming system."⁵

Improved communications, increased mobility of the population and a greater knowledge of the world at large were all frequently mentioned as encouraging change and providing opportunities for emigration. In the parish of Dunoon and Kilmun, Argyllshire, the minister wrote that,

"the one fact of steam communication with the Lowlands and towns of Scotland, having brought this portion of the Highland national territory to be but virtually a rural adjunct of these towns, especially of Glasgow and the towns on the Clyde, is a change singular enough in itself"⁶

while in Glenelg parish, Inverness-shire, by means of a new road and regular visits of a steam-boat, the local people learned "that there is a world beyond Glenelg."⁷ Thus, improved communications and an increasing awareness of other opportunities, both at home and abroad, meant that,

"it is now as true of the borderers, at least of those of lower Teviotdale, as of the inhabitants of places less fitted to foster local attachment, that there is scarcely one man in fifty who, if he survives the age of manhood, is buried with his fathers."⁸

This last comment is probably somewhat exaggerated, but nevertheless stresses the new mobility of the population.

The circulation of newspapers and inexpensive popular magazines increased rapidly during the early nineteenth century and

"such works as Chambers Journal are frequently bought by farm-servants and artisans. Newspapers are circulated as long as the texture of the paper holds together, or its colour can be distinguished from that of the printer's ink."⁹

During this period, newspapers and magazines began to carry more information and opinions, both favourable and unfavourable, concerning the various colonies and emigration fields, so that the average person began to have some ideas, although not necessarily realistic ones, about the lands overseas. The improvement of parish schools and the work, particularly in the Highlands, of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, often meant that "the people were enterprising and ready to emigrate when they felt straitened at home,"¹⁰ thus emigration often came to be seen as a possible alternative to unfavourable conditions in various parts of Scotland.

The last important reason for, or stimulus to emigration as seen from the ministers' accounts, is the help and encouragement provided to Scots at home by their friends and relatives, who had previously emigrated. The minister of the parish of Lochs, Isle of Lewis, wrote in 1833 that a slump in fishing catches and cattle prices, "together with the warm entreaties of their acquaintances and friends who emigrated to Nova Scotia in former years, seems to have inspired them with the spirit of emigration."¹¹ This mention of 'a spirit of emigration' from a particular parish in particular years appears several

times throughout the accounts, with friends and relatives often going together to a locality in the New World where they had connections. Indeed, as the observant minister of the parish of Hutton and Corrie, Dumfriesshire, stated in March 1833,

"such numbers of their friends and acquaintances have preceded them, more especially to the British North American possessions, that they no longer consider these to be the land of the strangers".¹²

What of the character of these emigrants? On the whole, most of the ministers would support the sentiments of the minister of Duirinish, Island of Skye, that

"it is well known to those who are acquainted with Skye, that the best educated among its common people generally, almost universally, have sought a foreign country where to advance their fortunes".¹³

However, the Rev. Jacob Wright of Hutton and Corrie, Dumfriesshire while agreeing that most of the emigrants were decent and law-abiding, added that,

"of these (emigrants) a considerable proportion are guilty of dishonest practices ... after committing frauds of all sorts, with a view to emigrate with their ill gotten gains. The state of our North American Colonies is such, that it may be said to hold out a premium to the practice of villany in the mother country. This is a subject well deserving the attention of our landed proprietors and legislators".¹⁴

The selectivity of the emigration is also noted on several occasions when it is mentioned that single men frequently emigrated leaving behind an excess of females in the parish.

Finally, there are several other interesting observations made by various ministers regarding the emigrations. As has been discussed previously, emigration was encouraged by increased mobility and improved

education, both of which tended to produce a situation of flux or change. Indeed, the occurrence of emigration itself encouraged this unstable situation as described by the minister of Moy and Dalarossie, Invernessshire, in January 1836 when he wrote that

"the ease with which it (emigration) is accomplished raises a spirit of discontent, and a desire for change in our people, which makes them feel restless and uneasy in their present condition".¹⁶

Another point of interest is that although emigration to some extent had been going on in many parishes for a number of years, it was safe to say, particularly in the Highlands

"that the situations which they (the earlier emigrants) left were soon occupied by others. The population it may be safely asserted, is still on the increase."¹⁷

Thus emigration acted as a form of safety valve during the period prior to 1840, but nevertheless population pressure on the land and resources in the Highlands continued to increase.

