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Scotland and the Americas, c. 1650 – c. 1939:
A Documentary Source Book

Scotland and the Americas, c. 1650 – c. 1939:
A Documentary Source Book

edited by
Allan I. Macinnes, Marjory-Ann D. Harper
& Linda G. Fryer

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACA	Aberdeen County Archives
APL	Aldrich Public Library
AUDH	University of Aberdeen, Department of History
AU, SLA	University of Aberdeen, Special Libraries and Archives
BL	British Library
CLRO	Corporation of London Records Office
CSP	Carolina State Papers
CVA	City of Vancouver Archives
DCA	Dunvegan Castle Archives
DGA	Dumfries and Galloway Archives
DH	Dumfries House
EIIM	Ellis Island Immigration Museum
EUL, Sp. Coll.	Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections
GCA	Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library
GL	Guildhall Library
GU (DACE)	Glasgow University, Department of Adult and Continuing Education
GUL, Sp. Coll.	Glasgow University Library, Special Collections
HBCA, PAM	Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba
HCA	Highland Council Archive
HSP	Historical Society of Philadelphia
ICA	Inveraray Castle Archives
ISHS	Idaho State Historical Society
JCBL	John Carter Brown Library
MHSL	Maryland Historical Society Library
ML	Mitchell Library, Arts Department (formerly Rare Books and Manuscripts Department)

NAC	National Archives of Canada
NAS	National Archives of Scotland
NLS	National Library of Scotland
PANB	Provincial Archives of New Brunswick
PANS	Public Archives of Nova Scotia
PRO	Public Record Office
QUA	Queen's University Archives
SA	Shetland Archives
SBA	Scottish Brewing Archive
SCA	Scottish Catholic Archives
Sp. Coll., UGL	Special Collections, University of Guelph Library
WCM	Wellington County Museum

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years demographic upheaval has become an integral part of the history curriculum in Scotland's universities and schools. The popularity of such studies is rooted in ongoing academic research, which began in 1966 with the publication of Gordon Donaldson's pump-priming book, *The Scots Overseas*, and has in the last two decades addressed the causes and consequences of Scottish migration—internal and external—from a variety of thematic, chronological, regional and international perspectives.¹ The rich and varied legacy of sources available to researchers is a reflection of the indelible imprint of migration on the root and branch of Scottish life as well as the influence of Scots on the societies where they have settled or sojourned. No less germane to this study is the rôle of those societies in modifying the aspirations and achievements of the newcomers.

Historiographical context

The contemporaneous involvement of Scots in the American colonies prior to the creation of the United Kingdom in 1707 remains a peripheral aspect of regional diversity within transatlantic historiography. In part, this situation can be attributed to Anglo-American imperiousness in viewing related developments in Britain and America from a Whiggish, progressive perspective; in part, to the manifest failure of ill-fated and expendable Scottish colonies in the seventeenth century.² Given such a

¹ G. Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London, 1966). Interest in Scottish emigration was also stimulated by G.P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow, 1922) and R.H. Campbell & J.B.A. Dow, *Source Book of Scottish Economic and Social History* (Oxford, 1968).

² Cf. S.E. Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People, volume 1: Prehistory to 1789* (New York, 1994); W.H. Bricl (ed.), *Scotus Americanus: A Survey of the Sources for Links between Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1982); D.W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History, volume 1, Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (New Haven, 1986). Welcome evidence of transatlantic reappraisal of the British nature of the American colonies can be found in J.P. Greene & J.R. Pole (eds.), *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, 1984); B. Bailyn & P.D. Morgan (eds.), *Strangers within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill, 1994); K.O. Kupperman (ed.), *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill, 1995);

historiographic imbalance, it can be contended that the Scottish involvement in the Americas requires urgent reappraisal. The continuity of commercial links between Scotland and the Americas, initially from the 1620s and substantially from the 1650s, has been underplayed. Moreover, these links were of constitutional as well as entrepreneurial significance in influencing Scottish attitudes to union with England. For colonial endeavours in the seventeenth century offered Scots the opportunity not just to break out from the mercantilist dominance of the great European powers, but also to sustain regal union without recourse to political incorporation with England. Specific Scottish contributions to the growth and development of the Americas in the seventeenth century remain obscured, however, by the offhand description of people from all parts of the British Isles as 'English'. Paradoxically, it was not until after 1707 that Scots began explicitly to imprint their national identity, as well as their individual influence, across the Atlantic. The historiography of Scottish emigration reflects such recurring paradoxes and tensions in a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon, which has been the focus of vibrant political and public debate since at least the mid eighteenth century. Contradictory accusations, emanating from opposite sides of the Atlantic, have blamed policy-makers for stripping Scotland of the flower of its population, at the same time filling up the empire with paupers and misfits, the flotsam and jetsam of a rapidly increasing population. While the focus of politicians, propagandists and public commentators remained consistently on imperial colonisation, the emigrants themselves, from the mid nineteenth century, showed a distinct preference for the United States, in defiance of official attempts to discourage non-imperial emigration.¹

Until the end of the mercantilist eighteenth century, opposition to emigration was almost universal within official circles, stressing the damaging repercussions for the nation's prosperity and security of a depletion of economic and military manpower, particularly from the highlands. Government, landlords and travellers deplored emigration as detrimental to the commercialisation and stability of the region, and some investigations deliberately sought to stem such depopulation through investment in fisheries or infrastructure.² The celebrated literary critic and scourge of Scottish Romanticism, Samuel Johnson, while admitting

N. Canny, et al. (eds.), *Empire, Society and Labor: Essays in Honor of Richard S. Dunn* (College Park, Pa, 1997); N. Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, volume I: The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Empire to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1998).

¹ N.H. Carrier & J.R. Jeffery, *External Migration. A Study of the Available Statistics, 1815-1950* (London, 1953), 95-6.

² See, for example, J. Knox, *A View of the British Empire*, 2 vols (London, 1785) and *A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles* (London, 1787); T. Telford, *A Survey and Report of the Coasts and Central Highlands of Scotland* (1802).

that individuals might well benefit by removing themselves across the Atlantic, deplored the effect on the nation of the highlanders' 'epidemick disease of wandering', and likened them to 'rays diverging from a focus'.¹ Occasionally there were dissenting voices, notably that of Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, who at the end of the eighteenth century incurred the wrath of landowners, particularly the Anglo-Scottish élite in the Highland Society of London, by his attempts to recruit colonists for his Canadian lands.²

Within a decade of the publication of Selkirk's *Observations*, and its rebuttal, mercantilism had given way to Malthusianism across the British Isles, as demographic pressure, aggravated by a surge of demobilised soldiers and the economic recession that followed on from peace in 1815, brought the spectre of massive unemployment, pauperism, and social conflict. While distress in the Scottish lowlands was probably most evident among handloom weavers who continued to flock to an oversupplied and increasingly archaic trade, in the highlands severe and widespread economic dislocation came about as the boom prices paid for commodities such as kelp, cattle, wool and seasonal labour during the Napoleonic Wars gave way to slump and collapsed markets. Migration in the depressed 1820s, therefore, came to be perceived by political commentators and landlords as a safety valve, a perception which persisted in the highlands throughout the famine years of the mid nineteenth century, and re-emerged in a national context during the depression of the 1870s. Yet despite the recommendations of a succession of official investigations throughout the nineteenth century, state-aided emigration—particularly to the Americas—remained firmly off the agenda until the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 marked the government's recognition of the economic, political and eugenic fragility of the British empire in an uncertain post-war world.³

The negative emphasis of Malthusian migration policies incurred the wrath of critics on both sides of the Atlantic, on the grounds that they

¹ S. Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. R.W. Chapman (Oxford, 1924), 87, 119.

² T. Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a view of the causes and probable consequences of emigration* (London, 1805). Selkirk's views were opposed in print by Robert Brown, *Strictures and Remarks on the Earl of Selkirk's Observations on the Present State of the Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1806).

³ The assisted passages which were intermittently available to selected emigrants to the Antipodes after 1831 were financed by colonial land funds rather than irredeemable charitable handouts by the British government. They were intended to promote the productive settlement and development of these distant territories, not to provide an overseas safety valve for British paupers. The genesis of the 'systematic colonisation' of the Antipodes is discussed in G. Martin, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield: Abductor and Mystagogue* (Edinburgh, 1997) and explained in detail in R. Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor: Australian Recruitment in Britain and Ireland, 1831-60* (Basingstoke, 1997).

were expensive, ineffective or unethical. While Canadian commentators alleged that their country was being used as a dustbin for Britain's surplus population, in Scotland there developed an enduring and powerful historiography of enforced diaspora, focused on the polemical writings of men such as Donald Macleod, Hugh Miller and Alexander Mackenzie, as well as bards like John Maclean and novelists like George Macdonald.¹ In all these writings, Scottish emigration was portrayed overwhelmingly as an exodus of reluctant highlanders, who, having been driven into exile by clearance and eviction, sought to reconstitute their disrupted lifestyles overseas. But the dominant image of the impoverished highland emigrant impeded serious recognition of the multi-dimensional and geographically widespread character of the Scottish exodus. In reality, from the mid nineteenth century at least, far more Scots emigrated from urban-industrial areas than from the highlands.² At the same time, hagiographic celebrations of the achievements of individual Scots abroad, along with the Whiggish tendency of imperial historians to view emigration through the Cabinet or Colonial Office window, hampered investigation of the overall impact of the Scottish presence overseas.

Studies in the second half of the twentieth century have both reinforced and challenged Victorian and Edwardian images. While uncritical imperialism ended with the publication of Andrew Dewar Gibb's *Scottish Empire* in 1937, the polemical approach, and the highland focus, have been maintained in the investigations of Ian Grimble, John Prebble and David Craig, as well as in the poetry of Sorley Maclean, the novels of Iain Crichton Smith, and the drama of John McGrath.³ Their stance contrasted with the empirical, if rather deterministic, analysis inaugurated by Margaret Adam in the 1920s and developed later by Malcolm Gray, Philip Gaskell and Eric Richards.⁴ The spotlight remained on the highlands, however, as it did after James Hunter's influential—and at times impassioned—

¹ D. Macleod, *Gloomy Memories in the Highlands of Scotland* (Toronto, 1857); *The Witness*, ed. H. Miller (Edinburgh, 18 Jan. 1840–26 Aug. 1863); A. Mackenzie, *The History of the Highland Clearances* (Inverness, 1883); J. Maclean, *Oran Mhanitoba* (Stirling, 1932); G. Macdonald, *What's Mine's Mine* (London, 1900).

² T.M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society* (Edinburgh, 1992), 3.

³ A.D. Gibb, *Scottish Empire* (London, 1937); I. Grimble, *The Trial of Patrick Sellar. The Tragedy of Highland Evictions* (London, 1962); J. Prebble, *The Highland Clearances* (London, 1963); D. Craig, *On the Crofters' Trail. In Search of the Clearance Highlanders* (London, 1990); M. Lindsay (ed.), *Modern Scottish Poetry: an anthology of the Scottish Renaissance, 1925-1975* (Manchester, 1976), 103–12; I.C. Smith, *Consider the Lilies* (Leeds, 1977); J. McGrath, *The Cheviot, The Stag, and the Black, Black Oil* (London, 1981).

⁴ See, for instance, M. Gray, *The Highland Economy* (Edinburgh, 1957); P. Gaskell, *Morvern Transformed: A Highland Parish in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1968); E. Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth: the Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1973) and *A History of the Highland Clearances*, 2 vols (London, 1982 & 1985).

publication, *The Making of the Crofting Community*, which reacted against the dispassionate historical orthodoxy of the preceding two decades, and provoked in its turn several detailed investigations of highland history, in which the study of emigration played an integral part.¹ Both T. M. Devine and A. I. Macinnes have emphasised the variability and complexity of the highland experience, while the latter has also demonstrated the entrepreneurial ambitions and skills of many highland emigrants, who willingly exploited a range of imperial opportunities.² More recently, Devine has also added a lowland perspective to the mosaic of Scottish emigration, developing a neglected theme which was first taken up by Malcolm Gray in respect of farming emigrants, and investigated by Marjory Harper with the distinctive focus on north-east Scotland.³

In an American context, the most significant modern historiography of Scottish migration has emerged from Canada, initially from the University of Guelph, and more recently from Maritime and western centres. Historians such as J. M. Bumsted and Marianne McLean have confronted the complex prejudices and misconceptions that have bedevilled the study of highland migration history. Like their counterparts in Scotland, they have reached different conclusions over whether highlanders crossed the Atlantic for entrepreneurial reasons or to preserve their lifestyle.⁴ Traditional perceptions of Scotia and Nova Scotia have been challenged at the instigation of Michael Vance, who has also contributed a new political perspective to migration studies, by examining the impact of public policy on specific groups of migrants.⁵ But Canadian historiography too still has to get to grips with the fact that highlanders, despite their high profile, were from the second half of the nineteenth century numerically eclipsed by a tide of lowland migrants, whose experiences remain largely under researched.

¹ J. Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community* (Edinburgh, 1976).

² T.M. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine. Hunger, Emigration and the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1988); A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996).

³ M. Gray, 'Scottish Emigration: the social impact of agrarian change in the rural lowlands, 1775-1875', *Perspectives in American History*, vii (1973), 95-174. See also Gray, *Scots on the Move* (Edinburgh, 1991) and M.D. Harper, *Emigration from North East Scotland*, 2 vols (Aberdeen, 1988); *ibid.*, *Emigration from Scotland between the Wars: Opportunity or Exile?* (Manchester, 1998).

⁴ J.M. Bumsted, *The People's Clearance 1770-1815. Highland Emigration to British North America* (Edinburgh, 1982), M. McLean, *The People of Glengarry. Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820* (Montreal & London, 1991). See also W. Norton, *Help us to a Better Land. Crofter Colonies in the Prairie West* (Regina, 1994).

⁵ M.E. Vance, 'Emigration and Scottish Society: the background of three government-assisted emigrations to Upper Canada, 1815-1821' (University of Guelph, PhD thesis, 1990); M.E. Vance & M.D. Harper (ed.), *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory. Scotia and Nova Scotia, c. 1700-1990* (Edinburgh, 2000).

Until the mid twentieth century, Scots in the United States were identified mainly by genealogical and antiquarian celebrations of individual achievements, with little evidence of any coherent critical analysis of their overall contribution to American society. Since the 1950s, scholars on both sides of the Atlantic have begun to undertake more meticulous, empirical investigation of a range of cultural, social, economic and political links between Scotland and America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Undoubtedly, the most meticulous group study remains that of the tobacco merchants from Glasgow who played a vital rôle in the commercial development of both Scotland and the southern States prior to the American Revolution.¹ One of the most comprehensive demographic studies is the statistical analysis of the 1770s *Register of Emigrants* undertaken by Bernard Bailyn as part of his reappraisal of the American Revolution. While his British contextualisation of emigration arguably underplays the distinctiveness of the Scottish exodus, his work has laid a solid foundation for further investigations of a crucial period in emigration history.² More recently, the focus has been extended to incorporate the impact of Scottish sojourners and settlers on the neglected trans-Mississippi West, particularly in the nineteenth century.³ A Caribbean dimension has also been augmented by the publication of Alan Karras's analysis of transient Scots in Jamaica and the Chesapeake in the second half of the eighteenth century, a study which has not only focused scholarly attention on the West Indies, but is also provoking a revisionist historiography.⁴ Apart from studies of the failed Darien venture in the

¹ T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities c.1740-90* (Edinburgh, 1975, reprinted 1990). The leading American historian of the tobacco trade has synthesised his work in J.M. Price, *Capital and Credit in British Overseas Trade: The View from the Chesapeake, 1700-1776* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

² B. Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West. Emigration from Britain to America on the Eve of the Revolution* (London, 1986). For other contributions to the transatlantic debate, with a more distinctive Scottish emphasis, see I.C.C. Graham, *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783* (Ithaca, NY, 1956); D. Meyer, *The Highland Scots of North Carolina, 1732-1776* (Chapel Hill, 1961); W.T. Jackson, *The Enterprising Scot* (Edinburgh, 1968); C. Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca & London, 1972); A. Hook, *Scotland and America: A Study of Cultural Relations, 1750-1835* (Glasgow & London, 1975); G. Shepperson, 'The American Revolution and Scotland', *Scotia*, i (1977), 1-17; B. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States, 1820-1920* (Aberdeen, 1984).

³ F.M. Szasz, *Scots in the American West* (Norman, Ok., 2000).

⁴ A.L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800* (Ithaca, NY, 1992); D.J. Hamilton, 'Patronage and Profit: Scottish Networks and the British West Indies, c. 1763-1807' (University of Aberdeen, PhD thesis, 1999). The pioneering work on the Caribbean of R.B. Sheridan, 'The Rôle of the Scots in the Economy and Society of the West Indies' in V. Rubin & A. Tuden (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Societies* (New York, 1977), 94-106, has recently been commemorated and enhanced in R.A. McDonald (ed.), *West Indies Accounts: Essays on the History of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic Economy in honour of Richard Sheridan* (Jamaica, 1996).

Isthmus of Panama prior to the Union of 1707, the Scots of Latin America still await comprehensive scholarly investigation.¹ Although a number of localised studies have been published, and a variety of sources point to a significant involvement in the exploration, settlement and economic development of South America, the varied nature and impact of Scottish migrants in that vast sub-continent since the Union can only be signposted at this juncture.²

At the core of modern Scottish emigration lies not only a distinctive historiography, but also a complex, enduring and interlocking network of relationships, worldwide in scope, yet with particularly significant transatlantic manifestations. Stretching from the Arctic Archipelago to Tierra del Fuego, it has most relevance in Canada, parts of the United States, and the Caribbean. As Devine and others have demonstrated, the scale of Scottish emigration in the nineteenth century was not only persistent and noteworthy in both national and international terms; it was also paradoxical, growing in intensity at the same time as Scotland developed into a thriving urban-industrial society with rising living standards and indigenous employment opportunities, which attracted a steady flow of immigrants.

Approximately 52 million people emigrated from Europe in the century after 1815. At least 1,841,534 of those emigrants came from Scotland, which lost a greater proportion of its natural increase of population than any other European country except Ireland and Norway.³ Furthermore, the Scottish exodus was characterised by a higher rate of permanency than the southern and eastern European diaspora which became prominent towards the end of the nineteenth century. While easier ocean and overland travel undoubtedly exacerbated the sojourning type of emigration favoured most notably by the Italians in the early twentieth century, it is also arguable that Scottish emigrants were more single-minded in their pursuit of personal betterment through permanent relocation overseas, and were less driven by the need to support—and return to—dependants who had remained behind. The Scots who turned their backs on economic opportunities at home in favour of apparently better prospects across the Atlantic were also disproportionately urban in origin, and often had useful skills, which they were able to employ to good effect

- ¹ G.P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme* (London, 1947); J. Prebble, *The Darien Disaster* (London, 1968).
- ² H.P. Rheinheimer, *Topo: the story of a Scottish Colony near Caracas, 1825-1827* (Edinburgh, 1988); G. MacKenzie, *Why Patagonia?* (Stornoway, 1996); D. Toulmin, *The Tillycorthie Story* (Aberdeen, 1986).
- ³ Carrier & Jeffery, *External Migration*, 95-6; D.E. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy. Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), 62.

in America.¹ Their attitudes and actions reflect both the internationalisation of the Scottish labour market—as a result of competitive wages and efficient transportation—and the fragility of industrial prosperity in a country which lacked a vibrant domestic market or service sector.² At the same time, however, many restless first-generation urban Scots with good jobs were ready and willing to relinquish an economically sound but socially alien existence in favour of a return to the perceived independence and comfortable familiarity of life on the land.³ Within such a context, Scottish migration conformed to the pattern of land-hungry northern Europe, particularly Scandinavia.⁴

Themes

Emigration has always been the product of an extremely complex web of interlocking influences, among which the provision of financial, organisational and moral support has often been of paramount importance, both in stimulating the decision to leave home, and in determining the emigrant's destination. Assistance can be defined in various ways. For vagrants, criminals, political prisoners, and others who were deported, assistance was unsolicited and unwelcome, as judicial decree, moral or financial scandal and economic imperative all played a part in ensuring that a significant proportion of emigrants did not leave voluntarily. More positive assistance ranged—in terms of written catalysts—from the indirect general encouragement offered in promotional literature, through maps (sometimes intentionally inaccurate), fundamental constitutions defining an immigrant's status and political rights, to correspondence circulated

¹ See, below, 92, E7.

² Devine, *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society*, 1-13; Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy*, 60-2.

³ See, below, 227-8, C9.

⁴ Cf. E.H. Pedersen, 'An outline of the historiography of Danish emigration to America' in *Danish Emigration to the USA*, B.F. Larsen & H. Bender (ed.) (Danish Worldwide Archives Studies in Emigration History, no. 4, Aalborg, Denmark, 1992), 190-6. For other modern studies of Nordic emigration, see K. Hvidt, *Flugten til Amerika, eller Drivkraefter i masseudvandringen fra Danmark 1868-1914. Flight to America—the Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York, 1975, original Danish version Århus, Denmark, 1971); K. Hvidt (ed.), *Emigration fra Norden indtil 1. Verdenskrig: Rapporter til det Nordiske Historikermøde* (Copenhagen, 1971); S. Åkerman, 'Migrationen—ett tvärvetenskapligt forskningsområde' (Migration—an interdisciplinary area of research) in A.S. Källemark (ed.), *Utvandring. Den Svenska Emigrationen til Amerika i Historiskt Perspektiv. Ein Antologi. Emigration. Swedish Emigration to America in an Historical Perspective. An Anthology* (Uppsala, 1973); H. Runblom & H. Norman (ed.), *From Sweden to America. A History of the Migration* (Minneapolis, 1976); H. Norman & H. Runblom, *Transatlantic Connections. Nordic Migration to the New World after 1800* (Oslo, 1988); R.C. Ostergren, *A Community Transplanted: The Trans-Atlantic Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Settlement in the Upper Middle West, 1835-1915* (Uppsala, 1988).

privately or published in the press, along with newspaper advertisements for transport, land, employment or investment opportunities. On the personal plane, as emigration gained greater momentum, the family-based patronage networks of the eighteenth century expanded into the increasingly sophisticated promotional campaigns of professional agents a century later. Successive waves of destitute or disadvantaged emigrants have relied upon indenture or financial assistance provided by individuals and charitable institutions, as well as occasionally by governments. Most potent of all, throughout the ages, has been the reinforcement of personal recommendations from pioneer emigrants by their provision of a passage remittance, a prepaid ticket, a farm or a job to family or friends in Scotland.

The virtues of industry and adaptability which were attributed to Scottish servants made them a highly prized commodity in the thirteen colonies, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indenture was a particularly attractive option for many Scots, to whom bonded servitude at home—at least in the coal, salt and even fishing industries—was a familiar concept until 1800. The largest number of individuals listed in a Scottish indenture contract before 1776 is probably found in the document signed by 125 Jacobite prisoners at Fort William on 31 March 1746, in which they agreed to work in America for 7 years for Samuel Smith, merchant in London, who later transferred his contractual rights to John Hanbury.¹ The more sophisticated and complex Caribbean networks of the eighteenth century were based on kinship or locality, as well as indenture, offering employment opportunities, accommodation for newcomers, and a gentler transition to tropical life for middle-class emigrants from all over Scotland. Those networks also operated in London, where many Scots were sent to serve an apprenticeship in a merchant house before embarking on a colonial trading or planting career, and their correspondence often demonstrates the close relationship between kinship, local association and self-betterment.²

Family patronage operated in respect of American mainland as well as West Indian destinations, while those who lacked access to such personal encouragement could still be persuaded by promotional press articles and correspondence, as well as specific advertisements for employment. The nineteenth century saw an intensification and refinement of these crucial and persuasive tools of the emigrant trade. As legislative prohibitions on emigration were first ignored and then removed from the statute book, as an increasingly vociferous pro-emigration lobby emerged to plead a case for state-funded emigration, and as transatlantic communications improved,

¹ NLS, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, MS 2207.

² See, below, 71, A1.

Scots were bombarded from all sides by a bewildering array of advertisements, recommendations and offers issued by an army of amateur and professional agents. Highland landlords and lowland philanthropists at various times assisted impoverished crofters, artisans, women and children across the Atlantic, sometimes coming into conflict with North American agents, who complained about the motives of the sponsors and the calibre of their recruits well into the twentieth century.¹

There was also a strong commercial interest, particularly on the part of Scottish shipowners, who in the first half of the nineteenth century harnessed an export trade in emigrants to their import trade in Canadian timber (see p. 47, **D3**). Some shrewd speculators obtained free land grants in Upper Canada which they then resold to emigrants, with one such speculator, Donald Cameron of Fort William, making use of an impressive network of sub-agents when he arranged for his recruits to be taken from Lochaber to Quebec in 1824.² After Confederation in 1867, realising that the professional agent could be an especially potent catalyst for migrants who lacked personal contacts overseas, Canada devised and implemented an aggressive but selective recruitment campaign, based on a network of resident regional agents working in conjunction with itinerant lecturers and a large body of ticket offices across Scotland.³

After the First World War, the unprecedented availability of state funding under the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 marked the government's belief that assisted colonisation schemes might be the only way to preserve an empire that was threatening to fall apart. The offer of public money to fund up to 50 per cent of the cost of training, passage or land settlement schemes not only reinvigorated established agencies on both sides of the Atlantic, but also led to the emergence of a variety of new enterprises, all eager to capitalise on the shared funding opportunities.⁴

There is clearly an overlap between literature which advised and encouraged the emigrant, and that which merely offered descriptive or anecdotal information about the leaving process, the voyage, or everyday life across the Atlantic. Even Scots who already had American connections were unlikely to be persuaded by a case for emigration which was not supported by descriptive evidence, either in published or in private correspondence and reports. Practical information about wages, prices, farming life, employment opportunities and society in general provided the essential context within which those who had no predisposition to emigrate might be led to consider the option. The correspondence of

¹ See, below, 49-50, **D4**; 61, **D14**; 195, **B4**.

² *Inverness Journal*, 17 Jan. 1823.

³ See, below, 56-7, **D10**.

⁴ See, below, 203-4, **C5**.

early colonists often shows a preoccupation with property transactions and other business affairs, as well as the practical problems of pioneering.¹ Farming issues in particular formed the subject of much correspondence and comment from various perspectives, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, though emigrants were also increasingly involved in industrial and mercantile enterprises, or western exploration. Even for those who had no intention of emigrating, such information from the other side of the Atlantic—whether it was contained in press reports, promotional pamphlets, missionary magazines, business records or private correspondence—added to public and private awareness about the practice of migration and settlement. In the process, migrant information reinforced the complex chain which bound Scotland to the American continent by links which were cerebral and economic, as well as corporeal.²

Perhaps the most consistent recurring theme which runs through the history of Scotland's relationship with the Americas has been the tireless, and remarkably successful, quest of emigrants and investors for economic betterment. Despite the failure to sustain colonisation in Nova Scotia in the late 1620s and Scotland's impoverishment in the aftermath of the civil wars of the 1640s, ambitious or restless individuals were not averse to trading illegally with England's American colonies. Commercial concerns were evident even among the political and religious refugees as well as the merchant adventurers of the seventeenth century. Much has been written about Scottish efforts and failures in pre-Union colonial ventures in South Carolina, East New Jersey and Darien, but some relatively new and little-known material still remains to be published, especially in relation to East New Jersey,³ while purported Scottish endeavours to colonise in Florida and the Caribbean islands of Dominica and St Vincent in the later seventeenth century await substantiation.⁴

Scottish entrepreneurial engagement with empire commenced within the seventeenth-century context of British state formation which, in turn, must be predicated on several key observations. Firstly, the search for

¹ See, below, 210–2, **B1**.

² See, below, 270–1, **D3**.

³ See, below, 100, **A3**; pp. 208–10, **A1–2**; N.C. Landsman, *Scotland and its First American Colony, 1683–1765* (Princeton, NJ, 1985); Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, John Carter Brown Library, *Scotland and the Americas, 1600 to 1800* (Providence, RI, 1995); L.G. Fryer, 'Robert Barclay of Ury and East New Jersey', *Northern Scotland*, 15 (1995), 1–17; 'Documents relating to the formation of the Carolina Company in Scotland, 1682', *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 99, no. 2 (April 1998), 110–34.

⁴ The political significance of the offer of colonial opportunities in Florida and San Domingo in the 1670s has been briefly cited in A.I. Macinnes, 'Politically Reactionary Brits? The promotion of Anglo-Scottish Union, 1603–1707' in S.J. Connolly (ed.), *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500*, (Dublin, 1998), 43–55. For St Vincent see, NAS, Papers of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, GD 103/2/4/42.

empire in the Americas at the expense primarily of Spain and to a lesser extent Portugal was, like the associated slave trade from Africa, a competitive endeavour intensified by mercantilism as the seventeenth century progressed. As well as the Dutch, the French and the English, this competitive endeavour witnessed the participation of lesser powers such as Sweden, Denmark, Courland, Brandenburg, the Palatine and Savoy along with Scotland.¹ Prior to the Restoration era and perhaps even up to the Revolution of 1689, Scottish mercantile and colonial adventurers were as likely to collaborate with the Dutch and the Scandinavians as with the English. Furthermore, while the Scots can be viewed merely as military auxiliaries in the English colonial engagements with the French and Spanish at the close of the seventeenth century, the Stuart dynasty's perception of empire was coloured by Scottish concepts of fundamental law as well as the English practice of common law. Following the Colvin case of 1608, Scots and English people born after the regal union were naturalised in each other's country and were thus able to participate in the trading or colonial ventures of either. Although these rights were theoretically restricted to Scots domiciled in England or to English in Scotland and although reciprocal Scottish rights were not always upheld by English customs officials, the domicile restriction was difficult to police given that Scottish courtiers had bases in both countries, Scottish merchant houses opened up in London and sojourners from Scotland to the colonies frequently passed through English ports. Furthermore, the prerogative powers the Stuarts claimed by divine right enabled successive monarchs to suspend or dispense with laws restricting Scottish participation in English ventures or vice-versa. While trading and colonial ventures were authorised separately by the respective governments of Scotland and England prior to 1707, the Stuarts' exercise of their *ius imperium* ensured that these ventures had a distinctive British dimension.²

Secondly, the nature of Scottish engagement with the American colonies, though incidental to the development of the plantation economy and relatively deficient in commercial networks and ethnic anchors before 1707, was not simply that of servitor colonialism. Certainly, the provision of indentured servants, professionals like doctors and clergymen,

¹ Calder, *Revolutionary Empire*, 179; O. Feldbaek & O. Justesen, *Danmarks Historie: Kolonieme i Asien og Afrika*, (Copenhagen, 1980), 299-347; 'Correspondence of Sir John Cochrane & others with James, Duke of Courland, 1643-50', ed. H.F.M. Simpson, *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society volume I* (Edinburgh, 1893), 144-7.

² The monitoring of Scottish engagement with the American colonies by the British Court and English government can be followed through the 17 volumes covering the period 1574-1708 in the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial: America and the West Indies*, W.M. Sainsbury, J.W. Fortescue & C. Headlam (ed.), (London, 1880-1916).

military auxiliaries and, ultimately, colonial governors characterised Scottish as well as Irish participation in English colonies.¹ Albeit the Scots never came to dominate a notional English colony in the way the Irish effectively colonised Montserrat in the Leeward Islands, Scottish entrepreneurship was vigorously and comprehensively exercised by colonial planters as well as mercantile adventurers and privateers. Moreover, the Scots regarded themselves as independent players in empire and without the cultural baggage of colonial dependency attributed to the Irish.² The entrepreneurs who undertook colonial endeavours in the Americas usually did so with government blessing in order to give depth and diversity to the Scottish economy as well as secure individual and collective returns on their venture capital.³

Thirdly, although no more than 7,000 Scots probably migrated to the American colonies as against 100,000 to Scandinavia and the Baltic and at least another 100,000 to Ulster during the seventeenth century, there was a distinct shift later in the century in favour of westward, transatlantic migration. Moreover, this transatlantic migration was not static but ongoing as Scots removed and relocated continuously from the Caribbean to mainland plantations.⁴ At the same time, a reservoir of Scottish colonial expertise, as planters and merchant adventurers, was built up within Dutch as well as English colonies. The search for separate Scottish colonies, which came to grief at Darien on the Panama Isthmus in 1700, was the culmination of not one but three generations of transatlantic entrepreneurial endeavour. The constitutional ramifications of the Darien—a fiasco due in no small measure to misplaced British disrespect for Spain as ‘the sick man of Europe’—are well attested in relation to Scotland’s future collaboration with England within an imperial context.⁵ However, no less vital was the

¹ R.S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill, 1972); R.B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies 1623-1775* (Baltimore, 1974).

² D.K. Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730* (Liverpool, 1997); N. Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore, 1988), 44-59.

³ The support of the Scottish government for colonial engagements in the seventeenth century can be traced through the three published series of the *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland* [RPCS].

⁴ T.C. Smout *et al.*, ‘Scottish emigration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’ in N. Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move: Studies on Migration, 1500-1800* (Oxford, 1994), 70-112; D. Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America 1607-1785* (Athens, Ga., 1994), 84.