In the Highlands there remained a strong attachment for the land and heritage of the past, an understanding of which must underlie any examination of this period. The Rev. James Morrison's comments in September 1836 for the parish of Kintail in Wester Ross are fairly typical of other Highland parishes when he said,

"with regard to many of them, may be termed a miserable existence. Notwithstanding this state of things, emigration does not prevail. ...the love of country prevails most strongly; and they never think of emigration, until, from poverty, they are unable to pay their passage, and, under these circumstances emigration is out of the question."¹⁸

Thus in the Highlands the people were caught in the trap of poverty, until the distress of the late 1840's forced the landlords and the government into action. Two basic types of emigrant have been described - those who because of better education or more initiative emigrated using their

own resources, often taking with them some capital and secondly, those who, because of attachment to their native land or lack of initiative, refused to leave until it was too late. From a study of contemporary newspaper accounts and emigration agents' reports it is evident that in the period prior to the late 1830's the first of the two classes of emigrant was in the majority.

III

This final section comments on the overall attitude of the various ministers to emigration from Scotland during this period. In the various parish accounts not all of the ministers mentioned emigration, and even those who did, seldom gave a subjective opinion, rather they wrote that emigration took place, at such a time and in such numbers and added no details. However, from those ministers who did express an opinion, particularly those in the Highlands, it is possible to recognize three points of view.

There were a number of ministers who felt that emigration was not the answer to the problems facing the people. The Rev. James Wilson of the parish of Abernethy, Perthshire suggested in May 1837 that the management and methods of working the land should be improved rather than "to banish them (the people) expensively to foreign lands, where they may swell the number of our enemies".¹⁹ For the County of Shetland it is stated that

"To no quarter of the Kingdom is emigration less applicable; there is ample employment at home for the people, and their habits do not render them fit subjects for the measure".²⁰

Secondly, there was a small group who felt that conditions should be changed in the Highlands and that there was no room in the new system

for the people. This view was exemplified by the Minister of the parish of Blair-Atholl, Perthshire who stated in June 1838 that,

"a system of more beneficial management has converted these dreary and comfortless habitations into sheep walks ... the people have emigrated to the large towns of the South, or to America".²¹

This, he felt was progress.

Finally, there was the third and by far the largest group who felt that emigration had become the only possible solution under the circumstances, even though they were unhappy that the people were forced to leave their homeland. Quoting the Rev. John McLeod, Minister of Morvern, Argyllshire,

"the conclusion, therefore, is reluctantly but maturely come to, that every facility should be afforded to the poor in this and other parishes similarly circumstanced, of acquiring, in other regions, the independence and comfort now unhappily denied them in their native country."²²

This group felt that the time had come for both the landlords and the government to provide financial help and assistance to the small tenantry to emigrate to the various colonies overseas. Thus, a number of ministers, including the Rev. John MacKinnon of the parish of Strath, Island of Skye, were active in finding assistance for and encouraging emigration.²³

In conclusion it can be said that the New Statistical Account of Scotland provides valuable comments on some of the reasons for and the character and destination of emigration from Scotland in the early part of the 19th Century. However, perhaps equally important, the general consensus of concerned parish ministers, especially those in the Highlands, that emigration was regrettable but necessary, and their demands for financial assistance from landlords and the government did much to obtain this assistance as well as public acceptance for emigration from Scotland in the period following the 1830's.

1. Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America
(Toronto, 1961), p. 289.
2. N. H. Carrier & External Migration - A Study of the Available
J. R. Jeffery Statistics 1815-1950. London: H.M.S.O. 1953
pp. 27-28.
3. New Statistical Account (N.S.A.) Vol. 3 Roxburghshire, p. 15.
4. N.S.A., Vol. 10, Perthshire, pp. 552-3.
5. N.S.A., Vol. 14, Inverness-shire, p. 57.
6. N.S.A. Vol. 7, Argyllshire, p. 629-30.
7. N.S.A. Vol. 14, Inverness-shire, p. 144.
8. N.S.A. Vol. 3, Parish of Kelso, Roxburghshire, pp. 322-23.
9. N.S.A. Vol. 13, Parish of Banff, Banffshire, p. 37.
10. N.S.A. Vol. 10, Parish of Comrie, Perthshire, p. 585.
11. N.S.A. Vol. 14, Ross and Cromarty, p. 169.
12. N.S.A. Vol. 4, Dumfriesshire, p. 539.
13. N.S.A. Vol. 14, Inverness-shire, p. 345.
14. N.S.A., Vol. 4, Dumfriesshire, p. 552.
15. N.S.A. Vol. 11, Forfarshire, p. 148.
16. N.S.A. Vol. 14, Inverness-shire, p. 18.
N.S.A. Vol. 14, Inverness-shire, p. 116.
17. N.S.A. Vol. 15, Sutherlandshire, p. 6.
18. N.S.A. Vol. 14, Ross and Cromarty, p. 177.
19. N.S.A. Vol. 10, Perthshire, p. 227.
20. N.S.A. Vol. 15, County of Shetland, p. 155.
21. N.S.A. Vol. 10, Perthshire, p. 569.
22. N.S.A. Vol. 7, Argyllshire, p. 195.
23. N.S.A. Vol. 14, Inverness-shire, p. 316.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SCOTTISH SETTLEMENT OF
SOUTHERN ONTARIO - A Comparison of Place Names.

by James M. Cameron

The story of Scottish settlement in Southern Ontario or Upper Canada, as it was known in the first half of the 19th century, is yet to be told, and the following short article attempts to examine what is to be learned, by comparing certain place names in Southern Ontario and Scotland. This phase of settlement took place largely between 1815 and 1855, the period between the end of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe and the Crimean War.

The base map used for examining Southern Ontario was at a scale of eight miles to one inch, and shows counties, townships, urban areas, and settlements down to a population of approximately twenty-five.¹ Although this map also names a number of physical features, the analysis is limited to names of settlements and local political divisions. This technique of place name comparison, as with most techniques, has a number of advantages and disadvantages, which will be pointed out following the analysis. Three different maps accompany the discussion and analysis, these being:

- 1) A map of Scotland showing the location of places in Scotland which appeared in the analysis of Southern Ontario. This map contains fewer locations than map III which has several repetitions, as well as places for which there was no definite location in Scotland.
- 2) A map of Southern Ontario showing the location of places classified as being of general Scottish origin - these being largely based on family names.
- 3) A map of Southern Ontario showing the location of places classified as being of either Lowland or Highland origin.²

Each of these maps will be commented upon, and then a number of conclusions drawn.

Map I, of the place names in Scotland shows a very scattered pattern with a slight concentration in the western central Lowlands. The number of places is almost equal in the Highlands and the Lowlands. One area which contains very few locations is the Western Highlands and Islands, and this is significant, for, over the period 1821 - 1851, the Highlands made up 35 to 40 percent of the total population of Scotland, while the west central Lowlands made up about 25 percent of the total.

1. *Map 21 - Southern Part of the Province of Ontario*, Department of Lands and Forests, Toronto, 1964.

2. The division between Highland and Lowland was chosen to be the line of the Highland Boundary Fault running approximately from Helensburgh to Stonehaven.