⁵ C. Storrs, ‘Disaster at Darien (1698-1700)? The persistence of Spanish Imperial power on the eve of the demise of the Spanish Habsburgs’, *European History Quarterly*, 29 (1999), 5-38; D. Armitage, ‘The Scottish vision of empire: intellectual origins of the Darien venture’ in J. Robertson (ed.), *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), 97-118.

colonial expertise brought to bear on the debates on union in the concluding session of the Scottish Estates in 1706–7. Arguably, the understated importance of Scottish entrepreneurial engagement in empire ensured that the making of union involved issues of principle on both sides—not just among the opponents of political incorporation and political jobbery. At the same time, entrepreneurial engagement in empire can be deemed to rehabilitate the importance of political economy as that of sophisticated political management in effecting the United Kingdom of Great Britain.¹

The Union of 1707 provided the springboard for enterprising sojourners and settlers to pursue effectively and legally transatlantic imperial opportunities from the Arctic to the Caribbean, not least in the Chesapeake tobacco trade, which was so central to Glasgow's rise to prominence as the second city of the empire.² Further south, middle-class Scots followed a diversity of occupations in the Caribbean, where they were engaged not only as slave-owning merchant-planters and estate managers for absentee owners, but also as doctors and lawyers.³ Meanwhile, in more northerly latitudes, Scots were also being attracted in droves to the Canadian fur trade, which they continued to dominate after the merger of the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, at the same time as they took control of eastern Canada's burgeoning export trade in timber.⁴

The solid eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century foundations of Scottish enterprise were then confirmed and expanded by a variety of Victorian and Edwardian ventures and by an ongoing quest for economic betterment across the Atlantic between the wars. Brewers, detectives, explorers, gold miners, Indian traders, ranchers, industrialists, politicians and philanthropists all reinforced the enduring image of the Scot abroad as the epitome of shrewd, clannish, and disproportionately successful business practice. The name of Andrew Carnegie in particular became a familiar byword for successful enterprise⁵ while in a smaller way Andrew Little, the Moffat-born 'Sheep King of Idaho', was a celebrated figure among the sheep farmers and shepherds of the western United States.⁶ Some Scottish adventurers were also notable eccentrics, especially

¹ A.M. Carstairs, 'Some economic aspects of the Union of Parliaments', *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 2 (1955), 64–72; T.C. Smout, 'The road to Union' in G. Holmes (ed.), *Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689–1714* (London, 1969), 176–96; C.A. Whatley, 'Bought and Sold for English Gold? Explaining the Union of 1707' (Glasgow, 1994).

² See, below, 81, C2.

³ See, below, 75–7, B1–2; 260–1, B4.

⁴ See, below, 83, D2.

⁵ See, below, 89–90, E4.

⁶ L. Shadduck, *Andy Little: Idaho Sheep King* (Caldwell, 1990); Szasz, *Scots in the American West*. We are grateful to Professor Szasz for drawing our attention to Little's biography.

towards the end of the nineteenth century, which is sometimes pejoratively referred to in western North America as the era of the remittance man. Many of these men returned home when they discovered that the harsh reality of frontier life was very different from their expectations, but some stayed and became legends in their own lifetimes.¹

If entrepreneurial activity was a prominent characteristic of the Scots overseas, equally significant was their military prowess, particularly among the highland regiments whose distinguished reputations are rooted in the two major American conflicts of the eighteenth century, the Seven Years' War and the American War of Independence. Although familiar with European theatres of war over many centuries, it was only after the Union of the Parliaments that Scots, notably highlanders, began to enlist significantly in the new regiments which were formed to protect and extend Britain's imperial interests, and only from mid century that military service became the harbinger of emigration, through the allocation of colonial land grants. Scottish soldiers were not involved exclusively in North America. When after Culloden, leading gentry of the Stewarts of Appin were forfeited, several of their number took up military service in the New World. One of these men was Duncan Stewart of Ardshiel, who settled in Connecticut in 1769, the same year in which he fell heir to the chieftainship of the Stewarts of Appin. During the War of American Independence, he sided with the Crown and was later appointed Collector of Customs in Bermuda. One of his sons, William George Stewart, ventured to Montevideo, where he married Mariana Agell y Blanco. William Stewart was accompanied to the River Plate by his relative, Duncan Stewart of Acharn, who wed Mariana's sister. From these two marriages there emerged the Stewart-Agell dynasty, many of whose members played a prominent part in the early development of Uruguay and the Argentine.²

From as early as the 1650s Scottish settlers served in the colonial militia forces of New England, South Carolina, and possibly Virginia, at a time when population was often enumerated in terms of white men able to bear arms.³ As the English government had not then assumed responsibility for safeguarding its colonists, they had to shoulder the burden of that

¹ See, below, 91, E6.

² See, below, 94-5, F1; C. Valvo, *Nobiliario del Antiguo Virreynato del Rio de la Plate* [Peerage of the Old Viceroyalty of the River Plate] (Buenos Aires, Libreria y Editorial 'La Facultad'/Bernabe y Campana, 1939); extract adapted from vol. 4, 287-9, 'Stewart', and translated from the original Spanish by Iain Stewart.

³ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*; J.A. Rinn, 'Factors in Scottish emigration. A study of Scottish participation in the indentured and transportation systems of the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' (University of Aberdeen, PhD thesis, 1979).

defence themselves, drawing soldiers from the ranks of single men, deportees and indentured servants, who often formed the backbone of the local militia, and officers from the planter class. William Dunlop, one of the undertakers of the Carolina Company, held the rank of major in the local militia at Port Royal, South Carolina, in the 1680s. Possibly the only moment of glory for the Scots at New Caledonia, however, was due not to orchestrated militia forces but to the brief, heroic leadership of Alexander Campbell of Fonab, who led the Scottish settlers in an offensive against the Spaniards. Despite Fonab's victory at Toubacanti in 1700, the Scots were soon forced to evacuate the Isthmus of Darien forever. But Campbell's actions were honoured by his country in the gift of a gold medal with the Company's arms on the obverse, and on the reverse a classical figure leading an attack on the Spanish stockade.¹

The internal conflicts which convulsed Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth century led to the transportation of around 1,200 political and military prisoners across the Atlantic. At the same time, Scots from all parts of North Britain were beginning to play their part in the defence of the empire through both military and naval service on the American continent. Such service remained relatively restricted, however, and was not harnessed to emigration opportunities until after the Seven Years' War. In terms of both military service and subsequent colonisation, that conflict of 1756-63 provided a focus for the political rehabilitation and practical deployment of highlanders cut adrift by the events of 1745-6. Following the switch from a European 'grey water' to an imperial 'blue water' policy of military engagement—first advocated by John Dalrymple, second Earl of Stair, although William Pitt the Elder is usually credited with the innovation—highland regiments were raised to serve on the American mainland and in the Caribbean, primarily for their usefulness as a highly mobile and hardy light infantry. The Treaty of Paris which brought the Seven Years' War to an end led to extensive military colonisation, particularly of highlanders, in the territories which had been successfully defended. The British government was sanctioning the settlement of half-pay officers, non-commissioned officers and private men as part of its overall policy to ensure the security of its extended empire. For many highlanders, whose domestic ambitions were being curtailed by marked demographic growth and the reorientation of estate economies at home, military service was itself a form of entrepreneurial activity. The second half of the eighteenth century saw the rapid creation of relatively large, concentrated centres of highland influence and landownership in mainland America, particularly in the Atlantic colonies, New York, Upper and Lower Canada. By acting as dispensers of

¹ See, below, 73-4, A3.

information on favourable agricultural prospects and generous tenurial regulations in the colonies, military officers who became colonists encouraged the spread of positive and alluring images of the New World throughout Scotland, which in turn gave rise to a significant amount of secondary migration.

Within little more than a decade of the Peace of Paris, the American Revolution gave further scope initially for the deployment of Scottish regiments on the American continent, and subsequently for the expansion of military settlement. In addition to the two highland regiments raised in the aftermath of the Forty-Five, the six regiments of the line and the two fencible regiments for domestic defence mobilised during the Seven Years' War, another ten regiments of the line and three fencibles were raised during the American War of Independence. While some combatants lost their lives, others suffered in their estate as a result of their wartime adventures. This suffering often led to substantial claims for compensation, and to the award of extensive land grants in Canada, particularly along vulnerable boundaries and rivers such as the upper St Lawrence.¹ Although only those soldiers who served in the North American theatre of war were eligible for land grants, such military allocations became an integral part of the British government's colonial policy, being further reinforced after the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and the war with America from 1812-14. Nonetheless, there was considerable disquiet in mercantilist circles in Britain at the resulting stimulus given to emigration. In 1803 the first Passenger Vessels Act was pushed through a war-preoccupied Parliament in an attempt to stem the exodus to military and other settlements. The legislation—the first of six passenger acts between 1803 and 1855—was passed at the behest of the influential landlord lobby which constituted the Highland Society, and although it was ostensibly designed to improve accommodation and medical conditions during the transatlantic voyage, its real function was to put a stop to emigration by making fares prohibitively expensive. By the 1820s, however, the legislation served as a litmus test for the relaxation of official attitudes to emigration in the harsh economic climate of the post-war era, and subsequent passenger legislation tried to ensure effective protection for travellers without raising the cost of passage beyond the reach of poor emigrants.²

By the time the Treaty of Vienna in 1815 closed an era in which European quarrels had been repeatedly fought out on American soil, military settlement was already being eclipsed by civilian emigration. Yet Scottish—particularly highland—military involvement on the American

¹ See, below, 115, D5; 119, D8.

² For detailed discussion of the passenger legislation, see O. Macdonagh, *A Pattern of Government Growth: The Passenger Acts and their Enforcement, 1800-1860* (London, 1961).

continent continued throughout the nineteenth century. This involvement encompassed naval patrols in the South Atlantic to protect British trading interests or to keep an eye out for illegal slave traders, garrison duty at strategic locations in Canada, and participation on both sides in the American Civil War. During that conflict, a highland battalion was raised for the North as part of the New York State Militia, while in the South many of the regimental names in North Carolina, such as the Highland Boys and the Highland Rangers, were based on the Scottish region where the families of the recruits had originated.¹ The enduring relevance of the military link was perhaps most clearly demonstrated during the First World War, as Scots-Canadians of all ranks flocked to defend the empire, the considerable cost of their actions being commemorated by the silent witness of numerous war memorials on both sides of the Atlantic.

Even in the days of hazardous travel in sailing vessels, by no means all emigrants regarded the Atlantic as a Rubicon, the crossing of which irrevocably severed all ties with home and family. While most saw the ocean as a stormy bridge to better opportunity overseas, for a significant number it was a two-way bridge, which allowed the material benefits gained by emigrating to be invested in Scotland, either in supporting stay-at-home dependants or in repatriating capital against the sojourner's return to enjoy the fruits of his transatlantic labours. As transport facilities improved, more and more Scots whose interests remained rooted in their homeland began to criss-cross the Atlantic regularly in a seasonal or episodic emigration which ebbed and flowed according to job opportunities on both sides of the pond. But transient emigrants were not simply those who visited or pursued careers or vocations overseas before returning to Scotland, or those who plied the Atlantic regularly as *gastarbeiter* in American mines, factories and lumberyards. They also included many who neither came back to their place of origin nor put down roots in their first settlement. These were emigrants for whom the Atlantic crossing, while permanent, was simply one stage in an ongoing process of demographic upheaval which might already have relocated them within Scotland from croft or farm to village, and from village to industrial town or city, and which might in due course move them on through America in search of employment and better opportunity. For some, temporary, episodic or stage emigration was an economic necessity, an extension of the seasonal internal migration which became a significant feature of Scottish, particularly highland, society in the eighteenth century. For others, it was a statement of ambition as well as confidence in the

¹ See, below, 126-7, G1; 127-8, G2.

economic and social transferability of foreign fortunes and status.¹

Before the Union a number of Scots endeavoured, by illegal as well as legal means, to use the Americas as a place to restore diminished family fortunes, in the hope of regaining power and position at home. The strictures of primogeniture provoked many younger sons, from various levels of society, into crossing the Atlantic in search of fortune that could subsequently be repatriated. Others, for reasons of adventure or necessity, became buccaneers and pirates, and still others were simply seafarers. After the Union, when Scotland gained the appellation of North Britain, episodic emigration moved up a gear, and Scottish sojourners flocked to the Chesapeake, the Carolinas and the Caribbean in significant numbers. Despite their often considerable professional and commercial investment in these areas, most were ambitious career emigrants, who regarded the colonies as places to be exploited rather than settled, and whose roots and aspirations remained firmly planted in their native soil. In particular, many of them were looking for an estate which they could purchase on easy terms and which would yield a steady return, as a legitimate and feasible stepping-stone to the ultimate, and more prestigious, acquisition of land in Scotland.²

Sojourning developed different characteristics in different parts of the American continent. In the Arctic, where Scots were for three centuries predominant among all ranks of fur traders employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, the North West Company, and, after 1821, the amalgamated company, the usual pattern was for recruits to engage for a five-year term, usually renewable. Although by no means all came from Orkney, as is sometimes supposed on both sides of the Atlantic, most employees were drawn from the northern or western islands and the highlands. Until the early twentieth century, they were generally aged at least 21 and were unmarried. The kind of economic pressure which drove Scots into Arctic fur trading—overpopulation, estate reconstruction and rent arrears—was generally different from that which sent large numbers of younger sons to the Caribbean, both before and after the American Revolution. Although Scottish sojourners to both these climatically inhospitable areas were usually unmarried and in pursuit of better prospects, the ambitions of most Hudson's Bay Company recruits tended to be comparatively modest.³

By the mid nineteenth century, Scottish sojourners in the United States, particularly after the Civil War, were motivated not so much by negative economic pressure as by the positive lure of high wages payable for short-term contract work in a variety of industries and trades in an age of

¹ See, below, 142, B2.

² See, below, 140-1, B2.

³ Cf. 154, C7.

increasingly easy transportation.¹ But not all Scottish sojourners crossed the Atlantic in pursuit of economic betterment. Some went out of curiosity, duty, pleasure, or religious zeal, and the nineteenth century in particular saw a vibrant two-way traffic in transatlantic evangelism, of which Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey in 1874 were simply the best-known exponents.² Others sojourned rather than settled because they had been disappointed in their quest for betterment, and a significant proportion of returnees came home with their illusions shattered, their health ruined, or their pockets empty.

Highlanders were well used to sojourning migration within Scotland, and extended that tradition into overseas military service and the ranks of the Hudson's Bay Company. Highland emigration overall has generated more documentation, discussion and declamation than any other aspect of the emigrant experience, with particular reference to the attitudes of landlords, government and participants. When from the mid eighteenth century the highland emigration debate became increasingly dominated by arguments about the extent to which the emigrants were pushed or pulled overseas, there began to develop a thoroughly negative historiography of the highland diaspora, creating the powerful and recurring impression of a victim culture. It is an image that has endured for almost 250 years, despite critical differences between the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the expectations and experiences of highland emigrants.

At various periods significant clusters of highlanders have congregated in the Caribbean, the American South, the Canadian Maritimes, Eastern Ontario and the prairies, and even the South Atlantic. In the West Indies, landed enterprise provided the initial stimulus to a movement which was then cemented by chain migration. Most highlanders in the Caribbean were sojourners who, like the Malcolms of Potalloch, were sent out by their families to make a fortune and repatriate the money to Scotland. Although this family had been highland landowners since the sixteenth century, their fortune came to be based on their colonial ventures in acquiring plantations in Jamaica from the 1750s. Despite the inherently speculative nature of the trade, profits from rum and sugar led to their vast accumulation of wealth, as evident from the steadily if not inexorably increasing turnover recorded in their business ledgers, which rose from £83,000 in 1771 through £410,000 in 1812 to £1,039,404 by 1858. From Jamaica they diversified as merchant adventurers and slave traders between the West Indies, Central and North America. The bulk of their wealth was repatriated, however, partly to build up their social position in London and Edinburgh but principally to work and accumulate capital.

¹ See, below, 164, D2.

² See, below, 281, E4.

They invested successfully in London's West Indian docks, in Yorkshire shipbuilding and, above all, as shipping insurers specialising in the lucrative liabilities of the South and China Seas. It was only the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars in 1793 and the subsequent enforcement of the economic blockade around the British Isles that led the Malcolms to invest seriously in estates and mansions in their home county. They used their colonial wealth to force up prices on the land market to such an extent that they moved from small to large landowners within a generation. During the 1840s, they earned notoriety as township clearers, largely because they sought to impose the plantation system for cattle farming, which they had exploited successfully in Jamaica and then in Southern Australia, at the expense of their traditional tenantry in Argyllshire.¹

Although the financial success of the Malcolms was somewhat exceptional, their entrepreneurial activities were anchored in the Argyll colony consolidated by chain migration in the north-west parishes of Jamaica from the 1720s. Similarly, by the American Revolution, chain migration, arising from economic hardship and restricted opportunities, had created substantial highland settlements in Georgia and New York, as well as North Carolina, where the emigrants were attracted by land grants and financial incentives. Such emigration was not simply a subject for dispassionate observation. During the 1770s and 1780s it became an issue of increasing concern to landlords, factors and government, whose mercantilist antagonism was fuelled by an uneasy awareness that the region was being denuded of its most enterprising inhabitants. Some commentators attributed this drain of labour to unwise management by landlords and factors, suggesting that profound estate change, far from inducing a yearning for the preservation of established patterns of rights and access to land, was instead bringing about a fundamental rethink in tenants' perceptions and ambitions.² Ironically, it made emigrants determined radically to enhance their social status and become, like their erstwhile landlords, complete masters of their own agrarian resources, while those who stayed at home used the threat of emigration to advance their social and economic status there. Timing the departure was critically important. Paradoxically, good market conditions and stock prices stimulated emigration, allowing more capital to be realised, and the substantial cost of departure to be met. The indebtedness and lack of capital reserves that followed the regular downturns in highland cattle markets during every decade between the 1760s and the 1820s caused temporary dislocation to emigration, although in the 1780s (particularly

¹ A.I. Macinnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom from claniship to commercial landlordism, c.1600-c.1850' in S. Foster et al. (eds.), *Scottish Power Centres from the Early Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Glasgow, 1998), 162-90.

² See, below, 180, A9.

during the famine year of 1783) highlanders showed a marked readiness to abrogate leases in order to cash in their stock and emigrate.¹

The military service which was responsible for bringing many highlanders across the Atlantic in the eighteenth century also provided them with the opportunity to take up land, notably after 1783, when the British government encouraged proprietary soldier settlement in strategic parts of its remaining American territories. Loyalist highlanders also flocked north, many of them joining their countrymen who had been attracted to Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia since the early 1770s by the organising abilities of entrepreneurial gentry, like MacDonald of Glenaladale, by the determination of tacksmen, especially the half-pay military officers, to seek colonial opportunities more rewarding than their management of traditional townships and by the offer of land from Scottish agents and speculators. But emigration remained generally anathema to a highland landlord class, which was still intent on modernising the regional economy through the redeployment of tenants into commercial fishing, kelping, quarrying and textile manufacturing. Redeployment was compounded by relocation, by the switch from farming to crofting, while indigenous entrepreneurs (often former tacksmen) as well as outsiders were simultaneously encouraged to undertake capital-intensive sheep farming on large tracts of their estates. But although a chorus of landlord opposition to emigration, channelled through the Highland Society, produced the ill-conceived and hastily executed Passenger Vessels Act of 1803, proprietorial solidarity was soon to be eroded. Under the twin onslaughts of Lord Selkirk's persuasive arguments and agency work in support of emigration, and the developing economic crisis in the highlands as the insecure props of economic development collapsed, attitudes to emigration in the nineteenth century were to undergo a fundamental and controversial change.²

Ironically, by the time many highland landlords came to regard assisted emigration as a legitimate safety valve for the deepening crisis of poverty and overpopulation on their estates, the government's short-lived, security-driven experiment in state-assisted civilian settlements in the Ottawa and Rideau valleys had come to an end. When petitions for government funding fell on increasingly deaf ears, landlords therefore began to take the initiative themselves. Particularly with the collapse of the kelp market at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and in the wake of the potato famines of the 1830s and 1840s, thousands of highlanders were encouraged or coerced to emigrate to Canada and the Antipodes. This second phase of emigration, where many left their homeland involuntarily and unwillingly,

¹ A. I. Macinnes, 'Highland society in the age of improvement', in A. Cooke *et. al.*, *Modern Scottish History, 1707 to the Present* (East Linton, 1998), 177-202.

² See, below, 194-3, B3.

can be regarded as a redefined process of clearance, in which the eighteenth-century scenario of entrepreneurial tenants and reluctant landlords was decisively transposed into a potent image of enforced exiles, which permanently eclipsed the picture of the highland diaspora as a negotiated movement. Chain migration continued throughout this most controversial phase of highland emigration, not least to the Maritimes, and also to Glengarry County, Eastern Ontario, where between 1773 and 1853 almost 3,500 emigrants from Knoydart established a clearly identifiable, vibrant and enduring highland settlement. 'Go not to Glengarry, if you be not a Highlandman', prospective emigrants to Upper Canada were warned in a guidebook in 1829,¹ and that part of Eastern Ontario arguably remained the most recognisable enclave of highland settlement in North America throughout the nineteenth century, attracting the attention of travel writers, genealogists and novelists such as Ralph Connor.²

By the late nineteenth century, highland emigrants had begun to venture further west, on both sides of the Canadian border. Notwithstanding the Crofters' Holdings Act of 1886 which gave security of tenure but not security of income, the westward exodus of highlanders continued into the twentieth century, as professional recruitment agents harnessed their efforts to the British government's new commitment to state-aided imperial colonisation. The appearance of large Canadian liners in the Outer Hebrides in 1923 and 1924 was reminiscent of the localised embarkations which had characterised the late eighteenth century, although by that time Hebridean emigrants had also developed an enduring, if less well documented, connection with the Falkland Islands and Patagonia, primarily as sheep farmers.³

Scots, perhaps highlanders in particular, have been remarkably successful at retaining and enhancing their ethnic identity overseas. No matter how strong the magnet which lured them across the Atlantic, the anticipation or experience of emigrating often provoked in them a feeling of rootlessness and vulnerability, having turned their backs on their homeland. In such circumstances, it was natural that they should both develop a sharper awareness of their origins, and seek to re-establish their identity in their new locations. At the same time, however, since many of the defence mechanisms which they had created initially to give them an anchor in an alien environment could also be used to promote their

¹ M. McLean, *The People of Glengarry*, 125, quoting from J. MacTaggart, *Three Years in Canada*, vol. I (London, 1829), 193.

² See pp. 188-9, A16. See also R. Connor (pseudonym of the Rev. Charles William Gordon), *The Man from Glengarry. A Tale of Western Canada* (London, 1901), *Glengarry Days* (London, 1902).

³ See, below, 203-4, C5; 289-90, F4.

economic and social advancement, the cultivation of Scottishness became not just a communal cultural crutch but a useful tool with which emigrants could further their personal, individualistic ambitions by networking. Their umbilical attachment to their native land has been manifested particularly in the preservation of religious ties, but also in freemasonry and mutual aid organisations, literary, musical and sporting associations, as well as in a wide variety of clubs based on the emigrants' precise places of origin.¹ From time to time it was also demonstrated less positively in images of exclusive clannishness, tight-fistedness and debauchery, not to mention excessive pride and violent criminality.²

The Scots Charitable Society of Boston, founded in 1657, was open to men of Scottish birth or their sons, and became the prototype for numerous charitable or mutual benefit societies throughout the Americas. These St Andrew's and Caledonian societies, along with other, regionally-focused associations, mushroomed wherever Scots congregated, and offered not only practical assistance to needy emigrants, but also the opportunity to celebrate their national origins through a range of social functions.³ St Andrew's Day was one of the two highlights of the social calendar for many Scots exiles throughout the Americas, the other being Burns' Night. As early as July 1787 copies of Burns' *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* were on sale in the United States, where they attracted such interest that British exports alone could not satisfy the market.⁴ In 1788 two American editions appeared, the first in Philadelphia and the second in New York, in an early reflection of what was to become an enduring American love affair with Scotland's national bard. Meanwhile, in terms of outdoor activities and sports, shinty and curling, along with highland dancing and piping, ceilidhs and picnics, were also designed to promote and celebrate Scottishness.⁵

Concern that the emigrants preferred secular symbols of their national identity to spiritual anchors was sometimes voiced, particularly in the Caribbean, where it was alleged that Scots preserved those traits which brought economic success, but abandoned their moral standards, being characterised more by debauchery than godliness. For many Scots, however, a determination to put down religious roots and follow their faith was a particularly vital way to maintain ties with the old country, and until the end of the nineteenth century, founding or joining a Scottish church was

¹ See, below, 258-9, B2; 272-3, D5; p. 275-6, D8; 284-5, E7.

² See, below, 246-7, F1.

³ See, below, 264-6, C2; 278-80, E1.

⁴ John Carter Brown Library, *Scotland and the Americas, 1600 to 1800*, viii. Burns' collected *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* was first published in Kilmarnock in 1786, in a relatively small edition and in April 1787 an Edinburgh edition of 3,000 appeared.

⁵ See, below, 275, D7.

probably the most common mechanism through which emigrants demonstrated their national identity and anchored themselves in a new community. Emigrant clergymen of all denominations—whose services were keenly solicited by expatriate Scots—were expected to be secular as well as spiritual leaders, facilitating their flocks' transition to a new culture and standing as symbols of their ethnic identity, as well as being a means of keeping the emigrant community together. Clerical leadership of emigration movements, initiated by persecuted Episcopalians at the end of the seventeenth century, and continued by Hebridean priests in the eighteenth century¹; was emulated by the Presbyterian churches, the best-known example being the Odyssey of Norman MacLeod, who in 1817 led his Assynt flock first to Pictou, then to Cape Breton Island, before uprooting, almost thirty years later, to go to Australia and finally New Zealand.² However, the thirst for spiritual leadership in the colonies and the paucity of missionary encouragement from Scotland in the eighteenth century led migrants to abandon the denominational faith of their homelands. Thus, former Presbyterians became Baptists in the American South and former Episcopalians became Catholics in the Canadian Maritimes. Some clergymen were notably reluctant to accompany emigrant parties when solicited, only taking the plunge after ongoing emigration had made their congregations no longer viable.³ The persistent disparity between demand and supply was addressed by the Glasgow Colonial Society from 1825 to 1840 in respect of Canada, and then by its successors, the colonial committees of the various presbyterian denominations, in respect of enclaves of Scottish settlement all over the world, as exiles strove to strike a balance between safeguarding their national identity and assimilating to a new environment.⁴ But missionary endeavour had an impact on indigenous, as well as expatriate, communities. Nowhere was this more striking than in Peru, where the Colegio San Andrés, founded in Lima by the Free Church of Scotland in 1917, has included among its alumni some of Peru's most notable businessmen, academics and politicians, as well as clergymen.⁵

More pervasively, freemasonry according to the Scottish rite—as

¹ See below, 268–70, **D1, D2**).

² F. McPherson, *Watchman against the World* (Toronto, 1962); M.D. Harper, 'Norman Macleod', in N.M. de S. Cameron *et. al.* (eds.) *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1993), 531–2.

³ D. Meek, 'The fellowship of kindred minds: some religious aspects of kinship and emigration from the Scottish highlands in the 19th century', *Hands Across the Water. Emigration from Northern Scotland to North America* (Aberdeen, 1995), 18–19, 27.

⁴ See, below, 289, **F3**.

⁵ J.M. MacPherson, *At the Roots of a Nation. The story of San Andrés School in Lima, Peru* (Edinburgh, 1993), 6–10, 46, 86, 158–60, 194–5.

constituted separately from that of England in 1736—has spread throughout the Americas. Initially as an ethnic anchor and subsequently as a distinctive social network, freemasonry has harmonised speculative philosophy and philanthropic benevolence to commercial endeavour and transatlantic enterprise. From its colonial foundations in 1756, when the first American lodge (St Andrew's Boston) was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, freemasonry according to the Scottish rite had spread from North America to the West Indies largely under military auspices during the Seven Years' War. Subsequent migration by entrepreneurs, sojourners and permanent settlers entrenched and extended freemasonry into Central and South America by the later nineteenth century. However, the formation of the United States by 1783, the establishment of the Canadian Confederation in 1867 and disruptive relations with emergent Latin American countries at the outset of the twentieth century removed Scottish rite lodges from the metropolitan influence of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Nonetheless, 36 American lodges — from Newfoundland to Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, Bermuda and St. Kitts in the West Indies to Panama, Chile and Peru — remained affiliated and active practitioners of the Scottish rite by 1939. Perhaps the most striking testimony to the influential transmission of people, capital and ideas from Scotland to the New World is found in the masonic symbolism on the reverse of the \$1 bill. This bill is fronted by the founding President of the USA, George Washington, a speculative mason in Lodge Fredericksberg of Virginia, which was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1758.¹

Structure

This book does not purport to offer any quantitative analysis of Scottish emigration. It is rather an impressionistic study, in which the documents selected for scrutiny aim to clothe the statistical skeleton by highlighting the personal experiences of individuals, families and communities who

¹ D. Wright (ed.), *Gould's History of Freemasonry*, 3 vols (London, 1931), III, 244–8; G.S. Draffen (ed.), *Year Book of the Grand Lodge of the Antient Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1952), 116–22, 137–8; J. M. Garside (ed.), *Year Book of the Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1996), 15–8, 30–6, 117–59. Of these 36 affiliates, the oldest active lodge was established in Bermuda in 1797, and this was joined by 4 more elsewhere in the West Indies by 1850. From the middle of the nineteenth century until the outbreak of the Second World War, 14 more Scottish rite lodges became operative in the West Indies, 4 in Chile, 3 in Peru and 2 in Panama. The 14 lodges activated in Newfoundland have remained Scottish rather than Canadian affiliates. The amity maintained between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the Grand Lodges in every other Canadian province, throughout the United States and in virtually every country in Central and Southern America affirms the determination of the Scots to maintain their distinctive yet fraternal identity through freemasonry in the Americas.

constituted the Scottish exodus.¹ The diversity of the authors' origins is also intended to demonstrate the limitations of an understanding of Scottish migration which is based on a simple dichotomy of highland and lowland, urban and rural, and fails to take into account either the long-standing internal mobility of the Scots, or the geographical breadth and complexity of their transatlantic interests.

The documents are grouped within thematically based chapters, each of which reflects a significant dimension of the emigrant experience—persuasion and the sometimes tortuous process of removal, entrepreneurship, military service, transience, the distinctive highland diaspora, the mixed fortunes of settlement and resettlement, and the multifarious networks through which emigrants put down roots and became assimilated to their new environment. Pre-eminent among the recurring themes which underpin the whole study are the complex relationship between push and pull influences, and the variability of the emigrant experience, for both good and ill.

The chapters are sub-divided chronologically and geographically, and sometimes thematically, though not every chapter presents material under each division. Pre-Union documents precede commentaries on the Caribbean, which are followed in turn by sources on the thirteen Colonies, Canada, the United States, and Latin America. Chapter One looks at the stimulus to emigrate and the process and perils of removal to and arrival in the New World. Chapter Two examines Scottish entrepreneurial activity according to the same six-part structure. Military emigration, the subject of Chapter Three, is scrutinised under slightly different chronological headings, pre-Union studies being followed in turn by the era of constricted opportunities until the mid eighteenth century, the military rehabilitation of highlanders which characterised the period after the Seven Years' War, the American Revolution, the French Wars of the 1790s and 1800s, the rôle of Scottish soldiers in nineteenth-century Canada, and the residual military involvement of Scots up to World War I. Chapter Four, which deals with Scottish sojourning in the Americas, follows pre-Union commentaries with a section on colonial plantations. It then gives a detailed case study of the Hudson's Bay Company, before providing examples of industrial sojourning in North America and evangelical sojourning in South America. Highland emigration, examined in Chapter

¹ Scottish emigration statistics can be found in a number of recent studies, although estimates for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are subject to a wide margin of error, and even after 1852, when the figures become more reliable, the returns made by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners—and subsequently by the Board of Trade—still have to be treated with caution. One of the most useful and comprehensive surveys for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is still Carrier & Jeffery, *External Migration*.

Five, is studied in terms of the three main phases of clearance, the eighteenth century, nineteenth century up to the watershed of the 1880s, and the half-century after the Crofters' War, with geographical subdivisions, and particular emphasis on key settlements such as Glengarry, Ontario. Chapter Six, which investigates the settlement and frequent resettlement of Scots within the Americas, reverts to the six-part chronological-cum-geographical structure, with Canadian coverage further sub-divided into three geographical areas. Chapter Seven considers the ethnic anchors put down by the Scots and the way in which these anchors led to their assimilation to New World conditions in different eras and locations. The chapter retains the chronological-geographical divisions of earlier chapters, and takes account of both religious and secular influences. The preponderance of Canadian material in each chapter is a reflection both of the weight of material submitted by contributors and the fact that, for most of the period under review, that part of the American continent was more heavily and consistently publicised in Scotland than any other emigrant destination. It is also, no doubt, attributable to the fundamental difference between Canada and the United States in terms of immigration philosophy. The preference of the latter for the concept of a melting pot has sometimes tended to obscure the visibility of individual immigrant groups, particularly those like Scots who were not consistently oppressed or discriminated against, whereas the mosaic approach favoured by the Canadians has allowed the Scots, like other immigrant groups, to retain and promote their ethnicity.