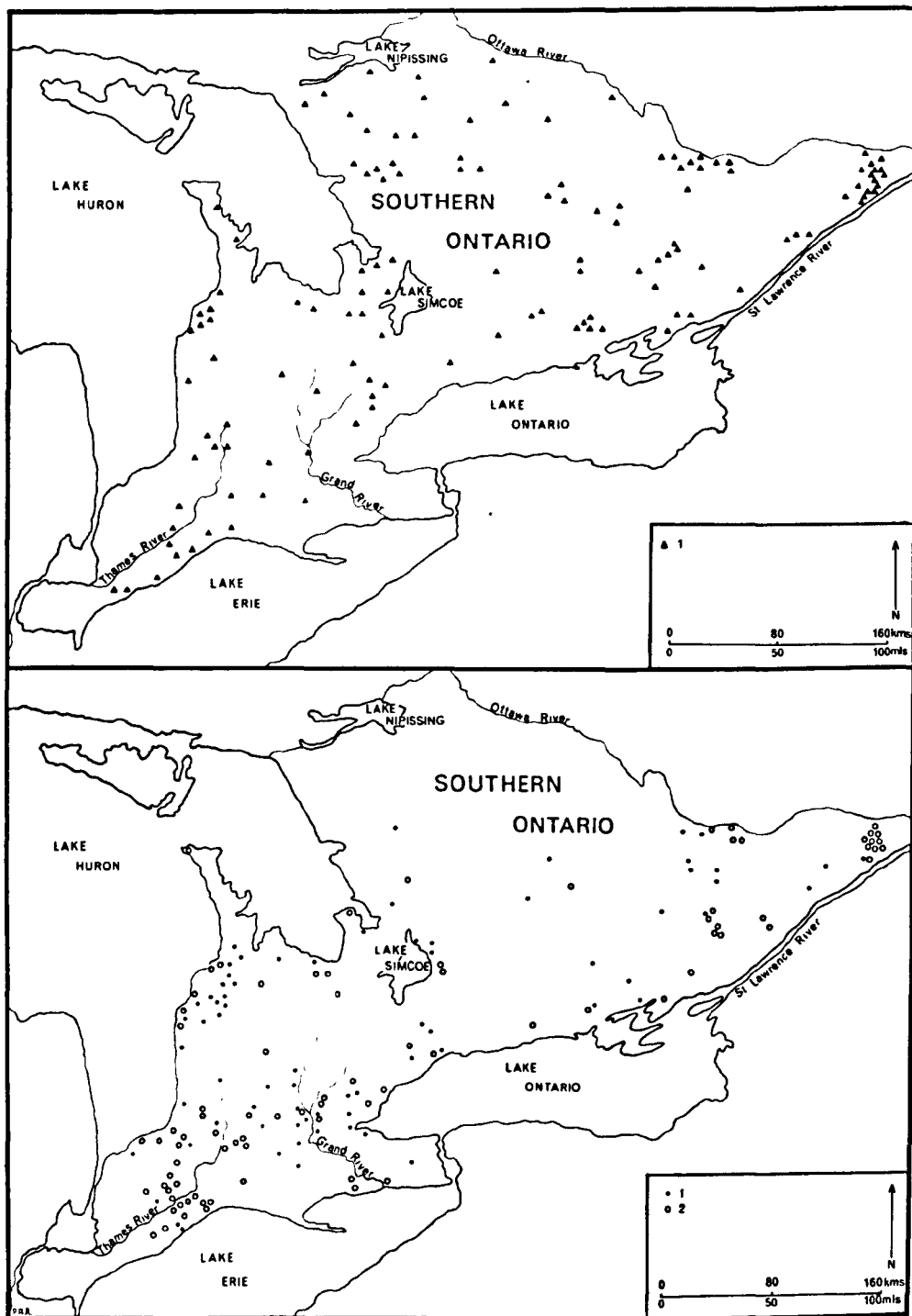
The fact that the locations are widely distributed is to be expected, as, over time, the emigrants who left Scotland for Southern Ontario came from all parts of Scotland. However, there are two exceptions to this general distribution. The concentration in the western central Lowlands can perhaps be explained by the importance here in the first half of the nineteenth century of hand-loom weavers, who were particularly adversely affected by the industrial revolution. These hand-loom weavers emigrated in large numbers to Southern Ontario, with government assistance, or by means of emigration societies, or on their own personal initiative from the 1820's to the 1840's.