In attempting to produce a succession of thematic cameos through the interweaving of a diverse range of sources, a certain amount of overlap is inevitable. The chapter divisions are to some extent artificial, since the same documents could often be used to illustrate a number of themes. Military emigrants, particularly those who took up American land grants, tended to be highlanders. They were also entrepreneurs, as were men like Banffshire emigrant William Shand, who manipulated his Scottish contacts on both sides of the Atlantic to advance himself, his family and his regional connections in the business and farming world of south-western Ontario.¹ Most episodic emigrants were also entrepreneurs, from the sojourners or career emigrants who pursued their fortunes in the Caribbean in the eighteenth century, to the army of Scottish traders, clerks and factors employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, and the contract workers who criss-crossed the Atlantic after the advent of quick and reliable steam passages. Similarly, many emigrants cultivated ethnic anchors—spiritual and secular—as much because they could facilitate entrepreneurial activity and economic networking as for the cultural solace they offered in a

¹ See, below, 84, D3.

strange land. Throughout the centuries under review, highlanders were no less enterprising and pragmatic than lowlanders in using symbols of Scottish identity to promote their economic and social status as migrants, while all emigrants, whatever their origins, destinations and circumstances, had access to various types of assistance, some of which issued from the institutions which also symbolised their ethnic origins. There is a thin line between description and propaganda, and the ever-increasing circulation of general information, as well as recruitment literature, about the Americas not only bolstered the confidence of would-be emigrants; it also brought American issues regularly before the Scottish public, which in turn encouraged the building of a multi-dimensional bridge across the Atlantic, to transport capital and ideas, as well as emigrants. Yet all emigrants and investors also ran the risk of failure, such failure frequently being associated with mismanaged, short-sighted or fraudulent assistance and mis-information provided by professional agents, speculators or evicting landlords. The documentary text is peppered with examples of Scottish emigrants who were unsuccessful in farming, business, or cultural adaptation.¹

Sources and contributions

A study of the records of Scottish emigration over almost three centuries reveals significant continuities in the emigrants' expectations and experiences, as well as obvious changes in terms of patterns of origin and settlement, means of conveyance, and types of employment. The main focus of attention shifted from the Chesapeake and the Carolinas to the Maritimes and Eastern Canada after the American Revolution, and less than a century later shifted westwards in response to the promotion of the prairies. At various times Scots also formed a significant presence in the more climatically or politically inhospitable regions of the Arctic, the Caribbean and the South Atlantic. Whether they came from rural or—increasingly—from urban centres, Scottish planters, explorers, farmers, businessmen and tradesmen were characterised primarily by entrepreneurial energy and pragmatic accommodation wherever they went. Many were also characterised by an ongoing restlessness, which had its roots in a longstanding tradition of internal migration within Scotland, and was then sustained in a transatlantic context by burgeoning opportunities across the American continent, as migrants moved from the Caribbean to the American South, from the Maritimes to New England, and from the Atlantic east to the Pacific west coast. Some of the devices through which they advanced their interests were relevant only for limited periods. Caribbean patronage networks and Canadian military land grants,

¹ See, below, 239–41, D5.

for instance, were significant only until the early nineteenth century. But although the nature of the assistance might change, Scottish emigration was always underpinned by a variety of formal and informal support mechanisms which were of crucial significance both in stimulating an exodus and in shaping its direction. An army of agents, amateur and professional, was always at the core of the movement. Meanwhile, in public and political circles, emigration remained a controversial issue, with the successive arguments of mercantilists, Malthusians, systematic colonisers, eugenicists and imperialists being rehearsed against the backdrop of a constant trickle—and occasional flood—of transatlantic travellers.

The documents selected for this study are intended to demonstrate some of the recurring themes in the story of Scottish interaction with the American continent during almost three centuries, from the perspective of supporters, opponents and interested observers, as well as the participants themselves. They comprise mainly conventional items such as indentures, emigrant letters, press advertisements, the reports of emigration societies, and official policy documents. But they also include some travel accounts. Although travellers and tourists were usually transient visitors, they could still offer perceptive and illuminating impressions of locations where other Scots settled or sojourned, particularly those whose travels preceded the era of the package holiday or even the steamship and railway. The most difficult task in compiling the study has undoubtedly been that of selecting a representative sample of documents from the vast and varied treasure-trove of material submitted by contributors. As is so often the case in such exercises, more documents have had to be rejected than included in the final compilation, while others have been cut in length. Comprehensive coverage of the topic would have been impossible, in either extracts or commentary. The collection instead offers a window on to some of the rich seams of raw material which can be quarried by teachers and students of the Scottish diaspora to the New World. This diverse collection of documents serves to illustrate the multifaceted nature of the emigration debate, the variety of viewpoints among emigrants and promoters, and the complexity of the concentric circles emanating from the core of a long-standing tradition of transatlantic traffic.

All contributors of documents, from both sides of the Atlantic, are either actively involved in migration research or represent libraries and archives which yield fruitful rewards to students of the Scot abroad. Extracts were initially chosen by the contributors according to broad thematic guidelines, and those which could have been quoted under more than one heading were then allocated by the general editors to particular chapters with reference both to the major issue(s) highlighted by the original authors and to the need to preserve a balanced thematic spread. While the sources should speak largely for themselves, they are linked

and set in context by explanatory commentaries, and in the few instances where thematic priorities have warranted the splitting of a single document or series of related documents between different chapters, these splits have been indicated by cross-references. Unevenness in geographical, chronological and, to some extent, thematic coverage is intended to reflect the lack of homogeneity in Scottish involvement across the American continent and lacunae in certain types of sources rather than editorial oversight. The weight of evidence relating to the Maritimes, Eastern Canada, and the Carolinas, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, indicates both the distinctiveness and persistence of the Scottish presence in areas where settlement was often actively encouraged, and includes a smattering of Gaelic documents. In these Gaelic extracts, current orthographic conventions have been adopted, in the interests of consistency, but all English-language documents in the text are reproduced in their original form. The relative paucity of sources from Central and South American locations is due either to the deterrent effect of negative publicity, a tendency to sojourn rather than put down roots, a blurring of the migrants' ethnic identity, or the difficulty of identifying relevant documents in Spanish, and sometimes to a combination of all these factors. Since the principal aim of the publication is to bring to light new or relatively unknown evidence on key dimensions of the Scottish-American migrant experience, particular emphasis has been placed—wherever possible—on unpublished or largely untapped sources, and, in the case of Latin America, emphasising the varied provenance and focus of the source material, rather than its quantity.

Chapter One

PERSUADERS, PROCESSES AND PERILS

Emigration fever could not have held Scotland in its grip for so long and with such effect from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries had it not been for promotional activities. A variety of persuaders pulled Scots to specific transatlantic locations as well as pushed them from their domestic localities. Despite the entrepreneurial prospects for commercial gain and the open availability of land for settlement, pioneering endeavours in the Americas were as liable to fail as succeed given the often inhospitable nature of the tropical and sub-tropical environment, the antipathy of native peoples to acquisitive settlers and the vulnerability of shippers to privateering and piracy. While sea voyages were constantly afflicted by shifting climatic and seasonal conditions, transatlantic migrants faced continuous perils from inadequate shipping and rapacious colonial undertakers. Indeed, the line between explicit encouragement and supporting narrative remained indistinct. Emigrant agents regularly intermixed persuasion and practical information about the process of removal, while some correspondents with overseas experience reinforced anti-emigration rhetoric with salutary tales about disappointments and failures. Although the Scottish government in the late seventeenth century had attempted to prohibit the unlicensed pressing of migrants to fill up ships bound for the Americas, the interests of the migrant did not feature significantly in the shaping of public policy by the imperial government after 1707.¹

A PRE-UNION

One of the earliest and most common forms of persuasion was indenture.² While this process was mandatory for able-bodied vagrants, convicted criminals, religious dissidents and political rebels sentenced to be transported from Scotland, indenture also facilitated the settlement of land by emigrants who voluntarily crossed the Atlantic as hired labour. The short-lived and largely forgotten Carolina Company, whose subscribers were mainly Covenanters from south-west Scotland, offered terms of service and conditions of release that were intended to encourage the emigration of servants.

¹ Cf. *RPCS*, third series, II, 101, 502-3, 512-13; III, 113, 463; IV, 83-4; VI, 537; VIII, 253; X, 19-20.

² See also, below, 98-9, **A1-2**.

A1 '[P]roposals anent the servants 1682'.

DH, Loudoun and Rowallan Deeds, A20/18

That servants be hyred for 3 yeares and they being to serve the s[ai]d 3 yeires ar to be transported and maintained in meat & clothes for the s[ai]d tyme by yr masters and at ye expyryng of the sds yeires each man is to have ffyfty acres of uncleared land in Inheritance for the pay[men]t of two pence sterling per acre of quitt rent yearly also with the afu[rsaid] dweling imposed wpon every acre of land for maintenance ... and because when they goe away out of ther service they will be empty handed It is fitt that they have seed corn furnished them freely ... and also the quantity ... corn for to maintaine them the space of ane yeir untill the cropt come off the ground and tools to work the land with.

Notwithstanding encouraging conditions for migrants, documentation on the process of emigration often focused on the voyage, and frequently made unhappy reading. The tribulations of those aboard the Rising Sun were just further nails in the coffin of the disastrous Darien expedition.¹

A2 Letter 'ffrom on board the Risieing Sun in Caledonia Bay Dec'er 1699'.

JCBL, Compilation of broadsides on various subjects relating to Scotland. Entry no. 2, D696-C737c.

The particular list of all our dead in the voyage I have not yet ready to transmitt to you. I hope it shall be sent with a surer hand in a vessel to be dispatched within a few dayes to Scotland only in the generall their number amounts to about 150 whereof about 60 are of our ship. This mortality is generally imputed to our crouding numbers in every ship, our chests of medicines ill fitted & ill dispensed our water & wood bound cask very bad & unclean Our Beef much of it rotten, But I think it a wonder of mercy that so many of us are escaped Considering our wickedness & silly management, we arrived at our port never 30 having spent 3 weeks from Monserat by reason of calmness & westerly winds very frequent on the coast of Peru & here, we had heard at Montserat after I had sent your letter ashore that our Colony was deserted But this was not beleaved, tho I had my own thoughts of it all along & you may remember I suggested some of them to your self before my departure ... We found all our friends gone, The litle ground that was cleared which was but litle all grown up again the Batteries and Huts burnt down which some say was done by a French man others say be an English man ...

¹ See also, below, 100, **A3**.

B CARIBBEAN

Despite the evident failure of Scots to sustain independent colonies prior to 1707, entrepreneurial and exploitative engagement with empire was particularly vigorous in the Caribbean islands, where colonial planters had been notably keen to acquire Scottish servants from the late seventeenth century.

B1 *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica, From 20 January 1663/4 - 20 April 1709* (Jamaica, 1811), i, 196.

4 April 1699

JCBL

It being moved in the house, that a ship having arrived from Scotland with [over] two hundred ... servants of that country, consigned to Mr Thomas Hudson and Mr Robert Coates, merchants, to give leave (for prevention of sickness on board the said ship, and danger to the country) for the said merchants to dispose of such servants before the ten days expired, limited and appointed by the act for encouragement of the importation of white servants ... In the afternoon of the same day, governor passed an act to allow Thomas Hudson and Robert Coates to sell white servants.

Notwithstanding pre-Union strictures on Scottish trade by the English government, the West Indies abounded with Scots. Their propensity to organise themselves into self-help groups in the Caribbean was a clearly observed phenomenon in the eighteenth century.¹ Patronage networks could provide employment opportunities, accommodation for newcomers, and a gentler transition to tropical life. Networks tended to be constructed of complex connections based on kinship or locality, however tenuous.

B2 Postscript to a letter from John Gordon to James Barclay of Jamaica.

23 November 1757

AU, SLA, Gordon of Cairness Papers,
MS 1160/5/12

This letter if it finds the ship at Greenock, will be delivered you by Mr. Sutherland, a young man of a reputable family in the North who has been bred in the merchant way at Glasgow. I know some of his relations here. I have been easily prevailed upon to recommend him (tho a stranger to myself) to the common offices due to a countryman at his arrival. [DH]

The number of acquaintances from his homeland with whom Archibald Cameron

¹ E. Long, *The History of Jamaica, or General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of that Island*, [first published 1774] (London, 1970), ii, 286.

from Lochaber made contact in Jamaica was striking. As he informed his father, the fact that there was no job immediately available for him on his arrival was not a major cause for concern. While it may have been problematic for someone arriving in Jamaica without tangible contacts, for Cameron, the Lochaber network provided sufficient time and patronage to allow him to be settled on a plantation.

B3 Archibald Cameron, Jamaica, to John Cameron of Fassifern.

1 April 1766

AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1766/01¹

... Left Scotland the 10th October, 1764, Arraived here 21st December 1764 after a very bad passage I happened luckly to see Archy Torcastle & John Cameron a brother of Stronse upon my Arraivel. John desaired me to make his House my home. I very thankfully Accepted his offer. Mr Gray the Gentleman I was recommended to by Doctor Gair was vastly keind to me Used all his Endeavours to get me provided. There being no prospect of a Birth in Town, I went up the Country along with Archy to Mount Cameron steid their for a month he was leik a father to me, their being no appearance of getting a Birth in Town he got me settled at Stirling Castle where I remaine as yet. He bears the best carreckter of any man in Jamaica ...

Extensive patronage networks operated in other parts of Scotland as well as Lochaber, and often continued well beyond the emigrant's arrival in the Caribbean. The family of Graham of Airth found itself involved in Jamaica through a marriage into the Stirling family, which had considerable estates in that island.² James Graham described to his grandfather the extent to which he was becoming enmeshed in a network, which was one of the largest and most significant in Jamaica. The ease with which he travelled around the island indicated the opportunities open to those initiated into this network. In the space of two years, Graham had spent time at By Brooke in St. Thomas in the Vale near the centre of the island, at Ardoch Penn in St. Ann's parish, at Hampden in St. James' parish, and at Georgia in Trelawny, all in the north. The owner of Georgia was John Grant, Chief Justice of Jamaica, whom he describes as his current employer. Grant was a kinsman of Sir James Grant of

¹ Many letters from the Brodrick Haldane Papers appear throughout this book. These are from a collection of Cameron of Fassifern's Papers. Fassifern, or Fassfern as it is sometimes spelt, is on the north side of Loch Eil not far from Fort William. John Cameron (d. 1785), to whom many of the eighteenth-century letters are addressed, strove to avoid taking sides during the 'Forty-five. However his efforts were unsuccessful and he was the victim of government persecution, being eventually forced to remain in exile in the North of England. More details can be found in A. MacKenzie, *History of the Camerons* (Inverness, 1884) and at the Clan Cameron Museum, Achnacarry, near Fort William.

² See also, below, 75-6, **B1**.

*Grant, the putative chief of Clan Grant and brother of Francis Grant, who was attorney for a number of absentee and occasionally resident Scots.*¹

B4 James Graham, Georgia, Trelawny to William Graham

19 June 1783

NLS, Graham of Airth Papers, MS 10925/5

I understand from my Aunt's letter that you have not received my letter of the second of May Eighty One from By Brooke Estate in St. Thomas in the Vale which according to my promise I wrote you as soon as I had settled there. I had stayed there only Two Months when I was taken sick of a very severe fever of which as soon as I had recover[e]d a little I came to Ardoch. Mr. Stirling advised me not to go back to By Brooke but rather to go to Hampden as the North side is thought more healthfull than the South. I have ever since kept my health as well as I can wish and find the climate as agreeable as home.

I left Hampden in July last by request of my overseer Mr. McLachlan and came here as a Book-keeper with a name-sake of his who was then in. At the same time Mr. Mc. told me as I was not going out of his employ I could return to Hampden if I [do] not Chuse to stay here ...

Mr Stirling has hitherto promised me his Interest to get me an overseers birth as soon as I am cappable of Managing an Estate. Likewise my Employer Mr. Grant who has it very much in his power and with whom Mr. Stirling interest is very great. However I will patiently Continue as I am two years yet and even then be as lucky as many people. [DH]

Would-be migrants who lacked access to high-level family or regional patronage could still learn about Caribbean prospects by perusing the Scottish press, which frequently displayed the competing claims of rival islands, particularly after the enlargement of Britain's West Indian empire following the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763.

B5 *Scots Magazine*, vol. 34 (January 1772), 45.

By letters from Dominica we learn, that the settlement of that island increases with the greatest rapidity. The soil is found to be rich, strong mould, very durable and fertile. The planters from the old islands migrate hither continually; and say that it is equally calculated for the growth of coffee and sugar, for both which they give it the preference to St. Vincent, or Tobago; the former being so soon impoverished, and the latter so very

¹ See letter from James Graham to William Graham, 2 Apr. 1785, NLS, Graham of Airth Papers, MS 10925/7.

subject to dry weather, as to render its crops more uncertain than even that of a Nevis estate. [DH]

Those with the requisite skills, particularly single young men under twenty years of age, could obtain remunerative employment by answering the numerous newspaper advertisements for artisans and tradesmen, even in time of war.¹

B6 *Inverness Journal & Northern Advertiser*, 29 May 1812.

WANTED for the Island of Jamaica, Two Clever Young Men of good character and experience, as Contractors, for laying out, and roads and taking levels. For further particulars, apply to Peter Cameron, Writer in Banff. [DH]

C THIRTEEN COLONIES

In the American South, as in the Carolinas, indentured service, dominated by Scots, remained integral to the development of the plantation. The contracting of such service, which involved women as well as men, was frequently undertaken through English ports, notably London.

C1 An indentured service agreement concerning Mary Mackensy of Banff.

8 July 1736

CLRO, Memoranda of Agreements to Serve in America as Indentured servants, 1736, No. 33

These are to certify, That *Mary Mackensy of the Town of Banff in the North of Scotland Spinster Aged Twenty Two Years* came before me one of His Majesty's Justices of Peace, and Voluntarily made Oath, That *She this Deponent is not Married, no Apprentice nor Covenant, or Contracted Servant to any Persons, nor listed Soldier or Sailor in His Majesty's Service, and free and willing to serve Joseph Taylor or his Assigns Four Years in North Carolina His Majesty's Plantation in America, and that She is not perswaded, or enticed to do so, but that it is her own Voluntary Act.*

The Mark [X] of Mary Mackensy
Sworn 8th July 1736 before Me *Richd. Brocas*

[RJC]

However, a significant proportion of emigrants shipped out to America as indentured

¹ Cf. extract from a letter from Barbados, dated 30 Aug. 1771, *Scots Magazine*, 33 (Nov. 1771), 602; Men to be carried on the *Bell* leaving Greenock on January 10th 1795, *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 25 Dec. 1794; *Inverness Journal & Northern Advertiser*, 29 May 1812.

¹ Cf. DGA, Jail Books, GF4/19A and DGA, Miscellaneous Burgh Records, RB2/5/57.

*servants had no control over the process of removal, particularly in the eighteenth century, when courts all over Scotland commonly sentenced convicted criminals to banishment. In the south-west, prisoners charged with serious offences were sent to Dumfries jail from all over the region, pending trial at the circuit court which was held in the royal burgh. The jail books of Dumfries, which run, with some short gaps, from 1714 to 1839, include several references to convicts of both sexes, convicted of a range of crimes, who were sentenced to transportation or whose death sentences were commuted to transportation.*¹

C2 Sentence of transportation passed at Dumfries.

DGA, Jail Books, GF4/21

4 Dec 1743: The said day Mary Agnew daughter to the deced Alexander Agnew messenger in this Burgh was incarcerated in virtue of a mittimus from the Provost & Bailies of Dumfries following upon a precognition taken agt her anent & containing her confession of having born & disposed of a female child in manner therein mentioned. Untill she be liberate in due course of law. John Donaldson

9 Apr 1745: The sd day Mary Agnew pursuant to a sentence pronounced by the Honll James McKenzie of Royston & Patrick Grant of Elchies two of His Majesties Lords of Justiciary agst Mary Agnew named on the first day of May last and upon a Bail Bond given in by John Bell Junior marcht in Dumfries dated the third instant was liberate for transportation to Virginia or one of his Majesties plantations in America as the extract of the sd sentence and Bail Bond containing ane obligation to return certificate of her being transported in manner forsd in themselves more fully bear.

John Donaldson
[MS]

Most Scots, whether contracted or committed to the southern colonies, secured artisan-based agreements covering their indentured employment for up to seven years. However, the tobacco trade burgeoning in the Chesapeake held out more lucrative prospects for indentured service. Neill Campbell, who was offered employment as an apprentice merchant in Virginia by two of Glasgow's leading tobacco lords, probably envisaged rising to the higher echelons of the business of their merchant house as an agent or factor.

¹ This transcription is the property of Glasgow City Archives.

C3 Indenture of Neill Campbell agreed with Archibald Ingram and John Glassford partners.

1 June 1758, Glasgow

GCA, TD200/53

It is agreed between Archibald Ingram and John Glassford for themselves partners, merchants in Glasgow concerned in trade in Virginia on the one part and Neill Campbell, lawful son to John Campbell Supervisor of Excise in Glasgow with consent of his said father and he as cautioner and surety for his said son on the other part in manner following—That is to say the said Neill Campbell with consent foresaid binds and obliges himself as servant and apprentice to the said Archibald Ingram and John Glassford and Company foresaid as merchants and that for the space of five years complete from his entry thereto which it is hereby declared shall commence from the said apprentice his first arrival at Virginia during which space the apprentice as principal and the said John Campbell his father as cautioner for him bind and oblige them conjunctly and severally that the said apprentice shall honestly and assiduously serve and obey his said masters or any others their managers or supercargo in Virginia in their trade and business as merchants there and in all others their lawful affairs relative thereto and that he shall not absent from nor neglect his said masters business night nor day except in the case of sickness or leave of his said masters or their managers first asked or given or that they conjunctly & severally shall pay one shilling sterling to the said Archibald Ingram, John Glassford and Company or that the said apprentice shall at the end of the said apprenticeship serve two days for each of said absent days at the masters option which absent days shall be liquidate and proven by the said masters their manager or supercargo his honest word or oath or by a subscribed account thereof under his hand in case of his decease instead of all other proof and also that the said apprentice shall not reveal any his said masters secrets concerning the said trade nor be accessory to their hurt or damage in any sort but when known to him shall do his utmost to prevent the same and on the other part the said Archibald Ingram and John Glassford for themselves and company foresaid bind and oblige them not only because the said apprentice be taught and instructed in their said business and trade as merchant so far as practiced by themselves but also during the said apprenticeship to entertain and maintain the said apprentice in meat, drink, washing and lodging in a suitable manner and also allow him to trade for his own behalf with goods from us to the extent of £20 sterling yearly and further the said masters oblige themselves to pay to the said apprentice £5 sterling at the expiration of the first year of the said indentures £5 sterling at the expiration of the first two years £10 sterling at the expiration of the first three years £15 sterling at the expiration of the first four years and £20 sterling at the end of the indentures and also

that he shall have his passage free to Virginia and at the expiration of these indentures back again to Greenock or Port Glasgow and both parties bind and oblige them, their heirs and successors to fulfill and perform the respective parts of the promises to others under the penalty of £20 sterling to be paid by the party failer to the party observer or willing to observe the promises at our performance consenting to the registration hereof in the Books of Council and Session or any other competent that letters of horning on six days charge and other execution needful may pass hereon and constitute.¹ [DD]

Formal papers of indenture, no matter how enticing the opportunities for gainful employment, did not always tell the full story. A New York correspondent of the Caledonian Mercury in 1774, who deplored the practice on the grounds that recruits were treated as nothing more than commodities, was anxious that emigrants should not be misled by the promise of better prospects.

C4 *Caledonian Mercury*, 24 October 1774. Letter 'from a Gentleman in New York, to John Balfour bookseller in Edinburgh'.

It is impossible to express the severe usage and hardship the poor people are exposed to who migrate to this country in hopes of mending their condition here; and, conscious of your humanity and sympathy for your countrymen, I send you enclosed the New-York Gazetteer, of date May 12 1774, in which there is inserted an advertisement for the sale of Scotsmen, as they arrive on board the ships, entirely in the style of the sale of cattle at a fair in Scotland. I think it may be of use to undeceive these misguided men, if you will insert the said advertisement in your papers; and may justly doubt of the trust of so credible a fact.

The Advertisement is as follows:

SERVANTS

Just arrived from Scotland, to be sold on board the ship Commerce, Captain Fergusson master, lying at the Ferry Stair;

'Among which are,

A Number of Weavers, Tailors, Blacksmiths, Nailers, Shoemakers, Butchers, Sawyers, Wheelwrights, Hatters and Spinsters, from 14 to 35 years of age.

For terms apply to Henry Wright, or said master on Board. New-York, April 18. 1774.' [RC]

Notwithstanding such caveats against indentured service, family patronage and encouragement stimulated a significant Scottish exodus to the thirteen colonies as to

¹ Cf. Jo. Grieve, Harrylaws, 24 Apr. 1795, to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of

the Caribbean. From his fashionable London address, John Cumming was prepared to orchestrate the emigration of relatively affluent kinfolk and acquaintances to New York. His desire to establish a Strathspey colony across the Atlantic was facilitated by the earlier settlement of a military pensioner, James Grant, as the first link in the migration chain, as by the correspondent's business links with Greenock shippers and his assurance that he would throw in his lot with those he encouraged to emigrate.

C5 Mr John Cumming, New Bond Street, London to John Cumming son to James Cumming in Ballina of Muckerach (copy).

17 February 1774

NAS, Seafeld Muniments, GD 248/226/2/17

As my wife and I have a real desire for your going with us to America, I send you this line, to inform you that three days ago, I had a letter from George Cumming at Forres, in which he informs me, he had left Baillie Grant, and that he would willingly go with me to America, or anywhere else, I would advise him. As I have no reason to doubt, but America is the best place, for both you and me, I wrote George Cumming inclosed, to you, to see if he will take your charge at Garmouth, that you may be ready to go with my wife and me. You need not think that I mean to deprive you of your place at Garmouth in favour of George Cumming, or any other, if you [would] rather keep it than go with me, but I really believe it will be more agreeable to you to go with us, than by yourself, after us. But in this, I leave you to your choice. If you should think of going with us, you may send for George Cumming as soon as you please and deliver him the timber, so far that you may go up the country, to speak to your father, and the servants that mean to go with me, and you may speak to any other that may chauce to go at this time, such as your brother in law, and his brother Peter Grant, Balnughown, and his family, any of the Cummings in Leathundy, Donald your uncle, William McDonald and his son in Delrachniebeg and their families, and any others that you know to be honest, and can pay their passage. I am certain if they are once there, tho' never so poor, they will soon be in a far better way than ever they were, or could expect to be at home. I have no reason to doubt, but reports may be spread by interested people in the country, that I have no thoughts of going myself, tho I may be encouraging others to go to America, and least this should be the case, you may positively assure those that incline to go, that I will (please God) meet them and you at Greenock, that I will use my utmost endeavour to make everything as agreeable to them as I can in the voyage, and when there I think I can furnish them with land, I hope to their

contentment; you may call on my brother James and inform him it is my opinion he ought by all means to go with me this spring, if it should be inconvenient for him to go this year, he should consider it may be more so next, as I am sure he can make but little where he is. My brother wrote to James sometime ago, and sent a copy of a letter he had from Lieutenant James Grant at New York (James's brother-in-law) wherein he gives him the most favourable accounts of the country he is in, and wishes much that James and family was to go out there, as he says, he is sure he would do extremely well, for himself and family. I think it a very lucky circumstance for James, that Lieutenant James is before him, as he is a very proper man to get information of such lotts of land as are to be disposed of, and surely he will at least give quarters to his sister and family, while James may be with me getting habitations for our families. ... My wife says she would be happy to have some of the good people of Strathspey for her neighbours, but be that as it may, she seems quite pleased and happy in the thoughts of having you and all her old servants, to go with her, and she trusts fully that you won't stay behind her. If I make no great doubt, but in a few years you'll be in a better way than most gentlemen in Strathspey. I have wrote to Greenock to know the exact freight of passengers or goods from there to New York and how soon I am informed, I shall acquaint you. I had almost forgot to tell you, that it will be requisite for James and you, as soon as you can, to inform me of the number that intends going with me (including servants) as near as you can that I may write to Greenock to engage shipping for us

[AM]

Despite deteriorating relations between Britain and her American colonies, emigrants continued to send home positive evaluations both of their passage and their prospects. James McIntosh secured a post 20 miles from New York within a day or two of landing in 1775, thanks to an 'Irish gentleman' on the quay side who asked him his trade and pointed him in the direction of a vacancy in the town of West Chester. As a schoolmaster, he hoped to earn upwards of £40 sterling annually by getting 8/- for every pupil that could read and 7/- for those taking arithmetic. His brother William, meantime, had the prospect of settled employment 'with a Gentleman in the Long Island'.

C6 James McIntosh Schoolmaster at West Chester in America, to William McIntosh, his father (copy).

2 August 1775, New York NAS, Seafield Muniments, GD248/508/4

We arrived here safe the 26th of July having a passage of nine weeks, two

days excepted which time we enjoyed a double portion of Health (thank God for it) we had no sea sickness but about two hours and an half, we got 232 passengers on Board and lost none of them but Thomas McPhails youngest child, who died of the Jaundice through excess of sleep; in stead of whom our cook's wife brought furth a child.

Indeed our passage has been very long, yet I would not scruple to go to sea tomorrow, because I know that the Lord is to be found there as well as any else where, and that I very well know that seldom any misluck happens to any who comes here; but indeed I must own that we came over in a very troublesome time, as the Americans and the Government are so enraged against one another; they had several Battle ffought at Bostoun and the adjacent colonies that by the American Continental Congress we are informed that, no less than 1300 of the English Army were killed on the field, and no more than 400 of the American Army. The Americans are so obstinate that they all chuse to die by the sword than condescend to the slavery the King intends to bring them under; they are daily under Arms, and can rise by one beat of the Drum I know not how many millions of men ...

I have to tell you, so far as I have learned of this country that in my opinion, it is the best in all the universal worlds. I have now travelled it for ffour days to picque up some of the nature of the place. It is in my opinion (as themselves call it) the ffoundation of plenty, for to tell you what they feed their Negroes, those people that are their slaves it would be a thing you would not understand I have been in a ffarmers house the day before and when they were called to sit in at Breakfast I wondered to see the servants coming in and sitting at a table that was covered with tea, Butter and cheese, pork, a leg of cold roasted Mutton, and a pye made of something I cannot tell with several other things. I said within myself I wished I had Alex'r my brother and John Williams brother along with me, and then I would be content—their work was cutting down Hay for which had some three, some ffour and others ffive shillings a day, as their ability would do and meat as I have said before, which I am very sure is better than the Scotland Lairds can live, because they have no such things growing to themselves as the ffarmers has here. I wondered the other day to see a creel of aples thrown out to the swean from a ffarmers House But after I had walked through his orchard or Garden as you call it, I did not wonder at all as I saw great numbers of trees loaden to the ground by the weight of aples the ffarmers makes cyder of their aples which serves them as drink the whole year. Indeed as I am informed by other people there is nothing got here for nought, but when people works they have a great deal for the reward of their labour.

[GD]

The outbreak of the American Revolution and the subsequent need to reach a negotiated peace with the thirteen colonies that federated into the United States sharpened the mercantilist attitudes towards emigration of the imperial government which had hitherto been discouraging but not prohibitive. After 1775 permission to leave the country had to be solicited through official channels. The 1780s saw the government divided on how best to approach the problem of population loss brought about by the continuing enthusiasm for emigration. It appears that Scotland's political manager, Henry Dundas, remained consistently opposed. However, the incumbent prime minister, William Pitt the younger, seemed to view the exodus in a different, more pragmatic, light, as a branch of transatlantic commerce, which might be open to taxation, although the imposition of indirect taxation through the purchase of passports was not implemented fully until 1795.¹

C7 *Caledonian Mercury*, 1 March 1786.

We are assured that upwards of 500 emigrants, most of them young men of spirit and enterprising dispositions, some of them of good family, who acted as officers in the late war after having tried in vain for several years, to turn their activity to some account in their native country are now nearly ready to embark on the west coast of Scotland, with a view to try their fortunes on some more hospitable shore. They were detained last year in hopes that some opening might have been given to them to adventure in the fisheries; but seeing no prospect of anything effectual being done in that line, they have at last, reluctantly, resolved to wait no longer.

There is reason to believe, that administration were apprised of this circumstance; and surmises have gone abroad, that some differences in opinion has taken place in the cabinet on this subject—A Gentleman, who is supposed to take the lead in Scottish affairs, is said to have renewed the motion he made, about a dozen years ago, on the same subject, viz. to obtain a law to prevent the subjects from embarking for foreign parts without the King's permission. But another Hon. Gentleman opposed the measure not only because of its arbitrary appearance, but also on account its being in other respects impolitic. That Gentleman, with his usual penetration in respect of everything relating to finance, immediately saw that the disposition in the people might be converted to the emolument of the public. He observed that Spain derives a considerable revenue from the introduction of slaves into her colonies, and why may not we derive a considerable revenue from the exportation of human beings from our own countries. [AM]

His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, NAS, Melville Castle Muniments, GD 51/1/492.

¹ The Rev. Augustin McDonald was the brother of Captain John McDonald. Educated at

The emergence of the United States in association with France as imperial rivals led the government to take a more directive, if at times covert, stance in discouraging freelance emigration to America. The nefarious activities of the press gang meant the decision to leave was sometimes aborted, as in 1790, when a contingent of would-be emigrants from the Inner Hebrides changed their minds at considerable cost.

C8 James MacDonald to John Geddes, Guildhall.

12 October 1790

SCA, Blairs Letters, BL4/32/10

A number of my poor parishoners in Eigg, who were obliged for want of lands to dispose of all they had in the world, such as Cattle, Crop, houses furniture and made ready to go for America and paid at the beginning of last Summer half freight and were all ready to embark with great cherfulness; not that they wanted to leave their native Country for which they have here (especially the commonality) a blind attachment, but they were overjoyed at the thought that providence would procure for them in another Corner of the world that relief and help, that was refused to them in their own Country. But at the information of some malicious people, a King's Ship was ordered to the Coast at the time of Emigration to impress every one fit for service. This frightened the Emigrants so much that few of them went off. [MMcL]

D CANADA

Notwithstanding the necessity of passports, the deterrence of press-gangs and the opposition of landlords, the steady process of chain migration from the Inner Hebrides and adjacent mainland to British North America was not stemmed in the 1790s. It was a subject that exercised the region's Catholic clergy, some of whom were prepared to accompany their allegedly persecuted flocks across the Atlantic.

D1 Rev. Augustin McDonald, Knoydart, to Bishop Hay.

Huntly, 11 July 1791.

SCA, Blairs Letters, BL4/50/8

In some emergency it may be even Impossible for me to stand here any longer. Whence it will happen ... it shall be very probable if there will be emigration here next year which it is very like there will as I am much sollicited I may next Spring itself God sparing me take my Chance alongst with them to America. As this place shall not be in my opinion much more time tenable ...

Emigrations here without end. More in bud. Yea infinitely more if this year's answer well. It is thought fifteen hundred souls compose this year's one. Three or four hundred last year. Six hundred five years agoe from

Knoydart. In other two eloppments three or four hundred—at other two near eight hundred. All these mostly all Catholics and all gone to Canada or Nova Scotia. The year before all these again other three hundred Catholics alike in the time of Boyasdale's dispute which gave the first rise to the whole. Whence all founded on persecution. Thus have we sent already from time to time to America from three to four Thousand souls of our highland Catholic Community. But I now am of opinion very soon we shall scarcely have that number left out here.¹ [CJ]

By the end of the eighteenth century the imperial government was beginning to see some benefit in relaxing restrictions on mobility, particularly to reinforce its vulnerable Canadian frontier with highland emigrants. Those sentiments were not shared by the emigrants' landlords, whose unanimous opposition to any exodus, channelled through the Highland Society of London, produced not only Thomas Telford's recommendations for the economic and social development of the highlands, but also the ill-conceived and hastily executed Passenger Vessels Act of 1803. While the act, which had nationwide application, laid down health and safety regulations, ostensibly to protect passengers from fraudulent agents, it was in effect a ploy to halt the alarming rate at which highland estates were being depopulated and recruitment for the army and navy impaired.

The following questionnaire sent from the customs house at Inverness to John Cameron of Fassifern, near Fort William, was possibly used to acquire information on the extent of emigration in preparation for this legislation. Its specific intent was to impress the imperial government with the conviction that emigration was a serious evil and that the best immediate remedy was 'a great public work with liberal pay, to employ the People': namely the Caledonian Canal which, from its commencement in 1803, signally failed to provide 'a future source of wealth to this Country' or to offer more than a temporary check to emigration. Unfortunately, there is no record of any replies submitted.

the Scots College in Rome, and ordained in Rome in 1769, he served as a priest in Knoydart and Moidart, from which places he constantly petitioned the Vicar Apostolic to allow him to emigrate. He finally left Scotland in 1803 to live with his brother, and died at Tracadie in 1807. We would like to thank Dr Christine Johnston for this information. The persecution of Catholics can be localised to the estates of the MacDonald of Boisdale in South Uist who converted to Protestantism in the 1760s. However, the Catholics who felt obliged to migrate to Prince Edward Island in 1771 were deemed retrospectively by the colonial promoter and their co-religionist, Capt. John MacDonald of Glenaladale, to be 'the Nasty Uist people' for having brought fever aboard ship despite his precautions against overcrowding, over-reliance on salt-victuals, bad water and poor ventilation. These precautions, along with the inoculation, he had deemed necessary for the avoidance of smallpox: Prince Edward Island Provincial Archives, Charlottetown, MacDonald Papers, MS 2664/65.

D2 Queries Relative to Emigration, Inverness.

21 September 1802 AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1802/01

- 1/ What number of souls, within the reach of your knowledge, or information, Emigrated in 1801?
- 2/ From what Counties, or Estates?
- 3/ From what causes?
- 4/ To what Countries did they go?
- 5/ Did any go to Towns, Villages, or Manufactories, or to other Estates in Great Britain or Ireland?
- 6/ What number of our own Colonies, and which?
- 7/ What numbers to the United States?
- 8/ In what vessels, their Names and respective Tonnage?
- 9/ On what agreement for Passage, Provisions, Landing?
- 10/ What quantity of provisions and water were allowed each person?
- 11/ Were they in general well treated?
- 12/ What medical assistance had they on board?
- 13/ What property are they supposed to have carried away?
- 14/ Were there among them any persons of considerable property, and who were they?
- 15/ What deaths occurred in the respective vessels during their passage to America?
- 16/ Where were the respective Cargoes of Emigrants landed?
- 17/ What reception did they meet with?
- 18/ What public or private assistance did they meet with on landing?
- 19/ What numbers have emigrated, or are to emigrate in this year 1802?
- 20/ What arrangements are making, or what well grounded reasons are there for supposing a very extensive Emigration will take place in 1803?
- 21/ From what Districts?
- 22/ From what causes?
- 23/ What knowledge have you of the extent and nature of Emigrations antecedent to 1801? Under similar queries to those regarding that year?
- 24/ What causes do you conceive, do chiefly tend to produce Emigration?
- 25/ What measures public or private do you suppose would soonest and most effectually tend to check or diminish Emigration, and dispose the people to stay chearfully at home?
- 26/ Would small feuholdings of 5 Acres, to build a House and form a Garden and Cow pasture on, and raise as much Grain, Flax, Potatoo, Turnip, Clover, as spades could manage, particularly on the sea coast, encourage Fishermen, Handicraft and Tradesmen to remain contentedly?

- 27/ Would Leases to small farmers for one plough, renewable every six years without augmentation, until the expiry of 19 years, under the following conditions, for adding arable from the waste, satisfy the people—A certain fixed quantity of waste to be improved during each six years, of the Tack expire, and that portion to be improved during the last seven years, to be the consideration for receiving amelioration not exceeding two years rent, (one for Buildings, one for fences,) if delivered of proper quality to that value?
- 28/ Would not the execution of great public works be the first best measure, (offering liberal pay, and employ for a certain time) to stay the people—Canals and Roads particularly, which may have a very extensive influence to provide a field of further employment and support?
- 29/ Would not the extension of Fisheries and of Manufactories on a moderate scale, and Villages for Tradesmen and Handicrafts naturally follow Canals, Roads, and happily detain the people?

As the focus of Scottish emigration shifted to Canada during the Napoleonic Wars, persuasion became largely, but not exclusively, the preserve of an army of shipping agents. The Canadian timber trade provided an opportunity for competing ship owners to offer a wide choice of transatlantic passages at steerage prices of around £4 per head. In 1810, John Mackenzie, a merchant on Lewis, used his shipping contacts to try to negotiate a favourable deal on behalf of 150 highlanders who wanted to go to Prince Edward Island. The Liverpool ship owner had already established a pattern of sending a ship to the island for timber each spring. Although the timber trade was still in its infancy, the practice of linking emigrant and timber transport had its early roots in ad hoc arrangements such as this, the emigrants securing lower fares and the shipper increasing his overall profits. The James, offering 'well-armed' transport, duly arrived the following spring at Rodol in Harris to embark passengers destined for the Canadian Maritimes.

D3 John Mackenzie to Mr R. Thornton, Liverpool. Business Books of John Mackenzie, merchant and ship owner (Stornoway, 1795-1836).

7 April 1810

NAS, CS96/4475, f. 131

You are within time of sending ships for timber to Prince Edward Island and to the neighbourhood of Pictou ... I have nearly 150 passengers engaged to furnish them a ship for Spring say, 1811 ... The cause of my writing you is to know if you would come under engagement to send a ship for them here... to remain here for 15 days to moor the passengers on board. The ship to furnish provisions, water, doctor, berths for the

voyage, to pay all Customs charges and to ship on board any little luggage each passenger would have ... I beg to know the lowest freight you would take for each full grown passenger, for each passenger less than 12 years of age, not exceeding to two years, the rest to go *gratis* but to incur no provisions but water from the ship. [LC]

Such activities did not go unchallenged. Agents were frequently castigated as self-interested peddlers of misinformation who enticed the flower of the Scottish population across the Atlantic. James Robertson, a Scot with an address in Prince Edward Island, who shipped highlanders to the Maritimes, acquired particular notoriety during the Napoleonic Wars. Long letters attacking his integrity appeared in highland newspapers and in 1808 the Duke of Atholl complained that 'a person called Robertson lately carried off about 700 who he agrees to transport to Prince Edward Island at a rate of £9 a piece—to make a profit of £5 per head independent of profit on the sale of land'.¹

D4 *Inverness Journal*, anonymous letter to the editor, 'On Emigration'.

28 December 1810

... A set of nefarious vagabonds are at the present moment traversing the Highland districts of Scotland, for the purpose of deluding the poor ignorant natives, and seducing them from their mountains. One of these *men-dealers* goes about from hut to hut using all the arts of persuasion on ignorant credulity, blending falsehood with truth, exaggerating all the evils of their situation and of human existence, and painting, in the most fascinating colours, the fabulous pleasures, wealth, and independence of a trans-Atlantic life. When, unhappily, any recent changes on the Highland estates have wounded the feelings, or perhaps only touched the prejudices, of his auditory, he cannot fail to make an impression suitable to his wishes; and when the passions and imagination of the Highland cottager are so far roused as to give him day-dreams of a *lairdship*, and an air-built castle of his own in Prince Edward's Island, or elsewhere, he forthwith anticipates his greatness; thinks himself already a prince; and prepares with enthusiasm to visit his promised land, flowing with milk and honey. The philanthropic crimp, in the abundance of his kindness to the poor oppressed Highlander then volunteers his good offices; promises to procure him a passage to America, and an estate for nothing; and very conveniently and most fortunately, to show his disinterested solicitude for the good of the poor folks, he keeps in his pocket a formal agreement, carefully written on a stamped paper, by which he engages to transport a certain number of emigrants to America,

¹ *Inverness Journal*, 28 Dec. 1810.

on condition of that number being made up within a limited time; and they oblige themselves, under a penalty, to go thither. The spirit of proselytism is thus set to work, and every one afflicted with the mania of emigration, diffuses the passion around him. In the meantime, as a proof that they are *in earnest*, the crimp requires from each a sum of money, five pounds, for example, and takes an obligation that when they embark, they are either to pay five pounds more, or give a bill, in which several of them are jointly bound, for 10l. 15l. or 20l. each, payable after their arrival in America, where they are, in the first place, to labour under the direction of the exporter, until their debt is paid.... Sometimes, not more than half of those engaged go out, in which case, the adventurer who trepanned them, pockets the pledge money; and he has a profit on those who go, both by their passage out, and by getting his wastes and wildernesses fitted for his use, by the toil of these infatuated wanderers: After the pledge is given, the crimp thus gains money, whether the deluded Highlander embarks or not. [LC]

James Robertson offered a robust defence of his own conduct. Not only did he totally deny the imputation that he touted for business or exploited people's misery. On the contrary, he claimed to have alleviated 'their sufferings from that abject servility in which they were maintained on several highland estates' and patriotically channelled emigration away from the United States to the Maritimes.¹ Passenger lists, shipping reports and cemetery transcriptions confirm not only that large numbers had emigrated from Perthshire since the early 1800s, but that many had also been attracted to Prince Edward Island from Argyll and Skye. Robertson's claim that highland landlords had solicited his assistance is perhaps borne out by evidence that, by 1817, the Duke of Sutherland's estate managers favoured limited emigration—as long as the government or someone else provided the necessary funds and the emigrants were managed and controlled by agents whom they trusted. Estate managers were certainly not keen to support the efforts of one Thomas Dudgeon, a local farmer, who sought to raise public subscriptions in 1819 through the formation of the Sutherland and Transatlantic Friendly Association. His public attacks in the press on the actions on Francis Suther, as factor, and James Loch, as principal estate agent, brought national scrutiny to bear on the motives for and conduct of the Sutherland clearances.¹

D5 Francis Suther, factor and land agent of the Duke of Sutherland's estate, to James Loch.

¹ *Inverness Journal*, 1 Feb. 1811. James Robertson's reply to the letter of 28 Dec. 1810.

² NLS, Extracts from the Letter Book of Francis Suther. SP Dept 313/1468, 79-81; E. Richards, *A History of the Highland Clearances: Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1866* (London, 1982), 332-3, 336-7, 340-1.

Suther's Letter Book, 18 May 1817-17 September 1819

24 July 1819

NLS, SP Dept 313/1468, pp.339-49

Dudgeon had another meeting on Saturday at which upwards of 1000 persons they say were present brought from all quarters [to Meikle Ferry] in expectation of their receiving money ... from the most distant parts of Caithness. Dudgeon's business of that day was the reverse of giving them pecuniary aid. He got money off them to subscribe to a paper the purpose of which when returning home they did not know and for which subscription each person paid at least 6d to Mr Dudgeon or his buddy in the swindle Gibson of Tain Academy a teacher, besides Thomson the third fiddle in the trio who keeps the public house of the Ferry. [LC]

Dudgeon's association, which was suspected of having covert links with urban radicals in the south of Scotland, was dissolved after only six months by magistrates acting in concert with Loch and other agents for the landed interest, who were worried that it was a front for encouraging rebellion within Sutherland. Of better repute were the societies and companies formed by weavers who adopted a 'bottom-up', rather than 'top-down' strategy, in approaching the wealthy for assistance. These societies and chartered companies emerged in the 1810s and 1820s, the former to facilitate emigration to Canada at a time of economic distress, the latter to capitalise on the ever-increasing mania for transatlantic settlement. The weavers' emigration societies of central Scotland achieved prominence mainly through vociferous solicitation of funds from government and private bodies, as well as their settlements in the Rideau and Ottawa valleys.

D6 'Unto the Benevolent and wealthy inhabitants of Glasgow and vicinity, the Petition of the Members of the United Emigration Societies of Glasgow and Neighbourhood'.

[1829]

GUL, Sp. Coll. Ephemeral printed material, Eph-:L/223

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your Petitioners, amounting to the number of one hundred and twenty heads of Families, belonging chiefly to the most distressed of the Operative class, namely Weavers, who are utterly incapable, with their most strenuous exertions, to earn a sufficient livelihood, independent of household expenditure and clothing for their wretched families.

That their furniture (the produce of better times) is or will be the property of their Landlords at the ensuing term, and that their children are without the means of moral education, on which grounds your Petitioners anticipate a fearful decrease of morality amongst them. And further, they lament their inability to pay for church accommodation, or of ever being able to obtain any of the

most common necessities of life, and that this accumulated train of evils has combined to place your Petitioners in the lowest grade of poverty and destitution, while the charitable contributions of their humane countrymen only serve to prolong an ignoble life of pauperism and starvation.

That your Petitioners have appealed to the Honourable the House of Commons for the three last Sessions, for a grant of Land, and their passage out to Canada with maintenance for a year, and they have at length received an answer from the Right Hon. Sir George Murray, with his ready compliance of a GRANT OF LAND, and he will also recommend the Petitioners to the immediate notice of the Canadian Government, along with every reasonable assistance on his part; but as it has been the custom of Emigrants to find their own passage-money, the Petitioners now as a last effort appeal to the charitable and well-disposed, by enabling them to carry the only plan of relief they can think of into effect.

Relying upon your assistance, however small the sum contributed individually, your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

(In the name of the members)

Angus M'Quarrie, Presses.

Thomas Clark, Secretary.¹

Distress among redundant operatives was compounded by the urban immigration of the destitute and unskilled labourers, notably highlanders and the Irish. The Highlands and Islands were severely affected by famine on both land and sea in 1836 and 1837—little did relief organisations realise that this was merely the start of over a decade of acute hunger and destitution. Throughout the country, charitable funds were raised to alleviate destitution. Dr C.R. Baird, medical officer of health in Glasgow, was involved in one such scheme. His observations pinpointed the basic evils affecting the highlands. These were—landlord absenteeism; want of capital, education, employment, roads and bridges; the law of entail; estates under trust; insularity; overpopulation; the absence of poor laws; the law of primogeniture; the system of land tenure; and errors in the system of emigration. Rather than continue with internal migration beyond the capacity of urban utilities, Baird advocated purposeful emigration to the colonies, especially Upper Canada.

D7 *Remarks on the evils at present affecting the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; with some suggestions as to their remedies, Allan Fullarton & Charles R. Baird (Glasgow, 1838), 89.*

¹ Sir George Murray, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to Thomas Clark on 26 Dec., indicating that he was prepared to do everything in his power to help destitute weavers, but that there were no funds available to assist emigrants. They therefore had to fall back on charity, and William Black, minister of the Barony Church, Glasgow, was appointed treasurer to look after the money to be raised for their cause. By 1 Dec. 1830, £215 17s. sterling had been collected, but no further details are available for the weavers' proposed emigration.

In Upper Canada, which although a cold country, is exceedingly healthy, and contains a vast extent of fine land, there are many Scottish Highlanders already settled, who preserve, in their original purity, the language and manners of their native country. The Province is overgrown with wood, the labour of clearing which away is the principal obstacle to the settlers' immediate comfort, and he can seldom sit down in peace and plenty, under three or four years of hard labour; then, however, he begins to reap the fruits of his industry—he is his own landlord and perfectly independent, and as he has in general access both to literary and religious instruction for himself and his family, he cannot but be considered as having made by his emigration a most advantageous change. The Land Company of America, who have very extensive properties in this Province, hold out liberal terms to emigrants, and there can be little doubt, that, in a few years, that country is destined to be one of great wealth and importance ... we may add, that the voyage to Canada is short, and that communication with the mother country is easy, cheap and frequent, and from the great improvements which are constantly taking place in steam navigation, cannot fail speedily to become more so.

Most notable of the chartered companies were the British American Land Company and John Galt's Canada Company, both of which were consistently promoted in the Scottish press. They featured in a lengthy advertisement issued by Duncan MacLennan of Inverness and John Sutherland of Wick, who, as a result of good shipping contacts in the main timber ports, and an ability to combine highland credentials with previous residency in Nova Scotia, had by 1841 cornered much of the emigration agency market for the north of Scotland. Attracting their customers through a network of sub-agents throughout the north, they arranged transport in 19 ships for nearly 3,000 emigrants in six years from 1840. Their transport included timber vessels from Leith and Aberdeen which found it highly profitable to collect passengers from ports like Cromarty and Thurso on their outward-bound voyages to Canada. The agents' task was further facilitated by the formation, in 1840, of the London-based North American Colonial Committee, a group of nobles and gentry, whose aim was 'the furtherance of emigration upon an extended scale', and who were prepared to raise funds to assist the emigration of poor highlanders if attempts to secure state funding came to nothing (as they did).¹ At the same time, several substantial proprietors in Upper Canada were allegedly willing to relinquish large tracts of land to poor emigrants sent out under the auspices of the Committee.

¹ H. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years* (Toronto, 1961), 124; T. Rolph, *Emigration and Colonization: embodying the results of a mission to Great Britain and Ireland during the years 1839, 1840, 1841 and 1842* (London, 1894), 23.

D8 *John O'Groat Journal. Weekly Advertiser for Caithness, Sutherland and Orkney*,
22 January 1841.

Emigration to the British Settlements of North America

MR DUNCAN McLENNAN, Emigrant Agent, Inverness, and Mr John Sutherland, Nova Scotia, presently residing in Wick, have now the pleasure of intimating to the public, that they have made arrangements for a succession of ships in the course of the ensuing Spring, for the conveyance of Passengers from Cromarty, Thurso, and any other place more convenient for embarkation, where a sufficient number of Passengers may offer, to the following ports in British America, viz. PICTOU, Nova Scotia; SYDNEY, Cape Breton; CHARLOTTE TOWN, Prince Edward's Island; and QUEBEC, Lower Canada.

Mr Sutherland having been resident upwards of twenty years in the vicinity of Sydney, Nova Scotia, and during the latter period, actively engaged in commercial and agricultural pursuits, he is thus able to give intending Emigrants for the Lower Provinces, a full and accurate description of the country and its resources; of their capabilities, it need only be remarked, that while the climate is excellent, the soil fertile, and the commodities of life abundant, they abound with numerous and safe bays, and the coast in general affords fishing ground scarcely surpassed by any in the world ...

A Central Emigration Committee has been formed in Toronto, Upper Canada, to correspond and co-operate with the British North American Committee, in order that, by constant communication and mutual arrangements, every facility may be offered to emigrants on their arrival, as to their location, settlement, and employment.

Messrs McLennan and Sutherland pledge themselves to provide every information that may aid and facilitate the views of intending emigrants ... McL and S. forwarded last year, under the sanction of Government, upwards of 400 passengers from Cromarty and Thurso, all of whom arrived safe, with the exception of two children, who died on the passage; and from 1832 to 1837, D. McL. forwarded successfully nearly two thousand emigrants, part of whom he accompanied three different seasons to Canada. Having thus had such considerable experience in the transport of passengers, intending emigrants may rest satisfied that the arrangements first season for their comfort will be studied in every particular ... Inverness, 13th January 1841.

[LC]

In prosecuting their business, Sutherland and McLennan made extensive and skilful use of the provincial press in the north of Scotland, realising that the easily-accessible and multifaceted newspaper was probably the only advertising medium with which

many potential emigrants were likely to come into contact. Carefully crafted coverage of jolly dockside scenes prior to departure, together with messages that emigrants need not fear a transatlantic voyage on a ship under their charter, were placed to reassure nervous or suspicious voyagers—albeit some highlanders remained wary of the forested landscape and dismissively racist towards the native Americans and negroes they anticipated encountering. Favourable newspaper reports of the safe arrival of the agency's ships in the Maritimes notably influenced the numbers able to finance their own emigration, and eased the impact of rootlessness and homesickness following their removal.¹ Reassurances notwithstanding, the transatlantic voyage remained a test of endurance, which for many emigrants ended in tragedy, as cramped, insanitary sailing ships exacted a heavy toll in terms of morbidity and mortality at sea. In April 1846, Alexander Robertson left Monymusk, Aberdeenshire, for Lower Canada with his wife, Ann, and seven children. The trials of the voyage, culminating in the death of the mother, who was already afflicted by dysentery before going into labour and giving birth to a premature child, were captured poignantly by 13-year-old Charles, the eldest child of the family.

D9 Letter from Charles Robertson to an unknown recipient.

n.d.

NAC, Robertson MSS, MG 24 I 193

Left Aberdeen past three on deck ere out between the pier head put the children to bed my mother sick rose by seven ship heaving a little tonight. W 15. Drizzling rain with high wind past Peterhead by 6 o'Clock A.M. all of [us] are well unless my mother a great many people sick about 4 o'clock a child fell down the hatchway and cut its head very severely they were obliged to sew it up again three ships in view we are passing them all they are just hawling out the cables for anchor in sight of John o Groats Castle there came a pilot boat along side and offered to take the ship through the firth for 15 shillings so we bargained with them. Thursday 16, Got through the firth had a terrible night of lurching past Dunnetthead lighthouse the pilot was of no use to us the captain raging terribly at him the ship you would have thought would have turned on her broadside every minute shows us groups of hills some of them very perpendicular ... Monday 27th. Terrible morning of wind and rain the sea raging terribly the pishpots are tumbling everywhere some of them are not raising a delightful smell my mother very sick today it is supposed to be about 400 miles from Newfoundland William a little sick today. Tuesday 28th. One sail in view

¹ 'Emigration to Canada: Sailing of the Prince Albert', *John O'Groats Journal*, 15 June 1829; 'Emigration: The arrival of the *Lady Emily* at Pictou', *Inverness Journal*, 1 July 1842; D.A. Fergusson, *Fad air falbh as Innse Gall. Beyond the Hebrides* (Halifax, 1977), 43. MacLennan and Sutherland advertised the services of their emigration agents at Inverness, Cromarty, Dingwall, Torridon, Gairloch and other highland locations.

but we can scarcely see her for the wavings of the sea which is little better than yesterday only things a little more steadier inside my mother was delivered of a girl during the night she was not able to nurse it but a woman on the other side of the ship took it but it hindered none of them long. Wednesday 29th, the sea is a little calmer we are going nearly 8 knots per hour my mother a little better to night the child died. Thursday 30th. The sea is very calm now the child was let overboard today and two stones attached to it to make it sink we are not over clean here but we work away the best way we can ... Sunday 3rd. The day dawned bringing along with it a day of sorrow which I shall ever remember tonight about nine o'clock my poor mother drew her last breath and on Monday she was moored to her watery [grave] at 12 o'clock (Beneath a distant wave she sleeps while friends afar doth for her weep) the children little know their want as yet the 3 littlest knew nothing about it.

As the age of sail gave way to that of steam, the transatlantic crossing became more expeditious if not less hazardous. At the same time, Scotland—along with the rest of the British Isles—was canvassed increasingly by paid, professional emigration agents, particularly from British North America, who not only held public lectures and personal interviews, but also sometimes accompanied their recruits across the Atlantic and helped them to settle into their new locations. Most agents were themselves emigrants, which was meant to give their assurances an added ring of authenticity. James Brown was a native of Angus, who emigrated from Dundee to New Brunswick in 1810, returning to Britain as an emigration agent for the province in 1861. His travels through Scotland, England and Ireland took him back to many old haunts and on an exhaustive lecture tour of the lowlands.

D10 Report of Mr. Brown's Mission to Great Britain and Ireland, for the promotion of Emigration to this Province in Journal of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, 1863, Appendix No. 11, Emigration.

PANB

... I was directed to proceed to Glasgow with the least possible delay, as the field of my first operations, and on the 4th of September left Liverpool in the Cars and reached Glasgow the same evening.

After calling on a number of Gentlemen to whom I had letters of introduction, and making particular enquiry with regard to a vessel which left the Clyde with passengers for Saint John a few months before, I made arrangements to Lecture in Glasgow at a future time, and so crossed the country to Dundee ...

I lectured in Dundee, Broughty Ferry, Carnoustie, Arbroath, Montrose, Brechin, Forfar, Glammis, Charleston, Inverarity, Letham, Kerrimuir, and Meigle, and returned to Glasgow, where, by the assistance of the late lamented

Dr. Smith of the Examiner, Mr. Rennie and others, I obtained the use of a commodious Hall which was filled with attentive hearers.

I was preparing to leave for Belfast, when I received a Letter from ... Liverpool ... to arrive on the 10th of November. I therefore went on towards the Border, and passing through the land of Burns, lectured in the Town of Ayr ...

From Belfast I returned to Glasgow, and lectured in Edinburgh, Musselburgh, Haddington, Dunbar, Berwick, Kelso, Galashiels, Melrose, Burntisland, Kirkcaldy, Dysart, Saint Andrews, Cupar, Dunfermline, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Inverness, Blairgowrie, Dunkeld, Aberfeldy, Perth, Stirling, Lamlash, Shiskin, Dumfries, Newton-Stewart, and Stranraer ...

The encouragement of professional agents was reinforced not only by reassurance and assistance conveyed unobtrusively in private correspondence and by word of mouth, but also by advertisements in specialist journals. Particularly persuasive were the recommendations of religious periodicals, which represented one of the integral pillars of Scottish identity, and carried a tacit reassurance that the dislocating experience of emigrating would be softened by the help and support of like-minded compatriots. The period of intensified Scottish-Canadian movement in the decade before the First World War saw that transatlantic trend both reflected and stimulated by the Scottish Baptist Magazine, which published three ringing endorsements of the Dominion in a 5-month period in 1907, this being from the Rev. T.B. Keelan.

D11 *The Scottish Baptist Magazine*, July 1907, 133. 'Girls wanted for Canada'.

... As pastor of the churches of Frank, Blairmore and Coleman, Alberta, I would like, in the name of the church, to extend a hearty invitation to at least one dozen young girls who are willing to work. We cannot assist in the passages, but they could find suitable work from the date of arrival at £3 and board per mensem. Many girls here are earning £4 and even higher.

Our church is small, but we are united, and praying and waiting for a revival. The ladies would be real sisters, and help any who come to be at home. Those who cannot afford the passage money, should be assisted by their friends, as it would be soon repaid if necessary, and would mean a real start for any girl in life.

There is a coal mine here and we are looking for 100 men to work. The pay is from two dollars and fifty cents to four dollars per day. This is equivalent to 10 shillings and five pence to sixteen shillings and eight pence per day.

There will be a smelter running soon, employing 75 men, and a cement

works also, but more about these later on, when we receive correct information. Those who intend coming should have their church letters with them, or forward them, and help us here to become a spiritual power in the place and neighbourhood.

... The climate is very healthy, being in the Rocky Mountains, and the winter not so cold as in Manitoba or Saskatchewan ...

Keelan's call for emigration—which stood in marked contrast to clerical admonitions since the 1790s about the prolonged winters, high prices for necessary provisions such as potatoes and exploitative colonial governors in the Maritimes—was paralleled by the orchestrated and persistent public campaign to attract settlers which had been mounted by the Dominion of Canada ever since Confederation in 1867. By the early 1900s, when it reached its zenith, it had led to the stationing of resident and itinerant federal, provincial and railway company agents at strategic points across the British Isles, in a network which persisted until the 1930s.¹ Both resident agents and their peripatetic colleagues were carefully chosen with reference to local needs, connections, and knowledge of procedure, and those with responsibility for the highlands were required to speak Gaelic.¹ Resident federal agents were expected to maintain an office and submit regular reports to headquarters in Ottawa, distribute written advertisements and government-sponsored publications, conduct illustrated lecture tours and personal interviews, co-operate with visiting provincial agents, counteract the activities of rivals, and supervise the work of local booking agents. Federal agents were meant to be unbiased in their promotion of the entire Dominion. However, their attention tended to be focused largely on the prairies, to the detriment of the Maritime provinces which, by the early twentieth century, were not only being bypassed by emigrants but also suffering a serious westward and southward drain of their existing populations. Provincial agents made strenuous efforts to address the problem, notably by publicising Scottish success stories in strategic places.

D12 Nova Scotia Legislative Library and House of Assembly, Journals and Proceedings, 1911, Appendix 22, Report of the Secretary of Industries and Immigration for 1910, 11–12. MFM 9176.

¹ One of the most successful and long-serving itinerant agents, both before and after the First World War, was Hugh McKerracher, a Gaelic-speaking Ontarian whose parents belonged to Glenlyon and Rannoch. His recruitment visit to Carloway in Lewis, which was extensively covered in the *Highland News*, 8 Apr. 1911, was notable for the horse-drawn wagon that had, on either side, emblazoned in golden letters 'the inspiring and much-favoured name "Canada"'. This Canadian government wagon was equipped with the necessary equipment to publicise lectures by the Dominion Government emigration agent and to enable him to illustrate his promotional lectures 'with magic lantern views'.

² Cf. Rory Steel, St Peters, St Johns Island, to Colin MacDonald, Esq. of Boisdale, 22 Oct. 1791; NLS, Adv. MS. 73.2.13.

PANS

The master of Catherinefield School, Dumfriesshire, received a letter from an old pupil who had settled in King's County. This letter is published in Canada. He says

'All the farmers I have seen yet—and that's a good few—own their own farms, and most of them are very well-to-do, as highly respectable and well-educated a lot of men as one could meet anywhere. They treat their servants with a deal more respect than the majority of the farmers in the Old Country. The wages are double, and the work is no harder, and sometimes not so hard, as it is in Scotland, and I for one will never think of working in the Old Country again after being here....

But there's no chance here for people who don't want to work. I don't mean to imply that a man has just to walk into this country and take a piece of land to make himself independent for life. You have to be diligent, and I can safely say any man who is determined to get on will do so here. There's a good demand in this Province for experienced girls to work in the farm kitchens. Here the work is entirely different from the Old Country, as the girls have not to go outdoors at all. Their work is in the house, and a girl here would never think of milking a cow or carrying a pail of water. The men have all these jobs to do.

The wages for girls vary from £2 to £3 19s a month, and for single men from £3 to £6, according to experience. There's plenty of work for both good men and women in this Province, and you can get here a great deal cheaper than going farther west, as you have not the heavy railway fares to contend with. This is one of the oldest settlements, and the roads are good, the towns convenient, and a well-arranged railway service make this an admirable place for anyone to settle down in'.

Notwithstanding the eloquent depictions of Canada as an unrivalled field for emigration because of its vast extent, inexhaustible resources and great potential for the future, both employers and emigrants expressed disappointment and anger at the misleading promises of professional agents. Although most agents were male, women were generally employed to recruit domestic servants, who, like farm labourers, were in great demand in Canada. Booking agents across Scotland relied heavily on the commission they earned by recruiting domestics and agricultural labourers. Some Scottish booking agents allegedly recruited unsuitable girls indiscriminately for domestic service in Canada, simply in order to earn the commission which was from the 1890s paid by the Canadian Immigration Department. The resulting complaints from dissatisfied employers filtered back to the agents when bonus payments were revoked. Often more traumatic were the complaints of women and children caught up in mismanaged or fraudulent schemes. The following warning appeared in 1913, when the emigration season was getting into full swing.

D13 *Aberdeen Evening Gazette*, 28 May 1913.