The absence of any locations in the western Highlands and Islands is also significant. This was the strongest area of Gaelic in Scotland, yet in Southern Ontario there are very few Gaelic place names, although Highland Scots were in considerable numbers during the early settlement period. This lack of Gaelic names in Southern Ontario can possibly be explained by suggesting that most of the Highland Scots who emigrated to Southern Ontario, especially in the years before the famines which began in 1847, were from the eastern Highlands where Gaelic was not as strong by the early nineteenth century. This is supported by the relatively large number of place names from the eastern Highlands, which are found in Southern Ontario, and the fact that between the years 1831 and 1855, the port of Aberdeen ranked behind only Glasgow and Greenock in total numbers emigrating to the port of Quebec. It was not until the famines beginning in 1847 that large groups of Highlanders from the northwest Highlands and Islands were sent to Quebec and Montreal by landlords. In the five years between 1848 and 1852, approximately 1400 Highlanders arrived annually in this way.³ This corresponds with the generally accepted view that the focus of Gaelic influence in Canada was in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island, an influence that has been reinforced over the years and remains strong even today.

Map II, of the place names in Southern Ontario shows the location of places classified as being of general Scottish origin, and presents a scattered pattern with several concentrations. The main value of this map is to be found when it is examined in conjunction with the map of Lowland and Highland place names in Southern Ontario, and the several concentrations will be discussed in relation to Map III. One point should be made however, regarding this map, and that is the large number of locations south of Lake Nipissing. This area was surveyed and townships laid out and named prior to what little settlement took place in the area. These are all family names (surnames), probably of political origin, and unrelated to the origin of the settlers. Indeed, this area was opened in the 1860's and 1870's, and after the initial period of lumbering and marginal agriculture, little permanent settlement remained.

Map III of Southern Ontario showing the location of places classified as being of either Highland or Lowland origin is much more useful in discussing the Scottish

3. From Annual Reports of A. C. Buchanan, Chief Government Agent of Emigration in Canada.



Map II - Location in Southern Ontario of Place Names of general Scottish origin.
 Map III - Location in Southern Ontario of Place Names of Highland and Lowland Scottish origin.

- 1 - Lowland origin
- 2 - Highland origin

settlement of the province. Here again, there is approximately an equal number of locations as between Highland and Lowland origin, but there tends to be a significant clustering of these groups.

There are two concentrations of Lowland place-names. One is in the area of the Upper Grand River basin, where such Scots as William Dickson, John Galt, and Adam Ferguson were active.⁴ This area was settled largely by the 1820's and 1830's, and the place names here give a clue to the importance of the Scots in this area during the settlement period. The other, and perhaps the strongest real concentration of Lowland place names is in the northwest of Southern Ontario near the shores of Lake Huron. This area, which includes parts of Grey and Bruce counties, was not purchased from the Indians until 1836, and was settled in the late 1840's and 1850's. It has been generally accepted that Lowland Scots tended to scatter widely, and leave little trace in an area, while Highland Scots tended to concentrate, and maintain a group identity.⁵ This however, is not completely valid, as the concentrations of early Lowland settlement stand out in this examination of place names as much as do the Highland settlements.

There are two concentrations of Highland place names. One is in the eastern tip of Southern Ontario, focusing in the county of Glengarry. This was the first area of large scale Scottish settlement in Ontario, begun by United Empire Loyalists of Highland origin from the United States in 1783, and later reinforced by Highlanders from Glengarry, Scotland in 1786 and 1804.⁶ Indeed, this early settlement of Scots in Ontario was instrumental in encouraging later emigration through favourable reports sent back to Scotland. The other concentration of Highland place names is in the area of the Thames River basin and central Lake Erie. The settlement of this area was directed by Colonel Thomas Talbot who was given control over large areas of unalienated land by the provincial government during the 1820's and 1830's and many Highlanders were attracted to this area, by the fertile land, and reports of Talbot's good management.⁷