Aberdeen Girls Treated Like Pigs
 Emigration Scandal
 Sold like Live-stock
 Sensational Letters for Home
 Human Beings in Cattle Pens

There are those in Aberdeen, both in official and in private circles, who cherish a blind belief in the efficacy of Canadian emigration as a panacea for financial embarrassment and for the thousand ills which the 'industrial' flesh is heir to, and they view with scepticism any revelations from the Golden West which do not bear the imprimatur of identity. Today we are able to give a sensational story dealing with the plight of Aberdeen girls en route to and in Canada, vouched for by the father of one of the girls, Mr William Miller, jeweller, the Market, Aberdeen, and by the mother of another.

... We arrived at Montreal at 2 a.m., and we had supper served us, and were sent to bed, ten in a room. We had to be up at 7 o'clock for 8 o'clock breakfast, and we were all sent into the dining room, where we had to sit for hours till ladies came to interview the live-stock. It was all right until my bed-mate was sold, and I was a wee bit vexed over that, as she was just interviewed and taken away. Poor ___! She would hardly let me go. Well, a few of them were sold at Montreal, and the Toronto party were allowed out from 3 to 4, and when we came back all the girls were gone. It just brought back to me 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' We had to pay 25 cents for our tea at the home, as they only gave three meals free. We were all gathered together and herded down to the train for Toronto. Our matron did not travel to Toronto with us, though; but the Farmers' League boys did, and we made up for our day's sad experiences.... The Customs House is a fearful place. It is just like a big cattle show—crowds of human beings in pens instead of cattle.

Agencies did attempt to offer a measured response which stressed that girls emigrating from the Clyde ports were carefully chaperoned to Glasgow and thereafter on the steamer to Canada. Their reception from Montreal to Toronto was subject to detailed scrutiny and supervision prior to their being assigned to homes under the care of a lady superintendent.¹ Nonetheless, the controversy which surrounded assisted female emigration schemes was even more acute in respect of children. For a 60-year period after 1870, orphans and other disadvantaged juveniles were sent to Canada

¹ Cf. H.W.J. Paton to Canadian Government Emigration Agent, Aberdeen, 14 Jan. 1914. NAC, RG 76, C-10627, vol. 538, file 803839, part 2.

as indentured servants, under a policy which had begun as part of the late Victorian evangelical response to domestic social problems, but had developed an increasingly eugenic emphasis by 1900.¹ While Barnardo's exported more children than any other organisation, Scottish involvement was centred on Quarrier's Orphan Homes, Bridge of Weir, which relied on freewill offerings to finance the removal of 35 per cent of its intake over a 60-year period. The rationale of child migration was regularly put before readers of the Homes' annual reports, which also quoted extensively—if sometimes disingenuously—from the letters of contented emigrants. In 1925, Claude Winters, the superintendent of Quarrier's Ontario Receiving Home, hotly denied Socialist accusations that child migration was a euphemism for cheap labour.

D14 *A Narrative of Facts relative to work done for Christ in connection with the Orphan and Destitute Children's Emigration Homes* (Glasgow, 1925), 36.

We are meeting a real need in Ontario when supplying the farmer with the help our boys can give, and in so doing are making a contribution to the increasing prosperity of the country. There is no validity in the charge that we are supplying 'cheap labour', for our boys are being well paid for the services they give.

But what is of far more importance, we are giving them a greater opportunity to make successes of their lives, especially along temporal lines—an opportunity which is characteristic of a new land. We are proud of the number who avail themselves of it.

The Catholic priest, Father Andrew MacDonell, probably the most controversial Scottish emigration agent of the 1920s, had dabbled in child migration before the war, and although after 1918 he devoted most of his efforts to creating Hebridean colonies on the prairies, he did not relinquish entirely his interest in juvenile emigration. His scheme for a farm school in Canada for training Scottish children as rural workers would, on his own estimate in March 1930, have cost £2,000. Conscious of the need to avoid the charge of institutionalism, Father MacDonell proposed that the cottages in which the trainees would dwell should house no more than 16 children of both sexes under the charge of a family unit consisting either of a man and wife or brother and sister. Although boys and girls over school age could meet at meals and recreation, he deemed it prudent that they be housed separately. Their different trainings were to be highly specialised and carefully adapted to fit the trainees' future vocations and locations. For instance, fostering an appreciation of the cinema was declared ridiculous for a child expected to work in comparative isolation later in life. That this

¹ An interesting article on the plight of such children from Glasgow and the west of Scotland, can be found in *A Glasgow Collection: Essays in Honour of Joe Fisher*, eds., K. McCarra & H. Whyte, (Glasgow, 1990), 91-8.

*scheme failed to get off the drawing board can be attributed less to its moral regimentation than to the impact of world-wide depression, which by 1930 had brought emigration to a standstill, making the task of persuaders and agents well-nigh impossible. Perhaps MacDonell's confrontational approach to other exponents of emigration, including fellow priests, also aggravated his problems.*¹

D15 Catholic Enquiry Office, Edinburgh: 'Suggestions Regarding the Establishment of a Farm School in Canada for the Training as Rural Workers of Scottish Children'.

Diocese of St Andrew's and Edinburgh, c.1930

SCA, DE132/7/5

CANDIDATES	Catholic Children of both sexes, of Scottish domicile, orphans, or depending for their maintenance solely and entirely upon the local authority of charitable organisations in Scotland. Preferably between the ages of nine and ten years. Illegitimacy to be no bar.
SELECTION	Each Province to state requirements, in accordance with which children shall be selected by school representative, subject to ratification and allotment by Canadian Government official.
TRANSFERENCE	All expenses—fare, outfit, escort,—to be met by acting guardians in Scotland. The adopting Province to be held in loco parentis from date of embarkation until candidate attains age of 21 years.
TRAINING	Inter-provincial school on 'cottage' lines, either using existing State school, or, preferably, providing the minimum of ordinary elementary education with the maximum of theoretical and practical instruction in rural occupations.
EXPERIENCE	Trainees, at 16 years of age, to be drafted out to the adopting Province, and allotted situations in farms. Trainees to be guaranteed situations, and to insure, or be insured against illness and accident.

¹ Rev. Andrew MacDonell OSB, British Empire Club, London, to Archbishop A. J. McDonald, Edinburgh, 29 Mar. 1930. Diocese of St Andrew's and Edinburgh, SCA, DE132/3/1; see also, below, 203-4, C5.

WAGES	At a rate to be agreed upon by employer, Provincial Government, and Farm School Authorities. A proportion of wages to be paid direct to Provincial Government until trainee attains age of 21 years, and beyond if that age if trainee so wishes.
SETTLEMENT	<p>A. Men (age 25 years or over). Provincial Government to supply land free to value of wages collected. Materials for house-building and furnishings for farm to be available on hire-purchase system.</p> <p>B. Women (age 21 years and over). Wages collected to be repayable as dowry in goods, or as otherwise considered desirable, only in the event of the woman marrying a rural worker.</p> <p>The wages collected by the Provincial Government not to be returnable in the event of the trainee marrying or seeking employment in an urban area.</p>
INCOME	<p>Annual contribution from Overseas Settlement Committee?</p> <p>Per capita grant from adopting Provinces?</p> <p>Profits from Farm School?</p> <p>Note: The E.S.A. expires in 1937.</p>
RECRUITING	All organisations in Scotland dealing with care of children to be circularised, and invited to submit names of possible candidates.

[C]

E USA

Despite the continuance of imperial preference in the Americas, discrimination against migration to the United States was manifestly relaxed following the successful conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars. Subsequent government policy towards emigration in the nineteenth century was generally one of detached support. Indeed, in that age of laissez-faire, attempts to persuade the imperial government to take action, either to promote or prevent emigration, generally fell on deaf ears. Such was the fate of the petition, drawn up by the committee appointed by the city of Aberdeen 'for devising the best means for the prevention of Clandestine Emigration beyond seas'. Other Scottish towns and cities were encouraged to press for parliamentary legislation that was targeted against the United States as the preferred destination of fraudsters.

E1 *Aberdeen Journal*, 26 February 1834.

... 'That since 1827, thirty individuals, engaged in business in this city and vicinity, have fraudulently emigrated beyond seas, carrying with them extensive property, and leaving debts considerably exceeding £100,000, upon which an average dividend of less than 2s. per £ has been paid their Creditors; that, in many of these cases, the funds left have been so trifling as not to cover the necessary expences of following out legal steps for rendering them available to their Creditors. While, in proof that their inability to meet their engagements in this country has not been generally the cause for emigration, it may be stated that many of the individuals in question are now carrying on business in America, requiring extensive funds, which their Creditors in this country have been fraudulently deprived of. And that out of the above number no less than nine have been charged with forgery and other criminal acts, thereby involving numerous individuals in much difficulty and distress.'

The Committee ... considering that the season is now at hand when Emigration beyond seas will again come into active operation, have resolved that a Petition, embodying the above-mentioned facts, should be laid before Parliament at the earliest opportunity. And as they are satisfied the prospect of procuring effectual protection against such practices for the future, by a Legislative Enactment, would be much encreased by Petitions containing similar statements being presented from other towns—as thereby proving the general existence of the evil complained of; they directed the Lord Provost, as Convener of the Committee, to forward a copy of the Petition to Parliament, along with a copy of the report, to the Chief Magistrates of such cities and towns in Scotland as may be similarly circumstanced; with a request that they would take the earliest opportunity of bringing the subject under the consideration of the Mercantile interest, in order that their sentiments may be ascertained, and a simultaneous application made to the Legislature on the subject.

Although official endorsement of the United States was much less prominent and regular than that of Canada, Scottish emigrants after 1846 showed a clear preference for the Republic. To this end, the eclipse of sail by steam in the mid nineteenth century was much acclaimed by passengers and crew alike. A mercantile officer from Glasgow, Robert Leggat, noted this fact when writing home.

E2 Robert Leggat, to his mother Mrs Thomas Leggat, 48 London Street, Glasgow.¹

¹ Family letters in the private collection of Miss Margaret Turnbull, Glasgow.

On board SS *Clyde*, New York,
18 August 1856

Private Collection

... I am happy to inform you that we arrived last night, after a very prosperous and agreeable voyage having been only 11 days and 17 hours—the quickest passage ever made to New York by any screw steamer—We are of course all overjoyed at our quick run and have landed all the passengers as usual exceedingly well pleased—An address to the Captain is to be published by the Cabin passengers complimenting in very handsome terms the Captain officers & ship ...

Promotion of the United States, as well as being conveyed informally in letters and by word of mouth, was endorsed enthusiastically in pamphlets targeted at 'the agricultural classes of Scotland'. The way in which the farming attractions of North Carolina were commended by an exile in Pitt County, in a pamphlet promoting a development scheme in the eastern part of the state in 1890, echoed sentiments expressed by Scots well over a century earlier.

E3 'North Carolina as a Home for Immigrants'

1890

NAS, Matthew of Gourdiehill Muniments, GD316/14

... Having had the opportunity for noting what fields lay open for the intending agricultural emigrant in one of the most noted corn-growing States of the Union—I refer to Ohio—and also for over three years in Eastern North Carolina, I have no hesitancy in giving the palm to the latter. Firstly, in this portion of the South one finds that land can be purchased at a low figure, and on easy terms of payment. Secondly, that the products of a semi-tropical and temperate clime are found growing side by side to great perfection. Thirdly, that—thanks to the magnificent climate—active operations may be conducted on the farm almost throughout the entire year, and fourthly, that generally speaking, there is easy communication with the large cities of the North, there in my estimation is a grand opening for the practical farmer with but limited means. To the man possessed of say £400 or £500, \$2,000 or \$2,500, I believe that this portion of Eastern North Carolina offers a field that can hardly be equalled ...

JOHN P. BOWIE

Formerly of Mains of Kelly, Forfarshire, Scotland

[RJC]

Speedier transatlantic crossings reduced, but did not eradicate, the dangers and discomforts of transatlantic travel, and seasickness remained the most common affliction

of cabin and steerage passengers alike throughout the era of ocean transport. However, even if Scots managed to avoid the perils of seasickness in their passage to the promised land, they faced the daunting prospect of a rough reception at the Ellis Island quarantine station.¹ Mary Dunn was 18 when she emigrated from Stirling to Pennsylvania in 1923.

E4 Ellis Island Oral History Project, (Mary Dunn).

Interview Number AKRF-127

I don't remember much about the outside of the voyage because I was sick most of the time, really. You passed by the dining room and you were ready to get up and throw over the rails! ... There was one girl [of the three who shared her cabin] that travelled from the same town as I did, but she wasn't as fortunate on Ellis Island as I was because ... they weren't going to let her in because ... she had lice in her hair ... So they kept her. The ship landed on a Tuesday, we had to go through a medical thing when we landed in the ship, even before we went to Ellis Island. So she was kept in her room all the time until we were ready to go to Ellis Island, which was Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday; four days she wasn't allowed out of her room ... we'd heard so many things about the United States, come to America, the gold—money grows on the trees, and all this kind of stuff—the land of opportunity, and I'm saying to myself, if this is the land of opportunity, is this the way they treat everybody when they come in? They really treated you like they didn't want you—these people that were examining you. [JL]

F SOUTH AMERICA

Although publicity given to South America was often discouraging rather than persuasive, from time to time Scots were recruited under the auspices of specific emigration schemes. In 1825, the same year in which the Canada Company received its charter, the Scottish colony at Monte Grande was being created under the auspices of the Beaumont Association. This association was established by J. Barber Beaumont, a wealthy Londoner, with the aim of founding a British agricultural settlement in

¹ More information concerning immigrants who entered the USA through Ellis Island can be found in *Ellis Island & Statue of Liberty: The Immigrant Journey: Historical Highlights* (San Francisco, 1999), the museum's guide and history booklet. This booklet—an American Park Network publication and part of a collection of visitor guide magazines for national parks, state parks and wildlife parks—can be found on line at [HtmlResAnchor www.AmericanParkNetwork.com](http://HtmlResAnchor.www.AmericanParkNetwork.com). It gives an interesting synopsis of the island's history, up to and including its conversion to a national museum. The Ellis Island Oral History project is accessible at Ellis Island Oral History Library, which contains over 1500 interviews, accessible through the library's computers. These are cross-referenced by name, country of origin, immigration date and ship. We would like to thank Dr Janet Levine of the Ellis Island History project for this information.

*Buenos Aires Province. Beaumont was inspired to undertake such an enterprise by the apparently favourable disposition of the Buenos Aires government of the early 1820s, dominated at that time by Europeanised liberals who actively promoted immigration from 'civilised' nations in an effort to improve the population and counteract the allegedly 'barbarous' tendencies of the Creole masses. The subsequent failure of the colony was due largely to civil unrest and the Argentine government's failure to honour its commitment to the colonists.*¹

F1 J. Dodds, *Records of the Scottish Settlers in the River Plate and their Churches* (Buenos Aires, 1897), 1-3.

It may not be generally known that, long before the settlement of our countrymen at Monte Grande in 1825, and the signing of the celebrated British Treaty in the same year with the United Provinces of the River Plate, even from the earliest years of the century, many British merchants, those 'World-renowned pioneers of civilisation', had established themselves in Buenos Aires, and although their principal aim and object was commerce, many of them had invested in large tracts of land and thus felt a lively concern in the pastoral and agricultural interest of the country ... About this time [1816] the independence of the Argentine Republic was recognised by Great Britain, and besides the impulse communicated by this Act of Mr Canning's Government to the commerce already carried on between Great Britain and the River Plate, a direction was given to the stream of emigration issuing from the various Associations of the day. The Beaumont Association is no doubt still well remembered throughout the large towns of both England and Scotland. Its object was, on the strength of certain arrangements with the native Government, to send colonists on a large scale and of all classes, professional, agricultural and industrial, to the provinces of the Plate ... Another enterprise of a similar kind, but on a more limited scale and conducted on sounder principles, was that of Mr John Parish Robertson. It partook, no doubt, in common with the Beaumont Association, of a speculative, mercantile spirit, but in the selection of colonists, in the arrangement for their location, and in the moral and social aims it contemplated, it was planned with a far greater regard to the circumstances and exigencies of the country and the true welfare of the colony itself. The colonists came chiefly from the west and south of Scotland, and were chosen with a view at once to their character.

¹ J.B. Beaumont, *Travels in Buenos Ayres and the Adjacent Provinces of the Rio de la Plata with Observations intended for the use of Persons who Contemplate Emigrating to that Country or Embarkeing Capital in its Affairs* (London, 1828), *passim*; H.S. Ferns, *Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960), 138. We would like to thank Dr Iain Stewart for this information.

Out in the South Atlantic, the Falkland Islands were settled largely by people from Scotland, and to this day most people living on the islands have some Scottish blood in their veins. Governor Richard Moody, in a despatch of 1842, was the first to suggest that the settlers best adapted to colonise the Falklands would be found among the people of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, accustomed as they were to a hard life in an often hostile environment. As wool production expanded during the years that followed, Scottish shepherds—from the Hebrides and the Borders as well as the Northern Isles—were routinely brought out to the Falklands on the strength of their skills and experience in crofting and hill farming, in an active recruitment campaign which continued well into the twentieth century.¹ The Falklands and The Dwarf, from which the following extract is taken, was inspired by the discovery of letters written by the captain of HMS Dwarf, a Victorian gunboat sent to the Falklands at the behest of the governor to enforce a conservation regime on brutal and unprincipled sealers. Commander Sir William Wiseman was perceptive, witty and mildly eccentric.

F2 *The Falklands and the Dwarf*, C.H. Layman & J. Cameron (eds.), (Chippenham, 1995), 68-9 & 95.

Jan 1st 1882

... Did I tell you that this settlement [Darwin] consists entirely of the employees of the Falkland Islands Company? There are about fifty persons including a Presbyterian Minister and a doctor, fancy they are all Scotch. Moreover all the shepherds in Lafonia have come in for their new year's holiday, you know what that means from Aberdeen experience. All these thirsty souls have congregated expecting to find a supply of whisky for their jollification.

Jan 3rd

... We ran through Tea Channel between Tea and Weddell Islands, where there is a terrible tide which simply raced us through at the rate of twenty miles an hour ... The head shepherd, Mr MacGregor, came off and informed us in broad Scotch that the island belonged to Mr Walcheron who lives at Port Howard in the Western Falkland. This island [Weddell] holds at present about six thousand sheep and MacGregor has four hands besides himself. He is of a very cheerful disposition, enjoyed the life, and told me that until last autumn he was on the island entirely alone, as far as human beings were concerned, but just his doggie. He is just a farmer bodie frae Argyllshire and was a wee laddie minding the sheep on the moors there. [JC]

¹ Additional information on Scottish settlers in the Falkland Islands can be found in M. Mainwaring, *From the Falklands to Patagonia* (London, 1983). This book is about a family originally from Dumfries, who emigrated in the nineteenth century to the Falkland Islands and thence to Patagonia. We would like to thank Jane Cameron for this and other information on the Falkland Islands.

Scottish shepherds built up significant and persistent links not only with the Falkland Islands but also with Patagonia. In the early twentieth century, when the islands were becoming overstocked with sheep, several Scottish Falklanders took advantage of the offer of Chilean and Argentinean governments' offer of vast tracts of pasture land in the windswept wastes of Patagonia, at the same time as other emigrants were attracted out from Scotland by press advertisements for shepherds, foremen and farm managers. As Greta Mackenzie has demonstrated,¹ some ministers in Lewis acted as emigration agents by recommending crofters to farmers in South America.²

F3 Letter of recommendation from Donald MacCallum.

Greta MacKenzie, *Why Patagonia?* (Stornoway, 1996), 17.

Manse at Lochs, By Stornoway, 25th June 1903

I hereby certify that the bearer, Murdo MacLeod, is a young man of good character and correct conduct, serious, industrious and intelligent.

He is applying for a situation as Shepherd for the Straits of Magellan, and I recommend him as being in my opinion, morally and physically a suitable person for such a situation.

Donald MacCallum,
Minister of Lochs.

¹ G. MacKenzie, *Why Patagonia?* (Stornoway, 2nd edition, 1996), p.17.

² See, below, 224-6, C7.

Chapter Two

THE ENTREPRENEURIAL EMIGRANT

'Dear Henry, I am going at last really to leave this country, with all my friends and relatives, to seek for wealth on a distant shore'.¹ The quest for wealth expressed by James Henderson in 1831, as he prepared to join a Scottish company operating in Paraguay and Brazil, demonstrates perhaps the most consistent recurring theme in the historiography of Scotland's relationship with the Americas. Henderson's sentiments were typical of those of the many hundreds of thousands of Scots who crossed the Atlantic before and after him in search of a fortune or, at least, betterment. Few found it an easy endeavour, as they pitted their wits against natural disasters, political restrictions and unforeseen obstacles, to say nothing of their own human frailty. Even those who succeeded rarely did so without considerable hardship and perseverance. The emigrant's trials and tribulations notwithstanding, the enterprising Scot was a noted feature of American life, particularly the expansion westwards and the economic colonisation southwards in the nineteenth century.² But the association of emigration and enterprise was integral to Scottish engagement with the Americas from the first pioneering ventures in the seventeenth century.

A PRE-UNION

John Dunlop experienced the mixed fortunes facing young men on the make. One of several sons of James Dunlop of Garnkirk in Ayrshire, he was a source of worry to his parents, who sent him to London to join the thriving Anglo-Scots community as a trainee merchant. Although John seems to have been incapable of fulfilling his parents' expectations in business, the commercial networks to which he had access made him privy to rumours concerning the drawbacks of colonial investment.

¹ Letter from James Henderson, jr, (of Messrs. Harrop and Henderson, Para, Brazil), from Greenock, 7th Sept. 1831, to Henry Flockhart, Annafrech, Kinross. NAS, Henderson Collection, GD 76/454/9.

² W.T. Jackson, *The Enterprising Scot: Investors in the American West after 1873* (Edinburgh, 1968); R.A. Cage (ed.), *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914* (London, 1985); J. Calder, *The Enterprising Scot: Scottish Adventure and Achievement* (Edinburgh, 1986).

A1 John Dunlop to his father James Dunlop.

[Glasgow], 24 February, 1682 ML, Dunlop of Garnkirk Papers, D12/4

... S'r I have vri[tte]n se[ver]all tymes concerning Carolina bot newer knew anie thing of yo'r intention It is for present heir and y't generallie by all men wors spoken of y'n ewer before q't I doe think my self oblidged in dewtie to desyer y't by noe perswasion, nor fair pretence q'tsoe[ve]r yea may wpon anie acco't be Concerned y'rin And als I desyer y't yow may maike known wnto my good Brother y't y'e oppinion of all heir is y't who ewer they are y't are Concerned in it wpon the termes they have wndertaiken it wer good for y'm to loose y'e one half of y'r mo[n]e[y] and be noe more Concerned in it bot I hope my Good Brother knows how to Clear himself of it, and not to loose above 10 lib or not soe much mo[n]e[y] ... Q'ch I had raither he showld Loose y'n be farder concerned in it ...

Although Scottish entrepreneurs were formally denied access to the English colonial trade in the Americas by the passing of the English Navigation Acts in 1663, the Scots had been able to overcome prohibition by various strategies. English front-men were utilised to mask trading ventures from such ports as Ayr and Edinburgh. The pressing of Scots into service in the Royal Navy and the conscription of Scots seamen to serve in the Anglo-Dutch Wars were reciprocated by a laxity in applying trading restrictions with the colonies. Scottish entrepreneurs had a brief taste of the opportunities offered not just by trade but by plantation in colonial America when James, Duke of York, established his court in Edinburgh during his retreat from the Exclusion Crisis in England. Not only had James a long pedigree in colonial government, having been awarded New York as a proprietary colony on its wresting from the Dutch in 1664; he had been an assiduous and tolerant promoter of Scottish participation in colonising ventures. The Presbyterian nonconformist Robert Livingston had been encouraged to establish a durable Scottish and Dutch commercial network from 1673 that was based in Albany, named after the Scottish ducal title of the future James VII & II. As Scottish governor, James was faced with a report from the Council of Trade in 1681 that the only effective way for Scotland to cope with mercantilism and growing dependence on English trade was either to seek commercial union or develop overseas colonies. He chose the latter option, warranting not only the Scottish colony in South Carolina whose prospects had vexed John Dunlop in 1682, but also another in East New Jersey 3 years later.¹ Of the two colonies, that

¹ A.I. Macinnes, 'Politically reactionary Brits? The promotion of Anglo-Scottish union, 1603-1707' in S.J. Connolly (ed.), *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500* (Dublin, 1998), 43-55; N.C. Landsman, 'The middle colonies: new opportunities for settlement, 1660-1700', in N. Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, volume I: The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Empire to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), 351-74.

in South Carolina was the more transient. This venture, which was ostensibly promoted by Presbyterian nonconformists, actually involved extensive commercial networking on the western seaboard of Scotland in order to form the Carolina Company.¹ The intention of this joint-stock company trading with South Carolina was to establish a Scots colony which would trade, on a commodity exchange basis, with local Spanish and Indian people. Precious metals and skins were to be exported from the colony in return for such manufactured imports from Scotland as cotton and linen cloth, pins, scissors, knives, shoes and hats. It was proposed that 72 undertakers—or partners—in this colonial undertaking should invest in the company that had contracted with Walter Gibson, merchant burges of Glasgow and an experienced trader to the Americas, to undertake a reconnaissance voyage to South Carolina.²

A2 'Charter Betwixt Lord Rosse & oysr and walter gibsone 1682'.

27 September, 1682

DH, Loudoun and Rowallan Deeds, A20/1

Att Glasgow it is ... agreed ... Betuixt W'm Lord Rosse Alex'r Lord Blantyre S'r Jo'n Cochrane of Ochiltrie S'r George Campbell of Sesnock James Montgomerie Skelmorlie S'r George Maxwell of Newark John Cochrane of [blank] /or Andersone yo[unge]r of Douhill on the ane pairt and Walter Gibsone merchand Burges of the said Burgh on the oyr pairt in maner forme & to the effect following That is to say the said Walter Gibsone ... Binds & obleigs him To sett saill that his guid shipe callit the James of Irving—god willing wind and weather Serving out of the River of Clyd or Irving Betuixt and the seventein day october nixt to come for ashlie river in the provence of Carolina with the number of sex persones whom the above wryttin persones sall be pleased to put aboard the said shipe with the vallow of Ane hundreth and ffyftie or tuo hundreth pundis sterling worth of q[ua]t guids as they please to stow in the said shipe And sall at the sd ashlie river remayne for the space of twentie days or feuer if possible for livering or selling of the saids guids And imediately thereafter sall sett saill with the forsd persones along the whole coast of Carolina for sounding and rearing of the rivers ports and harbors theirof As the forsaid sex persones sall be pleased decreit And after ... That the said Walter sall fra thence forth with the lyke convenient dilligence sett saill with the said shipe to the port and harbour of new port glasgow ...

The Scots planters who settled along the Ashley River were based at Stuart's Town,

¹ See also, above, 33, A1.

² L.G. Fryer, 'Documents relating to the formation of the Carolina Company in Scotland, 1682', *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 99 (1998), 110–34.

named in honour rather than in defiance of their royal patron, but on territory still claimed by Spain. Led by the irascible Henry Erskine, Lord Cardross, and factored by William Dunlop, the future Principal of Glasgow University, the Scots insisted on separate administration according to Scots law rather than incorporation with the English colonial government. This uneasy relationship, which was compounded by hostile native Americans, was brought to a conclusion by Spanish reprisals. The infant Scottish colony was abandoned by the end of the decade. While the New Jersey colony had already drawn off some colonial undertakers from South Carolina, this served to enhance and deepen the colonial expertise among a commercial network that drew support from the highlands as from the north-east of Scotland. Initially promoted by George Scott of Pitlochy, an entrepreneur of noted Presbyterian sympathies, the principal patrons were well connected at Court—namely, the Drummond brothers, James, Earl of Perth and William, Lord Melfort, who were Catholic converts, and Robert Barclay of Ury, the most prominent Scottish Quaker. Despite encouraging accounts from East New Jersey about its favourable location for trade and the careful planning of the energetic Barclay of Ury, the Scots' desire to establish a successful plantation at Perth Amboy was not sustained beyond the Revolution of 1689.¹ However, if legal means did not work for burgeoning Scottish entrepreneurs, illegal methods were often used. Daniel (alias Donald) Campbell of Shawfield (1670-1753), a Glasgow merchant who later became the focus of the post-Union malt tax riot of 1725, pursued a thriving, if somewhat precarious, illicit colonial trade.² Despite the risks involved, not only by seizure and confiscation under the reinforced Navigation Acts, but also through elemental hazards, shipwreck and privateers, Daniel Campbell amassed a fortune in the Virginia trade while still in his twenties.

A3 Agreement between Daniel Campbell and other merchants in Glasgow, for financing of the 'Tuo Brothers' for a voyage to America.

23 September 1692

ML, Campbell of Shawfield Papers, 1/31

Be it knowen to all men ... Donald Govane James Mountgumrie Donald [Daniel] and Archibald Campbell Thomas Gilchrist James McCune and John Buchanan all merchands in Glasgow For as much as We are become pairtuners in following furth of ane trade of merchandiszing in the voyadge as is exprest in a commissione sub[scrivi]tt be ws of the dait of thir p[rese]nts to the said Donald [Daniel] Campbell and John Mcgoun merchand in

¹ L. G. Fryer, 'Robert Barclay of Ury and East New Jersey', *Northern Scotland*, 15 (1995), 1-17.

² More information on Daniel Campbell's business activities can be found in *The Day Book of Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, 1767*, F. Ramsay, ed., (Aberdeen, 1991), *passim*; *Dictionary of National Biography*, L. Stephens & S. Lee (eds.), vol. iii (1973), 8.

Bolstoune [Boston] as trusties in and manadgers of the s[ai]d effair and stock and cargoe therin spec[ifit] And ilk ane of ws haveing stockit in (for the better effectuating of the said voyadge and following furth of the s[ai]d trade of merchandising) in manner vnderwrytene viz be ilk ane of ws the s[ai]ds Donald Govane James Mountgumrie and Donald [Daniel] Campbell The soume of Ane hundreth and eight poundes sterling and be ilk ane of ws the saids Archbald Campbell Thomas Gilchrist James McCune and John Buchanan The soume of ffyftie four poundes sterling qlks hail soumes amounts to ffyve hundreth and fourtie poundes sterling and is alreadie bestowit and waired out vpon merchand goods conforme to accompts and invoyces mentioned in the fors[ai]d commissione and designit to be loaded aboard of the good ship called the two brothers of Bolstoune Wherof Thomas Gunie is master ...

James Spreull, an innovative and successful merchant from Glasgow, the city which was the main beneficiary of the transatlantic trade, mounted a vigorous rebuttal of Scottish vulnerability to English commercial reprisals should a parliamentary union not be accomplished between both countries. His resumé of Scottish trade, as it stood in 1705, gave a detailed inventory of goods produced for commercial exchange and market opportunities available on a global scale. Spreull's comments pertaining to horses are illustrative of the entrepreneurial determination of Scots to succeed regardless of the odds.

A4 *'An Accompt Current betwixt Scotland & England Ballanced: together with An Essay of a Scheme of the Product of Scotland, and a few Remarks on each ... By J.S. [John Spreull] A Lover of our protestant Queen, countrey, and Trade' (Edinburgh, 1705) 18-19.*

JCBL, D705 S8682

The 6th Article in the Scheme of Scotland's Product, is horses, against which some object as if there were none exported, but let such that believe not me, search the Custom Books at Port Glasgow where I myself entered & payed Dutie for 50 or 52 mostlie all ston'd horses and Maers, which I ship't in an great Ship of 400 tunn for Surinam an Dutch Plantation, for a Brood of Horses, and they were almost Highland Galloways excepting some few. All which arrived safe with other goods at the port, and a great price by sugars got for them ...

B CARIBBEAN

The passage of Union in 1707 did, however, promote unfettered Scottish access to the American colonies of the reconstituted British Empire. The Caribbean offered particularly lucrative opportunities for landed families such as the Stirlings of Keir, who had been established in Perthshire since the Middle Ages and in the Cawder

estate east of Glasgow since the 1530s. James Stirling of Keir (1679-1749) was a prominent Jacobite, forfeited for being out at Sheriffmuir, after which his estates were purchased by friends for his eldest son. He had in all 22 children. Archibald (1710-83), his third son, went to India in 1735 and returned by February 1749 with a substantial fortune. By 1734 his brothers James and Robert were already in Jamaica. Their correspondence following Alexander's return to Scotland is illustrative of the entrepreneurial activity of Scottish planters in eighteenth-century Jamaica. The letters not only reflect the close relationship between overseas entrepreneurs and their business associates at home; they also indicate the sometimes questionable nature of Scottish enterprise, and the bad reputation of the island, as well as offering a glimpse into the web of patronage which was the *modus operandi* of much Scottish involvement in the West Indies.¹ On account of the profitability of sugar cane and rum, extensive exploitation of slave labour, relatively frugal living in the countryside, commercial networking with kinsmen and friends and their own diligence, they had worked themselves up from storemen to overseers. Then, with the sometimes grudging assistance of Archibald and another brother, John, they acquired several plantations, in particular Hampden and Frontier, where several generations of the family spent at least part of their youth as planters. The last one to do so seems to have been Archibald Stirling (1769-1847).²

B1 Robert Stirling, Kingston, Jamaica to his brother Archibald.

30 September, 1753

GCA, T-SK11/2/81

... my Brother Jamy ... & I are upon the brink of making a considerable purchase, no less than £12000 this Curr[enc]y ... —it is a Plantation in the parish of St James that makes now about 60 Hhds [hogsheads] Sugar, but with the additional strength of Negroes that we have to put on it, he assures me he will bring it to betwixt 150 & 200 Hhds in 3 years time, which will be a very pretty income. You'll no doubt think it is a bold push in us to attempt such a purchase, but there is nothing like a bold stroke of this kind where there is a fair probability of success in view. I am going over there next week when we shall

¹ See also, below, 139-43, **B2-B6**.

² GCA, *Stirling of Keir Papers*, T-SK 11/2/68-9. There are hundreds of letters, accounts and other papers relating to the Jamaica estates in the Stirling of Keir papers. Hampden plantation was not finally disposed of until 1852, although for some years previously it had ceased to be profitable. For the family in general, see W. Fraser, *The Stirlings of Keir and their Family Papers* (Edinburgh, 1858), *passim*—albeit some of Fraser's references to the Jamaican estates are confused; A.L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun* (Cornell, 1992), 71-4. Karras points to the over-representation of Scots in Jamaica as well as the Chesapeake and brings out several examples of the correspondence. These include the Scots' aptitude for 'networking' (especially through extended family links), the ambivalent feelings of the Scots 'sojourners' towards Jamaica, where they often hoped to make a quick profit before returning to Scotland, and the tendency to become involved in speculative land dealings. We would like to thank Andrew Jackson, Glasgow City Archives, for this information.

be either on or off but I beleive it will be the former & in that case my Brother James must make use of the £600 that John & you has given him liberty to draw for. I wish you would make it up £1000 between you which I dare say you will do when you consider that the cheif use of money is to support our freinds & Relations which gives a man more real pleasure than any other use he can put it to ... We in Jamaica live happy in that respect for we dont trouble ourselves about Kings or anything else but how to make as much Sugar & Rum as we can & to live freindly with one another, which brings me to acquaint you that this year I have made 88 Hhds Sugar & 50 Punch[eon]s Rum which has sold for about £3200 and will nett me clear of all contingencys about £2000 Currency and if no hurricane or very bad weather comes this fall I shall make 120 Hhds next year which if Sugar keeps up their prices at home will I hope clear me £3000 which will be a pretty thing and strike deep in clearing off my debts, and as soon as the purchase we are about (if we agree for it) & this Plant[atio]n of my own makes 300 Hhds between them I intend like a Jamaica Comet to come & cut a flash for a year or two amongst you and if I don't like your dirty cold Country will return to my Sun shine again. [A]

The exploitative use and marketing of slaves, which was integral to the plantation economy, is further disclosed in a letter from Dr Alexander Johnston of St Ann's, Jamaica,¹ to his brother in Aberdeenshire. Johnston, who kept in regular touch with his family in north-east Scotland, had not won his Jamaican fortune without cost, but by 1784 he was in good circumstances and willing to accede to his brother's request that he offer a helping hand to a newly-arrived fellow Scot.

B2 Alexander Johnston to his brother James Johnston.

20 January, 1784

HSP, Alexander Johnston Letters,
Powel Family Collection, Philadelphia no. 1582

I mean to sell all the Lot land—perhaps 600 Acres of the woodland—Lewis's (reserving the furniture for my house at Annandale)—these I hope will bring nearly £3000 with which I shall pay off Dr. Fullerton and other matters—and the balance together with the outstanding debts, I shall lay out in buying new negroes—to put upon Annandale—for I want there one hundred slaves, in the whole ... by God's assistance, with unremitting diligence & attention, in the space of 20 years, the best part of a man's life, have I acquired this property ... I thank the kindness of providence that I have been so fortunate, altho I have been in trouble enough in making this fortune. [RMcD]

¹ See also, below, 215-16, B5.

Jamaica accounted for most Scots in the West Indies—about one-third of the white inhabitants of that island in the mid eighteenth century were thought to be Scots by birth or descent. Scots were also involved in mercantile activity in several other islands, both those which were British-controlled before 1763 and those ceded by France after the Seven Years' War. A postscript from Alexander Baillie, St. Christopher's to Alexander Baillie Esq., Dunzean, near Inverness of 26 May 1753, demonstrates the entrepreneurial opportunities from transatlantic commerce. A clear West Indian demand for staples like beans and oatmeal was matched by the growth of a consumer society throughout Scotland, increasingly hungry for Caribbean sugar and rum.

B3 A. & W. MacKenzie, *Inverness and the Highlands, from 1616 to 1815* (Inverness, 1890) 239–40.

The first money I can get I will purchase a small vessel to use to trade from hence to Inverness. I am sure when rum is bought here at 2s (which is equal to 1s 1/2d, the difference in exchange being 75 per cent) and sold there for 6s or 7s sterling, and sugar bought here at 2d per lb, sold with you at 6d, there must be a good deal got by it; and on the other hand, the oats that I fancy may be bought there at 40s per hhd at most, always sells here at £7; and beans, pease, oats and oatmeal in proportion. In short, I see so many chances in a man's making money in that way to one against him, and such a benefit arising to the country by having their superfluities taken away, and their foreign goods bought cheap, which they now pay freight from, and extravagant prices at Glasgow for, that I'm resolved, whenever God puts it in my power, to have a small vessel, and try that trade in person. [DH]

Many Scots resisted the growing momentum for the abolition of the slave trade, and later slavery itself. However, with typical ingenuity and adaptability, other Scottish plantation owners reverted to the use of their countrymen as labourers after the abolition of the slave trade in 1829. Hay McDowall Grant travelled to St. Vincent in 1831, where he managed a sugar estate named Calder and served as an attorney or agent for 7 other estates, including one named Argyle. He returned to Britain in 1841, 12 years after the Act for the Abolition of Slavery and 4 years after full emancipation. In 1842, a Select Committee of the House of Commons heard his testimony while compiling a report on the West India colonies after the abolition of slavery.

B4 Testimony of Hay McDowall Grant.

British Sessional Papers, PP 1842, vol. 13, pp. 12-13

180 Have you employed immigrants on your plantation?—In 1837 I introduced some white ploughmen from Scotland, with English horses to plough.

181 In what manner were they introduced?—The first three that came were under indentures to work three years.

182 Did you send for them?—I did. Three came the first year; I had five in 1837, four on Argyle and one on Calder.

183 What were the terms on which they were hired?—The average terms were 30 l. sterling wages, and finding them in food and lodging. That was found inconvenient, and it was altered; and we gave them an average of 50 l. sterling—£. 45 in money, and other allowance, making about 50 l. sterling, and they found themselves.

184 How many have you had altogether; were those five the whole you had?—No, we had four more in 1839.

185 What have been their habits, and conduct, and general manner? Generally speaking they behaved well; two behaved ill, and took to drinking.

186 Did you find that they associated with the labourers who had been on the estate previously?—No, not much.

187 Did they bring their families with them?—Yes; three of them, I think, had wives.

188 Did you find them able to work? I consider them perfectly able to work, if they keep from drinking. When we were pushed they used to work during the greatest part of the day, apparently without suffering.

189 Did they do as much work as the negroes who had been previously on the estate?—Much more; but the work they did was a kind of work that required more attention than real hardship.

190 ... Did it generally answer as a speculation?—I considered that it did answer, because we had them at a time when we were most in want of hands.

191 Are they still working for you? A certain number of them are. The greater number are out of their time. One is appointed a manager; others have found better wages, and have gone elsewhere.

192 On the whole you have found it answer to employ Scotch immigrants and English horses, to do the work of cultivation?—Yes; but I should consider it a much more expensive system than our old system of cultivation under slavery, or our present, under wages to the black people.

[RMcD]

C THIRTEEN COLONIES

The unfettered colonial opportunities, which opened up to the Scots after the Union of 1707, applied to North America as well as the Caribbean. James Murray (1713-81), originally of Unthank, Roxburghshire, was related to the distinguished Murray family of Philiphaugh in Selkirkshire. At the age of 22, after serving a 3-year mercantile apprenticeship in London, James decided that his prospects there were limited and that he would turn his attention overseas. He was attracted to North Carolina, both because of the recent opening of the Cape Fear region to settlement, and because he was assured of the patronage of the new Scottish governor, Gabriel Johnston. Murray became a prosperous merchant and planter, as well as a member of the governor's council. Several of his enumerated reasons for removal to North Carolina echo those of the great majority of emigrants; others reflect his standing as a young man who could command sufficient resources in capital and influence to procure a plantation.

C1 Nina Moore Tiffany, *Letters of James Murray, Loyalist* (Boston, printed not published, 1901), 17-19.

London 13 May 1735

The small encouragement that I have to stay here and not so much as the prospect of doing better has determined me to accept of the first good opportunity to push my fortune in any other part of the world; which I told a particular friend of mine here ... He has since had Letters from the Governor of North Carolina (with whom he is very intimate) acquainting him of the growing State of that province and of his intention to remove his court to part of it where there is a fine navigable river lying in a convenient place for trade call'd Cape Fear River. There I intend to go some time in August next. I am not able in the compass of a letter to give you all the reasons for such a choice, but for your satisfaction shall give you a few of the most material.

1. It is a climate as healthy as England.
2. It is cheaper living there than anywhere in Scotland.
3. Land which may now be bought there for 1s or 18d [per] acre will in all probability double the value every year, the place growing daily more populous as the Land Lower down in that River has already done. This determines me to go so soon as August, that I may be there and purchase about one thousand acres before it is known, that the Governor intends to remove thither.
4. I am sure of the Governor's interest to support me.
5. My own fortune is sufficient both to buy a handsome plantation and carry on as large a trade as I have occasion for; the profits of which I may expect will at least defray the charges of settling me the first two years

and afterwards lay up £200 sterling pr. An.

6. The place by its situation is entirely out of the power of a foreign enemy, which is no small advantage in these uncertain times.

7. I have the advantage of two faithful correspondents, Gentlemen of Substance and Experience, one in England and another in the West Indies, who are willing to join interests with me so far as our little trade requires it. [RJC]

Initially, the main economic thrust of Scots in the American colonies was undoubtedly directed towards the tobacco trade in Virginia and Maryland, around the Chesapeake Bay. By the time James Murray had decided to try his luck in North Carolina, Glasgow merchants such as the Boggles, Cunninghames and Glassfords were making their fortunes dealing with small tobacco planters by their innovative use of the store system run by a resident factor. The planters kept running accounts in the stores where tobacco was exchanged for goods and occasionally small amounts of cash. The essence of the Glasgow merchants' success lay in speed, thrift and business acumen. It was of paramount importance that the tobacco should be ready and waiting for the incoming ship, her cargo of consumer goods unloaded and the waiting tobacco loaded. In this manner, Glasgow merchants managed to fit in an extra transatlantic voyage per season, and by keeping profit levels to a minimum, undercut the larger English merchant houses which tended to work on a consignment basis and dealt only with the large tobacco plantations. Some store factors (usually of Scottish birth) engaged in trade in the Caribbean, either separately or in conjunction with their Scottish employers. For example, Neil Jamieson of John Glassford & Company carried on an extensive trade in the Caribbean, particularly Antigua, and with the Azores and the Mediterranean, dealing in victuals, timber and wine. He also financed shipbuilding and owned coastal shipping, was involved in the salt trade and in the slave trade to the Carolinas. Others were less fortunate. As relations between Britain and the American colonies deteriorated on the eve of the American Revolution, and the bottom began to fall out of the tobacco trade, many Scots found that this once lucrative product had become a financial liability.¹ The nature of the store system, with so much business being based on credit, created a financial situation from which merchants like James Lawson found it difficult to extricate themselves without heavy losses during trade depressions. That of 1761 was the product of a debilitating combination of overproduction in the plantations, the shipping costs per hogshead (1000lb.) being greater than the tax rebate pending sales, the sharp decline in demand for re-exported tobacco and the collapse of the domestic market, which left money tied up in stock and bills unpaid.

¹ T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities c.1740-90* (Edinburgh, 1975, reprinted 1990).

C2 James Lawson to Mr Alexander Hamilton Merchant in Portobacco, Maryland.

Glasgow, 31 January, 1764

MHSL, Hamilton Papers, Manuscripts Department, MS, 1301, pp. 1-4

... I suffer sadly at present by being dunned and distressed by almost every one we are indebted to, God pity me for I know not what to do for money John Semple does not believe one word I write him of the distresses and difficultys I am in, It is not in the power of the best & richest companys in Glasgow to borrow money, consequently far less me, If it was in my power to borrow money at 10 p[er] cent intrest I would gladly do it to pay off our Mary[lan]d concerns debts far rather than be dunned & harrassed in the manner I am. For God sake Sandy do you out most in settleing, securing & remitting me so as I may be relieved out of this dismal situation which I would not choice to live in tho I were insured of the twenty thousand yearly that Mr Semple speak of for what does the whole world avail to any man if he lives a miserable life while in it, I in the most earnest manner beg you'll send home a genuine state of our affairs as soon as possible that I may know what situation our concern is in, Pray Sandy write me your opinion of Mr Semples Establishments I am still much feared that they will not turn out any thing nigh to what John expresses but if they turn out 1/4th of what he says it is a very great deal much more than I imagine it will do, but he should be a better judge than I possible can and time will try all opinions I beg you'll write me often your opinion on everything and be sure to push the settlement &c with all expedition of these affairs without loss of time, If Mr Semple does not let you see my letters to him I can not help it, but I believe they are in such a strain as he is ashamed to let any body see what I write him, but I hope times will be better after awhile
...

[A]

D CANADA

James Dunlop's fortunes crossed not only the Atlantic but the 49th parallel, for he was a rolling migrant prepared to keep on the move in pursuit of fortune. However, like many eighteenth-century Scottish entrepreneurs, his story begins in Virginia. As the son of Glasgow merchant and textile manufacturer David Dunlop, he went out in 1773 at the age of 15 to learn the trade, starting off as a store boy with the firm of William and John Hay. Like many Loyalists during the American Revolution, Dunlop moved to Canada, settling first in Quebec in 1779, then in Montreal by 1782, where he built up a thriving trade with Britain in wines and spirits, dry goods, timber, wheat and potash. In 1799 James bought a piece of land on the waterfront at Montreal, on which he built a large store. His business developed into large-scale transatlantic trading and ship owning. He built his own shipyard and

developed a fleet of vessels, six of them named after members of his family. Despite some difficulties in business, he continued to prosper, and in 1812 described his current undertakings rather boastfully to his sister in Glasgow. At this juncture, the outbreak of war between Britain and the United States of America proved highly profitable for Dunlop. Between May 1813 and May 1814 he cleared profits of £20,000. But, when Britain made peace with the United States, he lost his contract to supply the armed forces in Canada. In June 1815, a few months before he died, he calculated that unsold goods to the value of almost £100,000 were left in his stores.¹

D1 James Dunlop to his sister.

20 June, 1812

NAS, James Dunlop Letters, GD1/151/79

The Janet Dunlop left this on the 13th Current for Quebec and Jamaica but had not got to Quebec on the 18th at 4pm but I hope is there by this time. She has on Board of mine 1167 Barrels Flour, 150 Barrels Beef, 58 Barrels Tar, 3 Barrels and 4 Kegs Hogs Lard, 24 Boxes Mould Tallow Candles, 12 Boxes Spirmaceti Candles, 15,853 Staves and there may yet be put on Board at Quebec about 8000 more Staves and 18,850 Hoops. I have also taken 304 Barrels Beef on Freight and other smaller articles and get for the Freight of the beef 20/- for each Barrel and which is at least equal to 22/6 Sterling at the present Discount on Bills.

The Brigantine Christian Captain Robertson, by who this is to go, has been loaded here by me and has on Board 7,985 Minots Wheat of the most prime quantity and which if I do not get at the rate of 66/- to 70/- per Boll of 240 lb, I had better have sold the same here for the price I was offered for it, 10/- or Two Dollars per Minot ...

I am just beginning to prepare another Vessel to Load Wheat, the Thetis, Captain Abercrombie, and She if I load Her intirely with that article will just take about as much as the Christian. I am also at this time loading here the Nestor with Timber for account of a Mr Allan of Leith and She will be ready to proceed on Her Voyage in about eight Days. I am also at this time loading the Dunlop intirely on my own account for Lisbon and Her Cargo may be about 250 Barrels Beef and about 3,350 Barrels Flour, which I am going to commit the Sales to Captain Abrams, the Master of the Dunlop.

I will when these Vessels are all off my hands remain with my fine new Ship the George Canning, but which Vessel will not be ready to begin to load for about 8 to 10 Days. She will carry about 700 Tons of Measurement

¹ NAS, James Dunlop Letters, GD 1/151/10/113/118. Details of his career are found in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 1801-20*; D.S. MacMillan, 'Scottish enterprise and influences in Canada, 1620-1900', in Cage (ed.), *The Scots Abroad*, 46-79.

Goods or as many Tons Dead weight Her Cargo will be chiefly Timber as Oak and Pine Logs & Staves. So much for business and to show You how I am employed. [RMG]

Many enterprising Scots were attracted by the growth in the Canadian lumber trade, which rose to prominence during and after the Napoleonic Wars, initially in response to an embargo on Baltic trade.¹ Incoming lumber from the Maritimes and the St Lawrence was sometimes replaced by passengers on the outward voyage, in a two-way trade which was of central importance to both the lumber industry and emigration from a wide range of Scottish ports. Scottish businessmen used fellow-Scots to promote their interest in Canada. Peter Clyde, a Scot who was still involved in the industry in Blackville parish, Northumberland County, New Brunswick in 1851, reveals the mobility of people employed in lumber and the short-term changes in company partnerships.

D2 Peter Clyde, Lumber Surveyor based in the Miramichi, New Brunswick, to Samuel Rogerson, Messrs. Hunters & Co., St James, Newfoundland.

28 June 1830

NAS, Rogerson Papers, GD1/620/84

I have several times had an inclination and almost determined to go and see what kind of a barren island you had pitched your camp upon but something or other always prevented me; we are bothered with so much timber and lumber of one kind and another that when we fairly embark into the business it is almost impossible to get away from it again.

I have been in this place for nearly the last two years, the last 12 months of which I have remained with Messrs John and James Fraser & Co of Beaubarns Island, merchants; but latterly they dissolved the partnership and I don't think that I will remain with them much longer; I have always had an inclination for Upper Canada. [LC]

William Shand exemplifies the emigrant who retained business interests in Scotland while also cultivating similar interests via Scottish networks in Upper Canada. Widower Shand migrated from Marnoch in Banffshire in 1834, first to Hamilton, where he worked as a house carpenter until 1836. He then moved to Port Dover, worked in sawmills for two years, and ultimately settled on a farm, remaining there until his death in 1869. Until they joined him in 1836, he left his 5 children in the care of his brother-in-law, Dufftown postmaster Alexander Ragg, whom he also made responsible for managing his interests in rental properties in and around Aberdeen. Meanwhile in Canada, Shand made immediate use of Scottish contacts,

¹ See also, above, 48-9, D3.

including the Aberdeenshire-born financier William Allan, in order to purchase 100 acres in Flamborough Township, where there was a substantial Aberdeenshire-Banffshire community. He subsequently gave similar assistance and advice to family and neighbours who followed him across the Atlantic. He and his relatives also made regular visits to Hamilton both to do business with Scottish banks and tradesmen, and to socialise with other emigrants from north-east Scotland who were settled throughout south-western Ontario. Money repatriated by Shand not only financed his business interests in the north-east but encouraged further emigration and even stimulated Ragg's own unfulfilled interest in Canadian opportunities.¹

D3 Alexander Ragg to William Shand.

10 June 1834

Private collection, Shand Letters,
Port Dover, Ontario

I canot omit the present oportunity of Mr. James Mavour presently fitting out for America without sending you this scrole to let you know that we are all well and likewise that you are not altogether forgotten by your freinds in Mortlach. By the time you receive this you may be a great laird in America. At all events you will be on the look out... I expect there is a letter from you on the way to me before this time anouncing your safe arival—but the nixt will be a full one description of place, people & productions and mentioning whether you can see a spote that will be congenial to my wishes where I can spend the small remnant of my days in peace and comfort with you beside me. You will in the first place build a snuge loghouse and when I grow rich a cotage like what I have just now. My ambition rises no higher, but to be free from rent & taxes which takes all here that we can gather or scrap together.

A significant minority of Scots not only achieved personal success in Canada, but played a key part in shaping the country's development, as explorers, financiers and politicians. Sir John A. Macdonald—the product of a relatively humble home in Glasgow—was five years old when he emigrated with his parents to Kingston, Ontario, in 1820. He subsequently became a lawyer, and went into politics, initially as an opponent of the colonial government in 1847. Conscious of the ever-present threat from Canada's more powerful neighbour to the south, and totally opposed to separation from Britain, MacDonal'd's strategy as first Prime Minister of the new Dominion was to promote a transcontinental railway which would join the Atlantic to the Pacific, open up the west to

¹ In addition, Ragg looked after the financial interests of Shand's oldest son, John, the product of a previous marriage or liaison, who was in Australia and whose insurance policy he was continuing to pay from repatriated money in 1837 (Shand Letters, Port Dover, Ontario, Alexander Ragg to William Shand, 24 June 1837).

settlers, and in the process strengthen and unite the fledgling country.¹

D4 'Sir John Macdonald's Last Address to the People of Canada', J. Pope, *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald: First Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada* (London, 1894), vol. ii, appendix XXVIII, 333.

When, in 1878, we were called upon to administer the affairs of the Dominion, Canada occupied a position in the eyes of the world very different from that which she enjoys to-day. At that time a profound depression hung like a pall over the whole country, from the Atlantic Ocean to the western limits of the province of Ontario, beyond which to the Rocky Mountains stretched a vast and almost unknown wilderness ... The age of deficits was past, and an overflowing treasury gave to the Government the means of carrying forward those great works necessary to the realization of our purpose to make this country a homogenous whole.

To that end we undertook that stupendous work, the Canadian Pacific Railway. Undeterred by the pessimistic views of our opponents—nay, in spite of their strenuous, and even malignant opposition, we pushed forward that great enterprise through the wilds north of Lake Superior, across the western prairies, over the Rocky Mountains to the shores of the Pacific, with such inflexible resolution, that, in seven years after the assumption of office by the present Administration, the dream of our public men was an accomplished fact, and I myself experienced the proud satisfaction of looking back from the steps of my car upon the Rocky Mountains fringing the eastern sky. The Canadian Pacific Railway now extends from ocean to ocean, opening up and developing the country at a marvellous rate, and forming an Imperial highway to the west, over which the trade of the Indies is destined to reach the markets of Europe. We have subsidized steamship lines on both oceans—to Europe, China, Japan, Australia, and the West Indies. We have spent millions on the extension and improvement of our canal system. We have, by liberal grants of subsidies, promoted the building of railways, now become an absolute necessity, until the whole country is covered as with a network; and we have done all this with such prudence and caution, that our credit in the money market of the world is higher to-day than it has ever been, and the rate of interest on our debt, which is a true measure of the public burdens, is less than it was when we took office in 1878 ...

¹ More information on MacDonald's part in the opening up of the country by railroad can be found in J. L. McDougall, *Canadian Pacific: A Brief History* (Montreal, 1968), *passim*.

E USA

Despite the exodus of Loyalists at the American Revolution, the newly constituted United States exercised a magnetic pull for enterprising Scots. John Innerarity, an Aberdonian, sailed from Scotland to Florida in 1802 to join the complex world of the deer-hide trade that had dominated relations between the south-eastern Indians and outsiders for well over a century. From his early childhood he had been immersed in the workings of Panton, Leslie & Co., the Florida-based Scottish trading firm that dominated the 'Indian trade' of the region. Virtually all members of the Company and its successor, John Forbes & Co., were natives of north-east Scotland. His uncle, William Panton, was a founding partner, while his father, John Innerarity, was an employee of the firm who moved among the company's business interests in Florida, London, and Aberdeen. John was clearly groomed for the business. Educated in Banff and at the University of Edinburgh, he followed in the footsteps of his older brother, James, who had joined the firm in Florida in 1796. After 10 years as a clerk and later managing clerk in the Pensacola office, John, though not yet thirty, was in 1812 admitted as a partner in the firm which he continued to serve with loyalty and considerable skill until his death in 1854. Throughout that time he lived in an international milieu. He was married to a French woman; his clients were Native Americans who were members of the Creek Nation; his political ties were with Spain, Britain, and America. At the same time, he is portrayed in his journals as 'a Scot among the Creek Indians'. The arduous journey that Innerarity recorded in autumn 1812 had one purpose: to resolve the \$40,000 debt (which included considerable interest) incurred by the towns and villages that composed the Native People known as the Upper Creek. Leaving Pensacola on 14 October, John Innerarity did not arrive in Tallassee, which was adjacent to Tuckabatche and some 250 miles north of Pensacola, until the 22nd. Although the party was on horseback for much of the trip, the thick woods and frequent river crossings meant that often they had to dismount. Four days out of Pensacola, Innerarity reached the home of one of the company's resident factors.

E1 [Anon.], 'The Creek Nation, Debtor to John Forbes & Co., Successors to Panton, Leslie & Co., A Journal of John Innerarity, 1812', *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, 9, (October 1930, #2), 67-95.

During the day's ride the country was very hilly and broken especially as we advanced near the Scambia from the fork which leads to Big Factor's. The distance to the landing place is about a mile & a half & the land appears very good, scarce a pine tree to be seen, the growth being principally Red Oak & Hickory. The Big Factor's is very pleasantly situated on a high bluff (of about 50ft.) which overlooks the River which is here very steep and occasioned us some apprehension in swimming across our horses. The Big Factor had gone up to the meeting but we were very hospitably

entertained by his son in law whose wife immediately set before us a Dish of Susskie, boiled potatoes & some very fine Turkey soup & venison to which our hungry appetites gave an additional zest. These poor people seem to live extremely happy—their situation might be rendered much more comfortable could they change their nature & become a little more Industrious. They had scarcely any corn & it was wt. Difficulty that we prevailed on them to spare two baskets, as it was really taking the bread out of their mouths. They sent to their fields for some pumpkins for our horses about two miles distant and told us to turn them into their field where they fared pretty well for the night, & next morning the 19th we took leave at 8 A.M. & rode at a journey gait until 12 M. when we nooned at a branch having rode about 13 miles ... At 4 arrived at Pigeon River which we forded. It is about 50 yds wide & a handsome stream. Rode on about 12 miles further through a neat pine barren until sunset when we pitched our tents on a branch at which my Brother and Mr Miller once camped & which is the only place which affords water after leaving Pigeon River. [MCS]

Although sometimes Euroamericans with Scots to the fore, most often the factors were mixed bloods or mestizos, who served as cultural brokers mediating between two worlds. Retaining their fathers' surnames, they married into leading Creek clans, collected the Creek hunters' pelts, and arranged for the transportation of the deer hides by packhorse to warehouses, whence they would be shipped to London. The volume of trade was immense. In 1803, for example, the Panton, Leslie & Co. exports from the Pensacola office totalled 79,500 skins or 203,200 pounds. Like the Scottish tobacco lords' business methods in the Chesapeake, the entire trade system between Natives and outsiders was based on credit, and virtually everyone in the business, from the Native men who had become commercial hunters to the Scottish company directors who imported vast quantities of trade items, was in debt. Because no money was involved in exchange, the balance between goods obtained and deer hides delivered was unequal, and Native debt gradually increased against annuity payments, the annual advances of credit from the Company. Although in some instances the Company had acquired Native lands to satisfy debts, the Upper Creeks had not paid any debts for a number of years. Innerarity had planned to request that they pledge some portion of their annuity payments to satisfy the full debt, but he was only partly successful in his quest. In the end, he agreed to forego all the interest and to accept the chiefs' plea that they must have two or three years to pay the debt. The chiefs duly signed an agreement authorising payment of \$5,000 against their annuities for the years 1812, 1813, and 1814.¹

As citizens of the transatlantic world, enterprising Scots were not averse to combining business and politics. Alexander Sprunt was a rolling stone who settled in Wilmington,

¹ We would like to thank Margaret Connell-Szasz for this information.

North Carolina, in the mid nineteenth century. Shortly after the end of the Civil War, he wrote to the British consul in Charleston, South Carolina, successfully seeking appointment as vice consul for North Carolina. Despite an inauspicious start, the firm he established in 1866 with a few bales of cotton ultimately became one of the largest cotton trading operations in the world.

E2 Alexander Sprunt to H. Pickney Walker, Wilmington, N.C.

2 September, 1865

PRO, FO 115/444, fos 145-7

... I was born in the vicinity of the City of Perth 28 Sept 1815, and therefore am 50 years of age this month: was educated in Edinburgh: Served His Majesty as one of the Councillors of Port of Spain, Colony of Trinidad, West Indies; where I resided as merchant previous to 1846 eleven years: returning to England I resided in Liverpool and Glasgow until 1852, when I came to North Carolina & have lived in Wilmington ever since.

For four years I held a responsible situation in one of the Banks here; & then as Cashier (with an interest in the business) with Messrs. Worth & Co. of Wilmington. I am now about engaging Business on my own account under favourable circumstances.

After being sometime in this Country I took out U.S. papers of naturalization; but in July 1861 I cleared from Newberne in a Schooner for Barbados for which I procured a British Register, and on the 9th or 10th of September 1861 I took the oath of allegiance to H.M. in presence of Gov. Hincks, of which a Register signed by me was duly made at Government House. [RJC]

Glasgow-born Allan Pinkerton (1819-84) emigrated to the United States in 1842. Having served his apprenticeship as a cooper before leaving Scotland, he set up a cooper's store in Dundee, near Chicago. It was while cutting wood on his premises that he discovered and captured a gang of counterfeiters. This, and other similar exploits, led to his appointment to the local police force which led indirectly to the establishment of his own detective agency in Chicago—'The Pinkerton National Detective Agency'. This agency became the most famous organisation of its kind, specialising particularly in railroad theft and crime. Pinkerton, a noted self-publicist, worked in espionage during the American Civil War and is credited with being responsible for the arrest of the notorious Butch Cassidy and the Sun Dance Kid in Patagonia.

E3 A. Pinkerton, *Thirty Years a Detective—A Thorough and Comprehensive Exposé of Criminal Practices of all Grades and Classes* (New York, 1983), 569.

La Pierre House,
Philadelphia, Pa.,

August 3, 1859.

Received, this date, from Allan Pinkerton, of Chicago, Ills., \$39,515.00, being the amount recovered of \$40,000.00 stolen from the Adams Express Co. at Montgomery, Ala., on the 28th day of the previous January, and delivered to the undersigned, in the original sealed package, in which it had been buried in the cellar of a dwelling-house in Jenkintown, Montgomery Co., Pennsylvania.

(signed) E.S. Sanford, Vice-Prest.
And Genl., Supt. Adams Ex. Co.

In the United States as in Canada, some Scots achieved legendary status as industrial barons. Supreme among such individuals was the Dunfermline-born, steel magnate, Andrew Carnegie, who capitalised on America's post-Civil War reconstruction and the opening up of the country to make a fortune out of the new railroad network. When he retired in 1901 at the age of 66, his share of the profits from the U.S. Steel Corporation was £100,000,000. Carnegie's claim to fame rested not only on the vast fortune he accumulated, but on the way he disbursed it to a range of charitable concerns in his homeland, through bequests and trusts which are still relevant today. After he had been given the freedom of the burgh in return for a donation of £10,000 to cover the cost of a new library building, Carnegie addressed the citizens of Ayr.

E4 A. Carnegie, *Address by Andrew Carnegie, Esq., on the occasion of laying the Memorial stone, 5th October 1892*, (Edinburgh, 1892) 18-19.

GUL, Sp. Coll.

In accepting the freedom of Ayr, I am thus more strongly bound than ever to devote the remaining years of my life less and less to the aims which deal with self, and more and more to the service of others, by using our surplus wealth and spare time in the manner which seems most likely to produce the greatest good to the masses of people, from which surplus wealth comes to men only to pass through their hands as administrators ... When the chairman of the Committee of the Free Library building wrote me in regard to the wants of Ayr, there was no withstanding his appeal ... It is but a few months ago since I stood on the shores of the Pacific at San Francisco, and addressed many hundreds of Scotsmen and women in their own magnificent hall. I told them that the more I dwelt in Scotland, and the more I talked with the various classes of the working people, the farmers and the shepherds, the masons, carters, and the blacksmiths, and others, the

more impressed I became with the national qualities, and the prouder I was that I could claim kindred with them.

While most emigrants sought to prosper from continuous hard work, thrift and applied intelligence, from time to time Scottish adventurers were caught up in the gold fever which swept different parts of the American continent, first in California and then 50 years later by the Klondike River in Western Yukon Territory.¹ James Dodds from Dunfermline joined the Klondikers to seek his fortune in 1897, albeit he seems to have spent more in staking out his claim than he earned by prospecting.

E5 James M. Dodds, Dawson City, North West Territory, Alaska to his mother and father.