The area from the middle reaches of the Ottawa River southwest to Lake Ontario contains a large number of both Highland and Lowland place names. Near the Ottawa River, the Laird of MacNab, who left Scotland in 1823 in order to avoid his creditors, was granted a township, and brought out a number of Highland settlers. His attempt to establish the Clan system in Canada was doomed to failure because his settlers could see the acreage of cheap freehold land available in the province.⁸ Further south, about three thousand Lowland Scots arrived in the Lanark settlement in 1820 and 1821. They were mostly weavers, who as members of various emigration societies had been successful in petitioning the British govern-

4. Cowan, Helen I., *British Emigration to British North America - the First Hundred Years*, Toronto, 1961.

Patterson, George C., *Land Settlement in Upper Canada 1783 - 1840*, Sixteenth Report of the Ontario Department of Archives, Toronto, 1921.

5. Lower, A. R. M., *Colony to Nation - A History of Canada*, Toronto, 1946 - p. 185. Wood, J. David, "Scottish Migration Overseas". *SGM*, 1964, *LXXX*, 3, p. 165.

6. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America*, - pp. 10, 11, 25.

7. *Ibid*, 115 - 117.

8. Patterson, *Land Settlement in Upper Canada*, - pp. 193 -195.

ment for assistance in emigrating to Upper Canada.⁹

The above presentation has attempted to examine the three maps, pointing out the main concentrations and briefly commenting on each. However, this method of examining the early settlement of an area has a number of problems which must be considered before any general conclusions can be reached. The first problem comes in deciding which type of place name will be compared. In the present case, the names used in Southern Ontario were those of settlements and political divisions. However, no use was made of physical features (e.g. landforms, bodies of water) or of farm names. It is suggested that if time and effort were spent on examining in much greater detail the place names in Southern Ontario, much more could be learned about the early settlement. Another problem arises from the fact that personal names can often be misleading when attempting to classify them according to country of origin. For example, the surname Elliot originally was that of a Scottish family group, but over time, its use as a surname became geographically widened, and one cannot rely on it to identify a particular country. One factor which can considerably influence place names is government land and emigration policy. An example of this is the area south of Lake Nipissing where political considerations and not actual settlement determined many of the place names. Finally, it must be remembered that place names relate to the initial impact of settlement and usually are not changed by subsequent settlement.

Some general points therefore can be made about this comparison of place names between Southern Ontario and Scotland. The influence of Scots on the settlement of Southern Ontario was very prominent, especially in the pioneer stage, and, in many areas Scots were the initial settlers, arriving in large groups. Examples of this, which have been previously described, are the Glengarry settlement, along Lake Huron, and in the central Thames River basin. However, in areas where Scots settlement was small numerically or arrived late in the settlement period, little trace appears in these place names, for example, west of Lake Simcoe. Finally, it must be remembered that a large number of place names are based on family names, e.g. Stewartville. The origin of these is to a large extent dependent on the initiative of a person or family in a particular locality. In this regard it is generally accepted, especially among Canadians of Scottish descent, that the Scots in Canada contributed to the social, political, and economic development of Canada to a degree far beyond that which their actual numbers would suggest.

This paper is meant as an introduction to the story of the Scottish settlement in Southern Ontario, using the method of place name comparison, and emphasizing major concentrations. No attempt has been made to comment on or analyse isolated Scottish names, but it is suggested that this method can be useful in attempting to distinguish national groupings, subject to the limitations mentioned. A tremendous amount yet remains to be done, using not only this approach, but also land records, family histories, and census materials in an attempt to develop local studies, beginning at the township level, in order to piece together the fascinating story of the role played by Scots in the early settlement of Canada.

9. *Ibid*, 134 - 135.

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C) GOVERNMENT EMIGRATION AGENT AT QUEBEC - ANNUAL REPORTS

(A. C. Buchanan)

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