18 March, 1898

NLS, Acc. 6665

... You mention about exaggerated reports being in the home newspapers, but there is lots of truth in them too although my luck has been bad so far, still I believe this to be as rich a gold field yet discovered and wash up there is bound to be an extraordinary amount of gold taken out, in fact it is hard for one outside to credit it ... Rob't Mercer, my partner, took sick and I had to take him to the hospital but he is out now and feeling all right again, so of course I had two different men during his sickness with me working, but he thought he was all right before he was and got worse through trying to work before he was able, the fact is I had to give up the ground because the prospects were not bright at the time to encourage me to employ a man on wages and I could not do the work myself. I may let you know that the scurvy has affected a great many people here to a greater or less extent, but so far I have to be thankful to the ruler of the universe for the health and strength I have been blessed with since coming in here. I seem overjoyed tonight at receiving your letter just to hear that you were all enjoying good health. Now I must close now, but before doing so I may let you know that one of the men who came over the trail, that is the term generally used for the road coming in here, has got his feet badly frozen and he will lose nearly all the toes off one of them. Lots more to tell you but I must close, bedtime. [MV]

One of the few aristocratic adventurers who stayed the course in North America was Lyulph Ogilvy, son of the Earl of Airlie, who arrived in Colorado in the late 1870s to take part in Lord Dunraven's British Community of North Park. After his

¹ *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings and Other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff ... April 2, 1849-July 20, 1851*, ed. G. Willis Read & R. Gaines (New York, 1949), 357, 469.

father's death, Lyulph remained to manage the family cattle and sheep ranch near present-day Greeley. In 1899, 'Lord' Ogilvy, 'the baron of Greeley', volunteered to escort a boatload of mules from Galveston, Texas to Cape Town, South Africa for the Boer War. Once there, he enlisted in a guerrilla band and remained for almost 2 years before returning to Colorado. Ogilvy, who was little given to sentiment but never averse to publicity, wrote to friends in Denver comparing guerrilla life in South Africa with frontier life in the American West.¹

E6 *Denver Times.*

18 April, 1900

Denver Public Library

I enjoyed the fight pretty well, but it was not as exciting as I expected ... I fired 400 rounds and worked rather harder than on an ordinary day's cattle branding. A few of the Dutch shot splendidly and most of them very badly, just the same as anyone else ... I hope we will have some more fighting, but am not very hopeful ... We had three men shot through the head of our thirty, one through the point of the shoulder into the heart and two through their hats. Our captain lived a long time, though his brains ran out. I suppose I am a bit of a brute, but I was not much affected by the people being killed. It was what one was expecting every minute and caused no surprise when it happened.

We were out on patrol yesterday and last night ... my sergeant offered me some advice, saying we should be attacked. I shut him up and informed him the sooner the better and that I did not want anything better than from 500 to 2,000 Dutch to shoot at—and be damned to him. Well, we wore it out till morning, and, of course, there were no Dutch, as they are just as fond of fighting at night as an Indian. [FMS]

Aristocrats like Ogilvy usually crossed the Atlantic in first-class accommodation, but the majority of emigrants travelled steerage. Most of those who passed through Ellis Island Quarantine Station in the 1920s and who in recent years have been interviewed about their experiences, claim that their emigration was driven by the desire for economic betterment, often coupled to a sense of adventure and a belief that America was the land of opportunity. Margaret Cook, who at the age of 9 went from Chirnside in Berwickshire to Maine, to join an uncle and aunt in 1920, stressed acquisitive characteristics.

¹ After his return to Colorado, he married, lost his ranch through financial difficulties, and became the first full-time agricultural writer for the *Denver Post*. Numerous legends of wild and eccentric behaviour dogged his career and when he died in 1947, Colorado lost one of its most colourful citizens.

E7 Margaret Cook, interviewed by Dr Janet Levine in Fort Pierce, Florida.
 23 February 1994 EIIM, Ellis Island Oral History Collection,
 Interview No. EI-435

The Scots were all paper makers, and that's why they went to Maine—the turbulent rivers in Maine created water power, and they built a tremendous number of paper mills, and they all—friends of my grandfather's and other people of course, many—went to America where they could make big money. That's all they cared about was money, money. [JL]

The ability of Scots to adapt to changing circumstances as well as their determination to prosper is highlighted by the rolling migration of John Will's father. Having completed his apprenticeship as a coach builder, John's father hankered for greater opportunities than were on offer at home in Fife. He first emigrated to South Africa, returned home, married, became a victim of the post-war depression in Scotland and then emigrated again, but this time to California in the 1920s.

E8 John Will, interviewed by Elysa Matson.

19 September, 1994 EIIM, Ellis Island Oral History Collection,
 Interview No. EI-547.

My father, after he served his apprenticeship as a coach builder, worked for a couple of years, and then went to South Africa in the 1890s during the diamond rush. Being a skilled woodworker as he was, he was at work—the work that he got was as a foreman, first on the railroads and later in the mines, or for the mines. He spent five years there, and saved quite a bit of his salary—he was single. He came back—he went, by the way, with a buddy of his, by the name of David Harrow. They went together and they did everything together, of course. He came home to Scotland and met my mother, married her, and he had saved enough money that he wanted to go in business for himself, and so he bought this business ... in Cupar, Fife. Now, during World War I, again because he was a skilled woodworker, he went from his shops—he left his shops in the hands of two or three real old men who were too old for military service. In World War I practically all the young of Scotland was in the army ... so my Dad ... was made Superintendent of an air company's body frame—the body frames of aeroplanes in World War I were made out of wood, and then covered. He was the Superintendent of air frame for about I think approximately three years ...

When the World War I ended he ... tried to bring his business back. Originally, this was his shop that had about 25 employees doing new construction and repair work. Ok, he tried to bring his business back but the economic conditions as a result of World War I in Scotland were very, very poor. The farmers were not making any money, and if they had a broken down wagon they didn't have any money to fix it, or they'd bring it in and he'd fix it and put it on the books. They were not buying hardly anything new. So, he kept trying to bring his business back but was not successful in that, and he was going broke. And also he had a secondary condition, thought in mind, and that was the education of his five kids. Scots people traditionally are very educational minded. They shove and push for better schools and better education. So, remembering his time in South Africa,—and he was a prolific reader, he had read a lot about California, the orange groves, the climate, land of opportunity, and all the things you hear about—you still hear about the same thing today—he decided that we should emigrate to Southern California. In this transition he auctioned off his shop and all the equipment. He auctioned off our home and then we were ready to go but there was a problem with the quota system. As I get the story from my folks, they had thought that they had the seven quota numbers necessary for the family to travel together, but when they came through only four came through, so this caused a big debate between my father and mother. My mother wanted my father to take the three oldest children and go, and she would wait for the additional quotas some time in the future. He didn't want to do that, so we ended up by being parked in a little town called Gourrock, on the beach front, waiting for additional quota numbers, and that took several months before we got them. And we finally got them and the seven of us left from Liverpool on the ship *Baltic* for New York. The primary reason for emigrating was lousy economic conditions and it didn't look like very much opportunity for his kids, and he brought us all here. I might add, without trying to be too egotistical, that all my brothers and sisters did very well in our new country. [JL]

F LATIN AMERICA

The ability of Scots to adapt to changing circumstances was by no means restricted to the English-speaking world. John Gibson, the eldest son of a Glaswegian merchant of the same name, first arrived in Argentina in 1819 to establish a branch of the family business in the flourishing Buenos Aires marketplace. Initially trading as an importer of textiles and an exporter of hides and nutria [coyppu] pelts, John invested his profits in land. Around 1823 or 1824, his brother, George, joined the South American enterprise and presided over a rapid expansion of its rural interests. In 1827, another brother, Robert, who had recently graduated in medicine from the

University of Edinburgh, also arrived in Argentina. John's death at Gibraltar during a journey home led the Gibsons to attempt to liquidate their assets and withdraw, but they were obliged to remain in the River Plate region on account of being unable to find a buyer for one of their large estancias [ranches]. The youngest of the brothers, Thomas, arrived from Scotland in 1838. During the 1830s, the Gibsons forged a reputation as pioneers in Argentina's evolving sheep-breeding industry. Throughout the period that the dictator Manuel de Rosas dominated Buenos Aires Province and the surrounding area (1829-52), the brothers' operations were often jeopardised by outbreaks of civil and international conflict. Valuable insights into the volatile political climate and hints at how such circumstances could impinge upon the settlers' fortune are provided by Robert Gibson, writing from the city of Buenos Aires to his brother George, at one of the family's remote rural properties. Robert, who had a low opinion of the revolutionaries who seized power in Banda Oriental [modern Uruguay] in 1836, was further discomfited by the French naval blockage of Buenos Aires and armed intervention on the side of the separatists in Montevideo, which had prevented de Rosas restoring confederation across the River Plate by 1839.¹

F1 Gibson Brothers' Correspondence.

23 October 1839 NLS, Correspondence, chiefly from members of the Gibson family in Glasgow and between George and Robert Gibson, with some formal documents and miscellaneous papers, 1816-1842, MSS 10326

... It was a great error in Rosas, I think, not to send Oribe the late President of the B.[Banda] O.[Oriental] at the head of the invading army, which, by not having done so, has every appearance of being nothing else than an Argentine army coming to lay down the law to the Orientales. Oribe only left this lately with 400 men (enlisted here) for Entreríos on his way to the B.O., but to get there he will have to fight Lavalle [principal Unitarian general] in Entreríos who I expect will beat him. Most people think that if Echagüe is defeated, Lavalle will carry all before him in Entreríos and Corrientes, and then come over into Santa Fe, and then down into the province [of Buenos Aires]. At all events there can be no doubt that this is their plan. Should this take place, it will then be seen whether or not Rosas

¹ We would like to thank Iain Stewart for this information on the Gibson family. See Iain A.D. Stewart (ed.), *From Caledonia to the Pampas: Two Accounts by Early Scottish Emigrants to the Argentine* (East Linton, 1999). For a detailed account of the Gibsons' contribution to rural, economic development, see H. Gibson, *The History and Present State of the Sheep-Breeding Industry in the Argentine Republic* (Buenos Aires, 1893). Herbert Gibson was a son of Thomas Gibson.

has the influence in the Campaña which he undoubtedly possessed in 1828 and even as late as ... 1833. I hope that if this is the way the blockade is to be raised, that it will be done quickly and with as little fighting as possible. Should such an event take place the superiority of situation of our Estancia will be seen over most other places, as they will never go there to fight, and all that we can suffer will be a temporary inconvenience and perhaps the loss of a few horses—Poor Captain Campbell who bought an Estancia in Entreríos in preference to this province, as being in his opinion less likely to be disturbed by revolutions, has got into the very hottest of it, the battle lately fought there by Lavalle having been fought on his very ground. [IADS]

Despite the volatile political situation in Latin America, Scottish entrepreneurs in general, and brewery firms in particular, were prepared to take calculated risks and go beyond the British empire to establish new markets. Firms such as Aitkens of Falkirk, Tennents of Glasgow, George Younger of Alloa, Archibald Campbell, Drybroughs, William Younger, all of Edinburgh, Dudgeon of Belhaven, and Fowlers of Prestonpans were shipping barrels of Scotch ales to Australia, New Zealand, India, Mauritius and the Far East as well as to the Caribbean and all over North and South America by 1860. As territorial and economic imperialism grew in the nineteenth century, so did the demand for Scottish beers. Wherever Scots were working abroad, either in commerce, government service or in the army, beer was required. Where cholera and dysentery were rife, it was safer to drink beer than to trust the local water. By 1900, a third of all UK exports came from Scotland. Tennents, the biggest exporters of bottled beers in the world, had even reached the Sandwich Islands and Japan by 1864 and were exporting to 126 destinations from Adelaide to Zanzibar by 1892. However, business could be precarious and was often subject to the fickleness of human nature.

F2 James Marshall to J. & R. Tennent.¹

Montreal, 29 December, 1875

SBA, T2/12

... Here and there I have found the beer a little flat especially in cold weather—perhaps too flat—but in B. Ayres (Rio is an exception) M. Video, Valparaiso, Lima and Panama there has been no objection. The scenario is very much this, that in good times people take the beer because they like it, and a petty complaint like the above is ignored, but in bad times every little fault is spotted, and the goods rejected very much because the dealers cannot sell them. Lima affords a very good illustration, during the time we were

¹ Notes written in Montreal on 29th December 1875 in the copy letter book of James Marshall written during his sales tour of the Americas on behalf of J. & R. Tennent, Aug. 1875 to Jan. 1876.

selling there, without allowance for breakage, the breakage was, as a matter of fact, actually as great as it is now, but then there was the demand, people wanted the beer, and our agents, having the hawk in their hands extracted their own terms—now the dealers have the hawk in their hands, in other words they don't want the goods. Hence the different story.

In light of the above ... you will see that sales cannot be made simply because we desire to make them, and we must pocket our trouble and have patience whether we like or no.

Havana—I hope to be there in 10 days ... I need not say that on the face of it I am opposed to closing the market against orders. Experience has proved, and the relative experience of ten years in Havana has proved that all things considered our sales pay better than our consignments. You suggest that the buyers get the cream of the business while we lose it—that is exactly the mistake—the buyers no doubt make money, but they are either, on the one hand natives who manage to dodge the custom house, or on the other, merchants who are content to make their charges only out of the account. Of course there are always exceptions to this rule, otherwise our orders would cease—but I am satisfied that my view is right, in the main. At sometime the policy may be temporarily worth entertaining, and I shall turn it over in my mind till I get to the spot itself.¹ [AT]

¹ Transcription by D. I. Johnstone. For further information on international demand for Scottish beers, see I. Donnachie, *A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland* (paperback edition, Edinburgh, 1998).

Chapter Three

THE MILITARY EMIGRANT

Scotland had a long tradition as an exporter of military manpower, particularly into French and Dutch service and usually in opposition to the English. Within Scotland, the most reputed martial area was the highlands, especially on the western seaboard where the clans had retained corps of fighting men, *buannachan*, who migrated episodically to earn booty from the wars of the Irish Gaels against the English Crown. Following the regal union of 1603, concerted action in Edinburgh, London and Dublin on behalf of the new Stuart dynasty brought about the gradual redundancy of these fighting clansmen. Many joined British expeditionary forces fighting in the Thirty Years' War, when Scottish soldiers of fortune served extensively and pre-eminently in Northern Europe.¹ Over 3,500 Scottish officers have been identified among British forces in Scandinavia and the Baltic States.² The accomplishment of parliamentary union in 1707 enabled Scottish militarism to be re-channelled into the service of the British empire—albeit Scots had served in a military as well as an entrepreneurial capacity from the first settling of the American colonies. Despite the apparent dominance of kilted highland regiments in public perceptions of Scottish soldiers, military forces were recruited from all parts of Scotland.³ After the eventual eradication of Jacobitism, military recruitment played a key rôle in the political and cultural rehabilitation of the highlander in the later eighteenth century. In turn, regiments recruited for or in America took on

¹ A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996), 68-9.

² S. Murdoch & A. Grosjean, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe 1580-1707* [HtmlResAnchor www.abdn.ac.uk/history/datasets/ssne](http://www.abdn.ac.uk/history/datasets/ssne) (Aberdeen, 1998).

³ Many of the Scottish soldiers and regiments fighting in the Americas can be traced from the following publications: J.B. Browne, *History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans*, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1838), iv; D. Dobson, *Scottish Soldiers in Colonial America*, part 1 (St Andrews, 1995), *Scots in the West Indies* (St Andrews, n.d.), part 1; R. M. Barnes, *The Uniforms & History of the Scottish Regiments—Britain—Canada—Australia—New Zealand—South Africa: 1625 to the Present Day* (London, 1956); P.R. Katcher, *Encyclopaedia of British, Provincial, and German Army Units 1775-1783* (Harrisburg, PA, 1973); J.F. Kitzmiller, *In Search of the 'Forlorn Hope': A Comprehensive Guide to Locating British Regiments & their Records, 1640-World War II* (Utah, 1988). Note that the last publication has some numerical inaccuracies with regard to Highland regiments from the mid eighteenth century onwards.

tartan garb both to reinforce their Scottish origins and their distinctive transatlantic identity.

A PRE-UNION

During the Restoration era, Scots featured regularly in the colonial militias of Barbados, Jamaica, New England, South Carolina, and Virginia.¹ Although many of these soldiers had been transported to the Americas as prisoners of war during the 1650s, their inherent fighting qualities, fearlessness and ability to survive extreme privations made them ideal recruits in inhospitable lands. Being integral to colonial development, any attempt to curb their import—such as the English Navigation Acts—was unwelcome.²

A1 An Account of the English Sugar Plantations.

Post 1661

BL, Egerton Manuscripts, MSS 2395, f. 632v

Heretofore the Colonyis were plentifully supplied with Negros and Christian servants which are the Nerves and Sinews of a Plantation the most of which latter they had from Scotland who being excellent Planters and Soldiers and considerable numbers of them coming yearly to the Plantations kept the Colonists in soe formidable a posture that they neither feared the Insurrection of their Negros, nor any invasion of a forreigne Enemy but are now by the act of Navigation forbidden to have Trade with Scotland, whereby they can have no servants from thence.³

Colonial settlers in the Americas were solely responsible for their own defence, drawing their officers from the planter class and soldiers from the ranks of single men, deportees, and servants. For example, William Dunlop,⁴ a minister of Covenanting sympathies and prospective colonial planter, held the rank of major in the local militia at Port Royal, South Carolina in the 1680s,⁵ whilst deportees and indentured servants often formed the backbone of the local militia. A Virginian statistic of 1665 states that two-thirds of the colony's 15,000 musterable men were servants.⁶ The colonial deployment of such men was not without its difficulties, however. In addition to loss

¹ D. Dobson, *Scottish Soldiers in Colonial America*, introduction.

² The Navigation Acts and their implications for Scottish traders are clarified by T. Keith, 'Scottish Trade with the Plantations before 1707', *SHR*, 6 (1908-9) 32-48.

³ We would like to thank Dr Clair Breay, British Library, for help in locating and transcribing the extract.

⁴ See also, below, 208-09, A1.

⁵ Docketed: 'Memorial to the King of the Hostilities of the Spaniards in Carolina 1689', NAS, Leven & Melville Muniments, GD26/7/277.

⁶ J.A. Rinn, 'Factors in Scottish Emigration: A Study of Scottish Participation in the Indentured and Transportation Systems of the New World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', (University of Aberdeen, PhD Thesis, 1979), 47.

of labour whilst servants were on military duty, planters were inherently uneasy of arming their social inferiors for fear of insurrection. Many servants appear to have used this period of duty to abscond. Governor James Hamilton, younger son of the Duke of Hamilton, faced not only monetary problems when trying to recruit servants for the militia, but also the complication of the notorious Dundonian, Captain William Kidd, enticing away would-be militia.¹

A2 Governor Hamilton, Burlington, New Jersey to Governor Fletcher of New York.

28 August, 1696

Calendar of State Papers, *Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 15 May, 1696-31 October, 1697*, ed. J.W. Fortescue, (London, 1904), 87-8.

Could I make our people as sensible as myself of the hazard Albany lies under, and that the weakness of the garrison may very probably tempt the enemy to attack the place ... I am sure they would find it their interest to run to its defence. But whom have I to work upon but a stiff and obstinate people, who shut their ears to all reason and become debauched by the example of the neighbouring Colonies, which they still obdurate to me. You may believe that it was with great difficulty that I obtained what I did, namely that in case of an invasion they should march to the frontier and be at liberty to return when the action was over and the enemy retreated. Even to obtain this I was forced to promise them twelvecence a day from you and pledged my own credit to procure them twelvecence more at the first sitting of an Assembly. So plentifully do they live at home, and so large are their wages. Moreover several of our youth are gone to the Southern colonies to be free from detachments, and several ... are gone aboard Captain Kidd so that it is impossible to prevail with them to remain in garrison ...

At this time, an act of the Scottish Parliament, which created the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, led to the Darien Scheme, a colonial venture to the Panama Isthmus through which the Scots hoped to transform their ailing nation into one of wealth and prestige. Possibly the only moment of glory for the Scots at New Caledonia, and the nation's only victory in Latin America, was due to the heroic leadership of Alexander Campbell of Fonab, a professional soldier

¹ L.G. Fryer, 'Robert Barclay of Ury and East New Jersey', *Northern Scotland*, 15 (1995) 1-17. Through the efforts of Robert Barclay of Ury, East New Jersey was a popular venue for Scots at this time.

and veteran of the Flanders campaigns.¹ Despite having to cross through swamps and dense undergrowth and confront appalling heat and humidity, the Scots, with assistance from the native Indians, defeated a Spanish force at Toubacanti in February 1700, only four days after Campbell of Fonab had arrived at Darien from Barbados.²

A3 Rev. Mr. Francis Borland, *Memoirs of Darien Giving a short Description of the Countrey, with an Account of the Attempts of the Company of Scotland, to settle a Colonie in that Place ... written mainly in the Year 1700, while the author was in the American Region* (Glasgow, Printed by Hugh Brown, 1715), 59-60

13 February 1700

... Our Counsellors having received Intelligence by the Indians, that a Party of Spaniards were coming against us, sent out a Detachment of about 200 Men against them under the Command of Captain Campbel of Fanab, under the conduct of Lieutenant Turnbull, who had been one of the first colony, and understood something of the Indian Language. On Thursday Evening Febr. 15 our Men being conducted by the Indians through the Woods, came up with the Spaniards (who had barricaded themselves with Trees upon the side of a Hill) and suddenly set upon them, and after several Fireings, the Spaniards fled, our Men durst not pursue them far, because it was now Night, and the thick woods were dangerous to Men unacquainted therewith, they found eight or nine of their men slain, and three they took Prisoners, there were about as many of our men killed, and about 14 wounded, among the wounded were Captain Campbel, Lieutenant Turnbull and Captain Pedro an Indian sore wounded. The Spot where this skirmish happened, is by the Indians called Yara-tuba [Toubacanti], our Men judged it to be about 20 Miles Distance from our Fort, bearing from us about South-west, all the way being Mountainous, up Hill and down Hill, but still the ascent greater and increasing, the further Inland they travelled ... On Febr. 18 our Men returned from their Engagement in Peace. This was now a smiling Providence upon us, and our People now generally lifted up with Hopes and Confidence, that all things would succeed prosperously with them. But alas!

¹ ICA, 'Alexander folder', under Alexander Campbell of Fonab. Pages in this folder are not numbered.

² J. Prebble, *The Darien Disaster* (London, 1968), 308.

B COLONIAL AMERICA PRIOR TO THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

By the Treaty of Union, the Scots were empowered to trade freely with the colonies and participate actively in the imperial struggle for supremacy in the Americas. However, the Jacobite rising of 1715 cast a shadow over the loyalty of the Scottish nation. Like the issue of trade with the American colonies, the Hanoverian succession and the Presbyterian establishment in Scotland had ostensibly been dealt with in 1707. But deep internal conflicts and resentments still festered through post-Union mismanagement as through breaches in the spirit as well as the letter of the treaty. As a result, opportunities for soldiers and sailors were limited, although some Scottish adventurers found fame through unorthodox channels. A nameless highlander is credited with decapitating Edward Teach, the infamous Caribbean pirate better known as Blackbeard, at the Battle of Ocracoke Inlet, North Carolina, in 1719. The Boston News-letter, America's first regularly issued weekly newspaper, established by John Campbell, takes up the story:

B1 *Boston News-Letter.*

'From Monday Feb. 23 to Monday March 2, 1719'

Number 776

Rhode-Island ... On the 12th [February] arrived here ... Humphry Johnson in a Sloop from North Carolina, bound to Amboy who sailed the next Day, and informs that Governour Spotswood [a Scot] of Virginia fitted out two Sloops, well mann'd with Fifty pickt Men of His Majesty's Men of War lying there ... under the Command of Lieutenant Robert Maynard of His Majesty's Ship Pearl, in pursuit of that Notorious and Arch Pirate Capt. Teach, who made his Escape from Virginia, when some of his Men were taken there; which Pirate Lieutenant Maynard came up with at North Carolina ... [a bloody battle ensued] ... both Companies engaged in Maynard's Sloop, one of Maynard's Men being a Highlander, engaged Teach with his broad Sword, who gave Teach a cut on the Neck, Teach saying well done Lad, the Highlander reply'd, if it be not well done, I'll do it better, with that he gave him a second stroke, which cut off his Head, laying it flat on his Shoulder, Teach's Men being about 20, and three of four Blacks were all killed in the Engagement, excepting two carried to Virginia: Teach's body was thrown overboard, and his Head put on the top of the Bowsprit.¹

Anticipating that Jacobite unrest might break out again, the British government tried to pacify the highlands by passing the Disarming Act in 1725. General George

¹ We wish to thank Dr R.J. Cain for help in locating a copy of the *Boston News-Letter*.

Wade was ordered to enforce this act by a programme of surveying and road building, thereby making the highlands more accessible to troops. Wade was assisted by six Independent Companies, which were subsequently formed into the famous Black Watch Regiment (43rd, and later 42nd)—the first British regiment to wear highland uniform from 1740. The raising of another highland regiment by John Campbell, 3rd Earl of Loudoun in 1745, created a more secure, but still occasional, military avenue of patronage.¹ Independent Companies also became an integral aspect of imperial policing from the 1730s. The first systematic use of Scottish troops in the Americas occurred when clansmen from the central and northern highlands who had been induced to migrate to Georgia were formed into an Independent Company—General James Oglethorpe's Highland Rangers—to police the colonial frontier contested by Spain.

B2 W.C. Cooper, *The Story of Georgia* (The American Historical Society, Inc., New York, 1938), I, 1.

... To carry out the purpose of this appropriation [i.e. fortification], the trustees commissioned Lieutenant Hugh MacKay to recruit Scotch Highlanders for Georgia colonists. He succeeded in including one hundred and thirty Highlanders, with fifty women and children, to come to Georgia, and they were enrolled at Inverness. These Highlanders, who went at the expense of the trustees and several grantees of larger means, sailed from Inverness on October 18, 1735, on the ship *Prince of Wales*, commanded by Captain George Dunbar. They reached Savannah in January, 1736, and proved a strong addition to the colony. They were not adventurers or men exiled by debt and want, but were men of good character, carefully selected for their military qualities. They were picked men, many of them from the Glen of Strathdean, and their officers were highly connected in the Highlands ... These Highlanders did heroic service in defending Georgia from the Spaniards in the Battle of Bloody Marsh ... [AC]

In addition to Georgia, Scots from all parts participated in the defence of the American colonies. The war fought between Britain and Spain in the West Indies and the southern colonies of British North America prior to the outbreak of Anglo-French hostilities in 1744 was largely maritime. Britain's 'blue water' policy of targeting

¹ P. Simpson, *The Independent Highland Companies 1603-1760* (Edinburgh, 1996), *passim*; MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 138-142. The first such company raised in Scotland can be traced back to 1667, when John Murray, 2nd Earl of Atholl, was commissioned to police the highlands. The original idea of productively regimenting clan support had been mooted by John Campbell, 1st Earl of Breadalbane in the 1680s, and although not adopted at the time, sowed the seed for later use.

*Spain's merchant shipping was paying enormous dividends in prize money to Scots employed in the Royal Navy. However, recruits with professional qualifications could, with pragmatism and flexibility, pursue no less remunerative avenues of advancement. Roderick Mackenzie obviously hoped to win promotion from first mate to ship's surgeon through his connection with Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, an important laird in Ross-shire, and John Cockburn of Ormiston, MP for the County of Haddington and a commissioner at the Admiralty. While certainly under no illusions about the dangers involved, Mackenzie exhibited both patience and a deep understanding of the possibilities for profit from British naval service. Indeed, he had already earned £150 in prize money in six months, albeit his captain and fellow Scot, Alexander Ogilvy, Lord Banff, had apparently made £20,000 since being appointed to the command of the *Hastings* in 1741. Notwithstanding the disparity in their earnings, these particular rewards would have brought home to Scots in general how military emigration represented one episodic method of profiting from Britain's growing commercial hegemony within the Atlantic world.*

B3 Doctor Roderick Mackenzie to John Mackenzie of Delvine in Hampton Road, Virginia.

NLS, Mackenzie of Delvine Papers,

On board HMS *Hastings*
30 August, 1743

MS 1140, fos. 206-207

... I suppose you know, Sir, that Lord Banff is Captain of this ship, who has had abundance of good fortune in her, to the amount of 20000£ since he commenced Capt'n of her. I meet with all the civilities I could expect from his Lordship. We are stationed here for Twelvemonth yet, & entertain great hopes of meeting our Friends the Spaniards, in order to get a wooden leg or a golden chain, at least a Gold purse.

Again [sic] my return to England I intend to sollicite Coul's Recommendation to Mr Cockburn of the Admiralty, who may be of great service to me, which any other that may be of service to me from your acquaintance, I shall take the freedom to acquaint you of.

There are several gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie here, particularly one Colonel Mackenzie, who I am informed is either a Son or a Grandson of the Bishop of the Orkneys, he is a man of the best repute and Substance in Virginia; he is colonel of the militia of Inhabitants, of which kind of payless officers there are a great many here, who make up the Gentlemen of the Colony and in return for their free service, they reckon themselves on the same footing with peers of G. Britain, & expect Suitable Devoir from all strangers, tho' they are all merch'ts to a man, the Governor not excepted.

[AM]

Despite the government's purported efforts to civilise the highlands in the wake of the 'Fifteen, the 'Forty-Five showed demonstrably that Jacobitism was by no means moribund. The Jacobite defeat at Culloden on 18 April 1746 was marked by indiscriminate brutality by government forces under the leadership of William, Duke of Cumberland. In all, 2,950 prisoners were taken for trial and 13 forfeited estates of the Jacobite chiefs and gentry were annexed inalienably to the Crown in 1752. Many of the Jacobite rank and file sentenced to penal servitude were transported to the North American and Caribbean colonies.¹ For those Scots who did manage of their own volition to find an opening in imperial service, military life often led to much travelling and little opportunity to put down roots. In a rather terse letter to the 3rd Earl of Loudoun, John Dalrymple gives some idea of the transient nature of this life and how it often involved stage migration for military families. In addition, it reinforces the importance of personal recommendation and kinship networks for career advancement, whether in Dutch or British service, and throws light on some of the problems created by the struggle for imperial supremacy in the Americas. Nova Scotia, though ceded by the French at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, still remained largely unsettled by the British.

B4 John Dalrymple, London, to his cousin, the earl of Loudoun.

25 March, 1749.

DH, Loudoun and Rowallan Deeds, A517/26

Sir, As I intended to settle on my Plantation in North Carolina & understanding that there is a new Colony to be settled in Nova Scotia I woud go there upon proper encouragement; if youll be so good as to recommend me to Lord Halifax, or to Col. Cornwallis the Governor, to be made Land Surveyor, or what other post you think I am qualifyd for, & I'll send to Carolina for my family, & fifteen slaves, cattle Horses, Sheep & every thing else thats fit for a Plantation & bring over white servants from hence: military men of long experience will be very necessary there, for I understand, they are to make good their quarters against the French & Indians. To qualify myself the better for y'e service of my Country, by my Lord Hair advice ... I went over to the Dutch & servd em six years ... My being already settled in Carolina a thirteen years & bringing such a large family to an infant Colony is a great plea for you to recommend me: As the Col. [Cornwallis] is to set out very soon there is no time to be lost: as I can depend upon a Relation more than upon another, I hope youll do me this favour, then I shall be far enough out of the way ever to trouble you again, w[hi]c[h] if you do will be the meanes of makeing me for ever & will be the first material piece of service, ever done me by any Relation.

¹ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 217.

Notwithstanding the relatively limited opportunities for Scottish soldiers in the Americas, John Spittal served with the British Army in Canada prior to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. Writing from Chigneto, Nova Scotia, to his brother, James Spittal of Leuchat, he illustrates the problems and privations experienced by military forces operating in uncleared country. James was with a force which set off from Halifax on 18 August 1750, to establish a fort on land formerly held by the French. Having spent two nights at Fort Sackville, they started on the most difficult part of the march and were protected from the cold, but not the rain, by learning to construct wigwams. Conditions improved when they reached more open country. Following five days at Fort Edward, the detachment moved on towards Chigneto, where they cleared the French from the village of Sancta Mare and constructed Fort Lawrence nearby. But their difficulties were not over as both Indians and mosquitoes plagued them.

B5 John Spittal to James Spittal.

6 December, 1750

NAS, Henderson of Fordell Muniments,
GD 172/1630

We marched ... through the woods in a road, if I may be allowed to Call it so, which road was only made the beggining of the Summer by some of the French inhabitants from Minas who were hired by the Governour & had so much a mile for Cutting down the trees, a certain breadth all the way from Halifax to the villages of Pisaquid. They have still left all the roots & Stumps of the trees & even some of the Trees lying across the road. The soil of the Country almost Clay & forever Wet, you may imagine we had a sweet march of it. However we got forward about twelve miles that day all on Foot, but had some horses hired from the French at Mines & the villages thereabouts to carry our baggage, which they with difficulty did altho' we had only our Tents and a few days Provision, we having sent our other baggage round from Halifax to Mines by Sea.

... The Climate in Summer is warmer than in Europe, but we have here a plague little known at home, namely, million of musketas that cover us all over and are one would Imagine ready to eat us up & indeed was it not for them the country would be tolerable ... We have been frequently alarmed by the Indians who come in small partys in the night & fire on our advanced Sentrys & on the return of the fire they march off. They did us no damage untill one of the Captains of the Rangers went out into the woods to recenoitre with fifty Rangers of the Company of this County, was waylaid by the Indians & surrounded by them in the woods and Demolished. We lost in this affair the Capt killed, an Ensign wounded & taken & a Serjeant and eleven men either killed or taken prisoners, the rest got back to Camp.

We sent out some partys of Regulars after the Savages but they thought fit to Cross the River got to the French side and so into the woods. We have had some alarms since but of no great Consequence. The weather very cold laying in Tents. We are now in the fort and are better off than we expected. [RMG]

C THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR AND HIGHLAND REHABILITATION

Notwithstanding the discriminatory exclusion of Scotland from the Militia Act of 1757 that applied elsewhere in the British Isles, highland regiments were raised from that year, primarily for their usefulness as a highly mobile and hardy light infantry in North America during the Seven Years' War. The switch to an imperial theatre of war, initially under the command of Loudoun in North America, offered a militarist channel for the resumption of the cultural trappings of clanship; the playing of bagpipes, though not specifically proscribed, had come to be associated with the legislation banning the Gaels' use of warlike instruments. More importantly, given the relatively successful, if expendable, deployment of highland light infantry, the raising of regiments offered an imperial avenue for the political rehabilitation of the clan élite—notably, Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, who, through his expense and efforts in the Loyalist cause, was restored to his forfeited estates in 1774. Although highland regiments did exhibit a tendency to mutiny when threatened with regrouping among lowland regiments, when denied bounties and arrears of pay, or when their final military destination was concealed, their sterling service in the Americas (as well as in India and on the continent) nonetheless provided the ostensible excuse for the restoration of the remaining disinherited by 1784.¹ Probably the most celebrated battle of the Seven Years' War was that fought at Ticonderoga on 7 July 1758, where the Black Watch, who formed part of the British force, sustained devastating casualties. No fewer than 8 officers, 9 sergeants and 299 other ranks were killed and 17 officers, 10 sergeants and 306 other ranks wounded—a rate hardly equalled even in the worst excesses of the First World War in France and Flanders.²

¹ Browne, *History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans*, iv, 248–61; Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 214–19. The initiative for the deployment of Highland troops regardless of previous Jacobite affiliations has been credited to William Pitt, the elder, but was actually advocated by William Dalrymple, 2nd Earl of Stair, when serving as British Ambassador in Paris at the close of the 'Forty-Five. Stair's proposal, however, was somewhat stymied by the reluctance of the loyalist clans, who had been treated with contempt by Cumberland during and after the 'Forty-Five, to mobilise for the European theatre when the Whig government was still condoning enforced civility by repression.

² Three expeditions were planned by the British for the year 1758; one against Louisburg in Cape Breton, one against Fort Du Quesne (Pittsburgh) and one against Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Lord Loudoun had been replaced as Commander-in-Chief by General

- C1 Frederick B. Richards, 'The Black Watch at Ticonderoga and Major Duncan Campbell of Inveraw', 20 (excerpted from volume x of *The New York State Historical Association*).

Camp at Lake George, 11th July, 1758.

Dr Broyr. The 8th of this month we had a hot brush at the lines of Ticonderoga where we lost a considerable number of men and officers. The officers of your acquaintance wounded are Major Campbell and his son. Both in their arms, and I hope will do well. Captain Strachur slightly in the breast, Lt., Archd. Campbell Sheriff Badly in the Breast, Lt. John Campbell Glendaruel slightly in the arm. Capt., Lt. John Campbell Duneaves killed, Lt. Hugh Macpherson ditto, Capt. Graham, Suchra, and Broyr. Both wounded slightly and several other off[ice]rs of the Reg[imen]t but not of your acquaintance are killed and wounded.

[AC]

Serving in a Scottish regiment during the Seven Years' War does not seem to have been so onerous for others. Donald Cameron had plenty of time for recreation.

- C2 Donald Cameron, St Francis, to his brother Ewen Cameron of Fassifern.

10 August, 1762

AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1762/01

James Abercrombie—another Scot—who took command of the expedition whose objective was the capture of the French-held forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point that lay athwart the main route from New York to Upper Canada by way of the Hudson River and Lakes George and Champlain. His force, numbering some 6,000 regular troops and 9,000 Provincials, embarked upon the waters of Lake George on 5 July. After some delay the attack on the French at Ticonderoga took place on 8 July. Their position was a strong one although it was no more than a wooden palisade at the head of a considerable bluff, further protected by the broad swath of trees that had been felled with their branches facing the enemy to make a virtually impenetrable barrier. Initially, the Black Watch had been held in reserve. They watched in mounting frustration as their friends in the other corps went forward into the deadly thicket of branches through which poured a hail of fire. Eventually the word was given and the highlanders charged forward into the storm of shot. But great as was their élan, even the highland charge was no more effective. The highlanders were cut down in their turn as they attempted to hew their way through. The burial place of the men of the 42nd has recently been identified and in 1997 a party from the Black Watch went out to Ticonderoga for a ceremony on the site at which the colonel of the regiment, Brigadier Garry Barnett, was able to claim that they still had a descendant of Duncan Campbell of Inverawe among the officers serving with the regiment. We would like to thank Alastair Campbell of Airds for this information.

... I stay at present about a hundred and twenty miles above Quebec in the Government of Trois-Riviers, our Company is cantoned amongst the Indians, but the most of the Regiment continue at Quebec, and I believe we shall remain here all winter if we are not sent on Service. I am really at a loss how to pass my time in this remote part of the Country if I dont take one of the Squaws into the Woods and play at all fours with her. I am sure you have left me some Nephews at Edin[burgh], and I dont know but what I may leave you some Relations Savages in America. Our only diversion here at present is shooting of Pidgeons, of which there is the greatest plenty, you may perhaps see two or three thousand of them in one floke, they come about the beginning of May and dont go away till the last of September. I have seen eighty killed at a shot and sometimes, more, there are likewise plenty of deer, back in the Woods but we never go after them, and some Salmon in a River that runs by here.

While the Seven Years' War was in progress, other Scottish regiments were sent to the West Indies to guard Britain's economic interests. These rich sugar plantations, based on African slavery, were the bedrock of much national wealth. Many Scottish families, like the Malcolms of Poltalloch from Argyllshire, used the Caribbean as an imperial avenue to increase their wealth and repatriate capital.¹ The struggle for naval supremacy in the Caribbean meant that warfare in the West Indies was almost endemic, with troops required to dislodge the French and establish naval bases.² As white immigration was largely discouraged by the plantation system, there was an ever-present fear of slave insurrections. Hence, the Black Watch were in Guadeloupe in 1759, the Royal Scots and Montgomery's Regiment in Dominica in 1761 and the following year in Havana.³ Many Caribbean governors not only had a military background, but were of Scottish origin. John Stewart, Lord Bute, the Scot who was the principal adviser and confidant of George III at the outset of his reign, was in a position to use his closet influence to assist and promote his family and friends. Accordingly in 1763, Captain George Johnstone of Westerhall, Dumfries-shire, was made governor of West Florida, having served with the Royal Navy during the Seven Years' War; General James Grant of Ballindalloch was granted the governorship of East Florida; and General James Murray was confirmed as the first British civilian governor of Quebec. General Robert Melville became the civilian governor of the Neutral Islands of Grenada, Dominica, St Vincent and Tobago, having already been the military commander at Grenada. Like many Scottish military men, Melville used his imperial position for entrepreneurial gain, acquiring a large property of around 1,000 acres in the

¹ A.I. Macinnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom from clanship to commercial landlordism, c.1600-c.1850' in S. Foster et. al., eds., *Scottish Power Centres* (Glasgow, 1998), 162-90.

² Barnes, *The Uniforms & History of the Scottish Regiments*, 73.

³ We would like to thank Alastair Campbell of Airds for this information.

*St Andrews parish of Dominica.*¹ *Acquisitiveness was not confined to colonial governors. As part of an overall policy to secure their extended empire, the British government sanctioned the settlement of half-pay officers, non-commissioned officers and private men at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War. Through the allocation of land grants, temporary military migration became permanent and the process of rehabilitation moved to that of assimilation. Land to the north of Albany in the state of New York was granted to the officers and men of the 77th Highland Regiment raised in 1757 by Archibald Montgomery, brother of the Earl of Eglinton. Their settlement, along with officers from the 42nd Highland Regiment (Black Watch), formed part of the first substantial wave of highland military immigrants. In order to appreciate in value, these grants of land needed labour and settlement. Hence, these new properties formed a vital 'pull' for further emigration.*

C3 Abstract of Land Grants, New York State.

PRO, Colonial Office Series. CO 5/1134, pp. 235-38

Date	Military Officer	Regiment	Grant
11 Jul. 1764	Maj. Allan Campbell Esq.	2nd Batt'n 42nd Highland Reg't.	5000 acres between Ticonderoga & Crown Point.
7 Aug. 1764	Cpt. Robert Grant Esq.	77th Highland Reg't.	3000 acres contiguous to Maj. Campbell.
7 Aug. 1764	Cpt. Nicholas Sutherland	77th Highland Reg't.	3000 acres contiguous to Cpt. Macintosh.
7 Aug. 1764	Cpt. Alexr Macintosh	77th Highland Reg't.	3000 acres contiguous to Sutherland.
23 Aug. 1764	Harry Munro (Clerk)	77th Highland Reg't.	2000 acres.
23 Aug. 1764	Cpt. Robert Campbell	60th Royal American	3000 acres.
5 Sep. 1764	Lieut. Eric Sutherland	Independent Company	2000 acres.
11 Sep. 1764	Lieut. Alexander Menzies	77th Highland Reg't.	2000 acres contiguous to Capt. Campbell.

¹ R. Sedgwick (ed.), *Letters of George III to Lord Bute* (London, 1939), 203; NAS, Balfour-Melville Papers: An Appraisal of Melvill-Hall Estate in Dominica, 22 May 1769, GD 126/3/1. We would like to thank Dr Douglas Hamilton for this information.

11 Sep. 1764	Lieut. Thomas Menzies	77th Highland Reg't.	2000 acres contiguous to Alex'r Menzies.
11 Sep. 1764	Lieut. Alexander Grant	77th Highland Reg't.	2000 acres contiguous to Thom' Menzies.
23 Mar. 1765	NCO William Ferguson	77th Highland Reg't.	200 acres.
23 Mar. 1765	NCO John Macdonald	77th Highland Reg't.	200 acres.
30 Mar. 1765	NCO Moses Campbell	42nd Highland Reg't.	200 acres.

[AM]

The ability of some colonial land grantees to negotiate favourable leases in Scotland by playing public policy off against local estate conditions demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of the Atlantic commercial framework within which they operated. Alexander Mackenzie was factor for William Gordon, 17th Earl of Sutherland, on the newly acquired estate of Assynt in north-west Sutherland. John Mackenzie of Delvine was one of the young earl's principal financial advisers as well as an influential figure in the general management of the estate. While no specific mention is made of soldiers in the former's letter, several aspects allude to a military connection. The fact that the emigrants in America were 'young men' points to the tendency in army recruiting to target the low social status group of unmarried landless labourers. Conversely, emigration lists show that more conventional civilian emigration was led by relatively substantial middle tenants. Another important link with the army is the fact that the year 1763 saw the demobilisation of a whole series of regiments in the prelude to and aftermath of the Treaty of Paris. The ability of young men to negotiate favourable conditions of tack would, of course, be strengthened by their having alternative lands in the colonies granted directly from the Crown.

C4 Alexander Mackenzie of Ardoch, Ledbeg (Assynt) to John Mackenzie of Delvine.

8 February, 1763

NLS, Mackenzie of Delvine Papers,
MS 1319, fol. 412

Since my last to you from Dunrobin I had letters from some young men in America natives of Assynt proposing to get tacks on this estate, what they offer is, to add five per cent yearly to the present rent till it comes to be a fourth part more than it is now, for example, that a tack of £20 comes to

£25. And when it comes to that height that they have leases for 40 or 50 years thereafter, they have brothers & other friends in the country to enter into these possessions, till they can appear themselves. How far these proposals shall please the Earl you can acquaint. [AM]

D THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

The American Revolution provided a further avenue for Scots to demonstrate their military credentials as British Loyalists. Chiefs and gentry from clans formerly tainted with Jacobitism were again to the fore in raising regiments and pursuing commissions. In addition to the two highland regiments raised by the 'Forty-Five, six regiments of the line had been mobilised during the Seven Years' War. Another ten regiments of the line were recruited during the American War of Independence.¹ For most hard-pressed clan gentry, however, showing loyalty to the British government could be an expensive business. As Charles Cameron of the Fassifern family affirmed, perseverance, preferment and money were essential ingredients for success—especially as his father had not yet matched the support from his brothers Donald and Ewen.

D1 Charles Cameron, St Philips, Georgia, to his father, John Cameron of Fassifern.

16 February, 1775.

AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1775/01

... I informed you some time ago that I had the offer of purchasing the Ajutancy and that I am recommended to the Duke of Argyll by Colonel Bentick to succeed to it. I have a prospect of raising all the purchase except the £50pds I applied to you for. As my future success and promotion in the Army depends upon this purchase I am very anxious to bring it about which forces me to apply to you for the £50 which you have provided for me in your Will. I shall pay you five p. cent. interest and give you my Bill until such time as I am able to pay you. I hope you will not disappoint me for giving it upon these terms. I received a letter from Donald latly informing me that he had £100 ready to give me whenever the Ajutancy is to be disposed of & Capt. Campbell gives me £50. Ewen informs me Glencoe is to give me credit for £50 pds. I have applied to Achalander in hopes that he will advance me £50 pds on Glenevis Security & my Agent advances me £50 more I am sure Ewen will give his Security for raising £50 that makes £300 pds I hope you will not disappoint me for raising fifty pounds upon the Terms I mentioned above which will make out the whole but £25 and that I shall endeavour to Scrape together myself.

¹ Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 217.

My Pay as Ajutant & Lieut. and the advantages of Paying a Company will come to £162 10/ Ster, the Interest and Insurance of the Purchase money comes to £260. I shall pay yearly £92 which will in about 5 years pay off principal and interest with insurance. If I miss this opportunity of purchasing the Ajutancy I may never have a second offer ...

Some of the clan élite paid the ultimate price as military entrepreneurs. Having obtained a commission in Colonel Simon Fraser of Lovat's 71st Highlanders, Charles Cameron of Lochiel, erstwhile chief of his clan and cousin to the Fassifern family, raised a company of 120 men in Lochaber on the regiment's inception in 1775. Despite being chronically ill from tuberculosis, he insisted on accompanying his regiment and duly died shortly after the troops arrived on Staten Island.¹ Many of the rank and file recruited for the defence of the American colonies used military service as a free ticket across the Atlantic for their social and economic advancement. As evident from the optimistic letter by a piper in Captain Patrick Campbell's company, part of the inducement given to the recruits to the 71st Highlanders from Lorn, the district of Argyllshire contiguous to Lochaber, was the prospect of land at the end of the war.

D2 William Mackenzie to Peter [?].

New York, 7 February 1778 NAS, Campbell of Barcaldine Muniments,
GD 170/3518

... I am still in Captain Patrick Campbells of Glenuir's Company, I am piper to the second batt'n 71 reg't, I am as well as ever I was in my life my pay is as good as one shilling and & six pence per day and I hope my fortune within two years will be as good that I will have 200 acres of free ground of my own in this country. Concerning this war we always get the better of our enemy we make them retreat like a hair before a pack of hounds and if it had not been for this war this is the best country in the world. I hope Peter you'll take so much pains as to acquaint my father and mother of my well being, I was sorry when I was turnd at Crieff and could not go to see my mother and I hope when you'll write to me you'll write the truth, this is the sixth letter I sent to you and I expect you'll see Hugh McIntyre from Glenow, send me concerning Parlan McFarlan and his wife. Remember me to William MacFarlan in Glenourchay and John his brother is in good health in Captain Chisolm's company first Batt'n 71 Reg't and

¹ Henry Butter to John Cameron of Fassifern, 24 Oct. 1776, AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1776/06; A. MacKenzie, *History of the Camerons* (Inverness, 1884), 254.

send word to John how his wife is. Peter Turner is in Coll McDonald's company and he is in good health my kind compliments to his father and mother. When I come first to America I heard of William McFarland but I heard no word of Duncan or Donald McFarland.

No more at present but all country men in this country is in good health
... [AM]

As the regimental name implies, many former clansmen were to be found in the 84th Highland Emigrant Regiment recruited primarily in the Carolinas from discharged soldiers from two highland regiments raised during the Seven Years' War. An entrepreneurial penchant for harnessing colonial military service to domestic advantage is underlined by another piper, Neil McLean, then serving in Nova Scotia. His continuing interest in family affairs on Mull was compounded by his opportunities to repatriate capital. His instructions for the deployment of money sent through Gillean Maclaine of Scalastle, the younger brother and adviser to Captain Archibald Maclaine of Lochbuie, signified the piper's firm intent to return to the substantial estates held by his rather wayward and unpredictable commanding officer.

D3 Nile [Neil] McLean, Piper, 2nd Batt'n 84th Reg't, Halifax, Nova Scotia, to his father (in Mull, Argyllshire).

2 September, 1782 NAS, Maclaine of Lochbuie Papers, GD174/1348

... If I was to help you with some cash you would keep the stock for my own behoof and upon my showing your letter to Captain McLean who arrived here lately from Carolina he give me his advice to let you have what I could spare and he undertook to send it to you by the hands of McLean of Scalusdale who will give you the former five guineas send you. After you lay out the four guineas I now send you let me know how you do it and if I find that your leaving is increased and that the stock can be saved for me I will send you five pounds yearly as long as I stay here but as I am now getting a family of my own [I] would wish to have whatever I send you forthcoming. I have no news only much is said about a peace when it comes I will see you, at any rate I mean to keep by Cap't McLean hereafter. Make my compliments to all friends and believe me Dear father your dutiful son till death depart. [AM]

The outcome of battle was the most peremptory determinant of whether military migration was episodic or permanent. One of the most important military engagements of the American Revolution was a little-heralded action that took place 25 miles north-west of Wilmington, North Carolina, on 27 February 1776. The Battle of Moore's Creek pitted some 1,400 Loyalist (or 'Tory') troops, the majority of them

Scottish highlanders settled in North Carolina, against 2,000 rebel Americans. The British plan was for the Loyalists to link up with British regulars still aboard vessels anchored at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. The combined forces would proceed to take Charleston to the south, and then secure all the southern colonies, thereby establishing a base of operations against the rebellious northern colonies. Before the juncture could be established, however, the rebel force intercepted the Loyalists—many of whom had no firearms. The ensuing battle lasted only a few minutes and resulted in the total rout of the Loyalists, some 30 of whom were killed and 850 captured. The British assault on Charleston a few months later was unsuccessful, and all the southern colonies except the Floridas were lost to the Crown.

D4 Brigadier James Moore¹, to the president of the [rebel] Provincial Council of North Carolina, Cornelius Harnett.

2 March, 1776

Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* (16 vols, 1895-1905), XI, 284-85

... I dispatched an express to Moore's Creek Bridge to learn the situation of affairs there, and was informed that Col. Lillington, who had the day before taken his stand at the bridge, was that afternoon reinforced by Colonel Caswell, and that they had raised a small breast work, and destroyed a part of the Bridge. The next morning, the 27th [February], at break of day, an alarm gun was fired, immediately after which, scarcely leaving our people a moment to prepare, the tory army, with Capt. McLeod at their head, made their attack on Col. Caswell and Col. Lillington, and finding a small entrenchment next the Bridge, on our side empty, concluded that our people had abandoned their post, and in the most furious manner advanced within thirty paces of our breastworks and artillery, where they met a very proper reception.

Captain McLeod and Captain Campbell fell within a few paces of the breast-work, the former of whom received upwards of twenty balls through his body, and in a very few minutes their whole army was put to flight, and most shamefully abandoned their General [Donald Macdonald], who was the next day taken prisoner. The loss of the enemy in his action, from the best accounts we have been able to learn, is about thirty killed, and wounded; but as numbers of them must have fallen in the creek, besides many more that were carried off, I suppose their loss may be estimated at about seventy. We had only two wounded, one of which died to-day ... [RJC]

¹ An American participant in the battle.

Allan MacDonald of Kingsburgh, who fought at the Battle of Moore's Creek, had emigrated from Skye prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution. While he had held a commission in one of the British Army's Highland Independent Companies during the 'Forty-Five, his wife—the celebrated Flora MacDonald—won lasting fame for her rôle in assisting Prince Charles Edward Stuart to make his eventual escape from the highlands. Chastened, perhaps, by intimate knowledge of the dire consequences of rebellion against the British Crown, the family emerged as prominent North Carolina Loyalists during the American Revolutionary War. Flora was, with difficulty, allowed to return to Britain by the American authorities two years after Kingsburgh's capture at Moore's Creek.¹ Among the less fortunate vanquished at Moore's Creek was Alexander Morison, a North Carolinian settler and soldier, who had previously borne arms during the 'Forty-Five. His subsequent experiences as a Loyalist, itemised in his post-war claim for some £1,800 in compensation, typifies the plight of numbers of his fellow Scots.

D5 Memorial of Alexander Morison.

N 4 Clerkenwell Close,
19 December 1783

PRO, American Loyalist Claims
AO 13/122

The Memorial of Alexr. Morison late of Crosshill Humbly Sheweth

1. That the modern way of improving Estates in Scotland compelled your memorialist to emigrate to North Carolina with 300 of his Neighbours in 1771 where he soon established himself & Family in circumstances very happy & independent.

2. That your memorialist with regret seeing the aproaching troubles in America at the request & Solicitation of a majority of the inhabitants of Cumberland County served as one of the members of the committee of said county: his Design was to moderate the Violence of the party then forming, but finding Redress of Grievances converted into Rebellion, your Memorialist & indeed two thirds of this Committee espous'd the royal Cause.

3. The attempt at Governor Martins desire in Feb 1776 [sic; the Battle of Moores Creek] was concerted at your memorialists House & the first rendesvous was there likewise & your memorialist had the Honor (rather the misfortune) to command a Company of his own raising, & was likewise appointed Deputy Quartermaster General. Your memorialist was then

¹ Angus Wilton Mclean (Governor of North Carolina, 1925-29), *Governor Maclean's unpublished manuscript—Highland Scots in North Carolina, 1919*, ed. L.D. Curry (North Carolina Scottish Heritage Society, 1993), 58.

associated with Governor Martins Commissioners & exerted the utmost in his Power to Supply the Troops with Provision &c &c for which he debursed £135 of his own money which was refunded last year & upon Seeing him get this money the half of his pension was Stopt.

4. Your Memorialists active Deligence & the several meetings at his House exposd his Family to the fury of an Enemy wanton in Cruelty and Barbarity who for five years swept away all the Produce of his Plantation leaving only a bare Subsistence for his Family.

5. After the Misfortune at Moores Creek your memorialist was for more than a year dragd from Gaol to Gaol & marched more than 1000 miles before he was admitted to parole in 1777.

6. Your Memorialist & many of his fellow prisoners had Several times an offer of restoration to their Familys & property if theyd swear aleigeance to Congress but neither Threats or alurements could prevail on them to join the Rebellion.

7. In Aug. 1778 your memorialist was exchanged, & in April 1779 going with Coll. Campbell to Georgia to try his Influence once more with his people in North Carolina he was captured at Sea loaded with Irons & carried a prisoner to Portsmouth in Newhampshire the marks of his then treatment he Still bears.

8. In Aug 1779 your memorialist was once more exchanged but worn out with age & Fatigue he by permission from Gen. Clinton & recommended by Governor Martin came to Britain in March 1780 was then allowed a yearly Salary of £100.

9. In 1782 your memorialists Son haveing escaped with Life from Carolina with account of the Distress of the Family who were intirely extruded from the place in consequense of his joining the royal Cause in April 1781 Notwithstanding the rigour of the States to all that were in Arms against them your memorrialists Sympathy with the rest of his Family (of a Wife three sons & three Daughters) made him send this Son back to Carolina with what Relief his curtailed Salary could Spare in order to bring them under British Protection tho he does not know where or how to Support them

[RJC]

By no means all Scots were opposed to or victimised by the American Revolution. Adventurers, like John Paul Jones, seem to have suffered few scruples of conscience over their loyalty to 'the old country'. Born in Kirkcudbright in 1747, John Paul (who later added Jones to his name) sailed as a cabin boy for Virginia at the age of 12. His colourful career included involvement in the slave trade, accusations of murder, defeating the British fleet off their own east coast and elsewhere, being hailed a hero by the French, receiving a Congressional gold medal for his part in the Revolution,

*and having his remains brought back from Paris more than 100 years after his death in 1790 for ceremonial interment at Annapolis.*¹

D6 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 January 1780.

They have, no doubt, often heard what were our sufferings when their troops landed at Boston, at New York, at the head of the bay of Chesapeak, and at other places. They are now made to know what it is to apprehend those sufferings about to come upon themselves. Our allies, revenging our case, are upon the coasts of Britain. The count d'Orvillies, having beat the British fleets, and riding victorious on the Channel, has it in his power to burn every town from the Lands'end of England to the Orcades in Scotland. The gallant adventurer John Paul Jones, in the pay of the Congress, but chiefly fitted out by France, and under the auspices of his royal patroness the Queen of France, has entered the Humber, and would have burnt Hull, had not his orders been to the contrary. He has had it in his power to burn Leith, and many other towns up on the coast, and to light up a flame, that, like the Aurora borealis of their skies, would have made the night luminous. Such lights we have seen kindled up in these skies by the burning of the towns of Norfolk, of Hampton, of Fairfield, of Norwalk, and of other places, and it would be no more than the justice of retribution, that the enemy, in their turn, should, on their own coasts, be witness of the like conflagration. [RJC]

British setbacks notwithstanding, the military migrant retained a keen interest in home affairs, such interest doubtless being heightened by distance and the frustrating lack of letters and newspapers from home. Inevitably, letters from a military zone contained the news of the war victims.² In the days of slow communications, the strong highland presence in many parts of North America and the West Indies acted as a network for the circulation of international, national and local news. The hunger for news and the ties of kinship were never stronger than in times of war.

D7 Patrick Campbell, New York, to Ewen Cameron of Fassifern.

19 December, 1780

AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1780/02

... There has been a pretty general goal delivery & I am now exchanged as

¹ L. Lorenzo, *John Paul Jones: Fighter for Freedom and Glory* (Annapolis, 1943), *passim*.

² Cf. Patrick Campbell at Perth Amboy to Ewen Cameron of Fassifern, 16 May 1777, AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1777/01.

Lt. Col. McPherson Dugald Dunstafnage and several others of our friends. Ewen Tollie is dead at Charelstown. I believe he did very well in this Country. Capt Charles Campbell Ardchattan a very worthy young man is killed as is Lt Archd. Campbell Brother to Sonochen, a Natural son of Melfords who was Lieut. in our Regt. is dead.

My brother Sandy has sold His Compy. in the 84th Regt and is now eldest Captain & Paymaster in Loyal ye North American Rangers a Corps just compleat & going in a few days for the Island of Jamaica. Allan Stuart Invernahyl is appointed Lieut. Col. to a Batt. of Highlanders raising in North Carolina by Governor Martin He & I goes in a few weeks for that darend climate that our poor infatuated countrymen have been emigrating to before the commencement of this Rebellion. Curse their Leaders who made them believe that this Land of wretched crop was the Land of Canaan.

This day Charles Cameron arrived in Town from Staten Island a good deal in the way his Br. Ewen was in he goes home in this Pacquet. I am very sorry for him he was a good little man the faculty here seem to think he will recover. His Br. Duncan of the 43rd came with Him and is well as is Madame Charles McLean is perfectly recovered after a very tedious illness. Glencos Brother & Achechtans son are both well. Peter Crombie is arrived here a few days ago after being wrecked in the Nunacunt in the West Indies. I hope that you'll allow that considering that my head is very much stuffed with a very severe cold what I have stuffed this Letter with a pretty general mention of the Gentlemen from your part of the country here. But to sum up all Major John Campbell Stonfield is lately arrived her from Ponobsent & says all our friends in the Argyllshire Regt. are well....

After the American Revolution, several Scottish regiments were rewarded for their service to the British Crown with land in Canada. The papers of Captain Murdoch Maclaine, later of Lochbuie, include letters relating to lands granted to the 2nd Battalion Royal of the Highland Emigrants, whose men had petitioned from Fort Edward in Windsor, in August 1783, that they all be permitted to settle in Nova Scotia.¹ Although Captain Maclaine had himself been granted land, he was back in Britain when Lieutenant Hector Maclean conveyed the difficulties of establishing the settlements on the lands allotted in Pictou.

D8 Hector Maclean to Murdoch Maclaine.

4 November, 1783

NAS, Maclaine of Lochbuie Papers,
GD 174/2154/11

¹ Cf. NAS, Maclaine of Lochbuie Papers, GD 174/2177/1.

I went no further than the place fixd on for our Town, where I met James Conlachie hard at work with a Surveyor laying out the small lots. The men who had gone up there before I reach'd, amounting in all to thirty & upwards (exclusive of their respective familys left behind) waited till yesterday morning, when after drawing their several lots, to my great astonishment they to a man packd up & prepared to march off back to Windsor. I endeavord to learn from them their intention, but I did not find it a matter so easy as one would naturally expect, to collect their meaning but a very few of them seemd to have any design or opinion of their own and these few were determind to have nothing to do with the Town lots. I attempted to expostulate—they were positive these little lots would ruin any who would settle on them, that no benefit could ever be reapd from them, for after expending their labour & provisions all the winter, they would have to begin afresh on their farm lots next year, And that they could not get on these Farm lots till so late in the Spring that it would be impossible to raise anything to live on the ensuing year... [RMG]

E THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEONIC WARS

By the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the spate of emigration following the American War of Independence had virtually ceased. Once war with the newly declared Republic of France was initiated, there was little opportunity for permanent migration; the uncertainty of sea voyages, and the need to recruit men for the army and navy, were such that transatlantic settlement was not easily accomplished. Highland recruitment was again to the fore in the raising of Scottish regiments. Six new regiments of the line were mobilised with the assistance of the erstwhile clan élite between 1793 and 1800, primarily to frustrate the imperial ambitions of Napoleon.¹ Fought on both sides of the Atlantic, the Napoleonic Wars heightened the ongoing struggle for supremacy in the Caribbean. With the abolition of slavery in the French possessions in 1794 and the successful efforts of Jacobin agents of the Revolution to foment rebellion among the slave populations in some British islands, fighting took on the character of large-scale guerrilla warfare. Those who survived active service in the West Indies were often struck down by the perils of yellow fever and the effects of too much local rum. As a Caribbean posting was regarded as a veritable death sentence, officers with money and connections would go to considerable lengths to avoid ever setting foot in such an unhealthy part of the empire.

¹ Browne, *History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans*, iv, 320-67; M. Brander, *The Emigrant Scot* (London, 1982), 61.

E1 Charles Irvine, London, to his brother.

5 December, 1800

NAS, GD1/865/32

I have deferred writing you on the subject of my joining hither 'till I should be able to say something certain of my future I suppose you may have heard that my Reg[imen]t the 68th was lately ordered to Garrison one of the W. India Islands, the consequence was my being ordered to join—Fortunately my friend Gen'l Nugent was coming to England for a few weeks & I came with him here about a week ago—Through his exertions & Mr Scotts I have got the Duke of Yorks leave to return to my Staff Situation provided I exchange to a Reg[imen]t of the Irish Establishment. This I must do of course as soon as it can be effected & have some hopes of it being done without expense, but this is extremely doubtful ... I beg you will acquaint my other friends of the result of this affair which you may be sure has occasioned not a little distress & agitation to my wife, who is yet ignorant how it has been settled, having only got the Duke's leave the day before yesterday ...

The large number of recruits arriving in the West Indies found to be unfit for service, the uncongenial environment and the fatigue of working in tropical conditions, forced the British establishment to consider using slave regiments to defend their West Indian possessions. Initially Creoles were used, but blacks from Africa were recruited subsequently. This controversial idea won official approval in 1795. The true worth of these troops was soon realised. The Black Watch, working alongside the 2nd West Indian Regiment in Barbados at the close of 1797, fared badly by comparison, being unused to the climate and terrain.¹

E2 J.E. Caulfeild, *One Hundred Years' History of the Second Battalion, West India Regiment, from date of raising, 1795-1895* (London, 1899), 13-14.

The outpost being frequently alarmed by parties of the enemy firing at the sentries at night, a sergeant and twelve Highlanders ... penetrated into the woods at 9 o'clock in the evening with short swords, to cut their way through the underwood to discover the position or camp from whence these nightly alarms came. After traversing the woods all night an open spot

¹ R.N. Buckley, *Slaves in Red Coats: The British West Indian Regiments, 1795-1815* (New Haven, 1979), viii, 28, 32-4, 91-2.

with a sentry was discovered. This man fired his musket at a dog which accompanied the soldiers, and then plunged into the wood, as the sergeant ran forward to cut him down. The soldiers were at the edge of a perpendicular precipice of great depth, at the bottom of which was seen a small valley crowded with huts from whence issued swarms of people, on hearing the report of their sentry's musket.

Having made this discovery the soldiers commenced their journey back, but when they were about halfway, they were assailed by a fire of musketry on both flanks and in the rear. The Caribs were expert climbers, every tree appeared to be manned in an instant: the wood was in a blaze but not a man was to be seen, the enemy being concealed by the thick and luxuriant foliage. As the Highlanders retreated, firing from time to time at the spot from whence the enemy's fire preceeded, the Caribs followed with as much rapidity as if they sprung from tree to tree like monkeys; in this manner the retreat was continued until the men got clear of the woods.

A no less controversial and unusual expedient had been adopted slightly earlier in Scotland, when a Roman Catholic corps was raised in 1794 as the Glengarry Fencibles for the internal defence of the British Isles. As more than half of the recruits came from the estates of Alexander MacDonnell of Glengarry in the north-west highlands, the regiment was duly placed under the command of this highland martinet. However, the main sponsorship for the regiment came from the Gaelic Club of Gentlemen, a socially élite offshoot of the Highland Society of Glasgow, whose membership—drawn from landowners, industrialists, West Indian traders and city financiers—was concerned about the impoverished state of migrants from the Hebrides who had been prevented by war from crossing the Atlantic. After serving in Guernsey and then Ireland, the regiment was reduced in 1802. Already cleared from their native homelands, these highlanders again found themselves destitute and abandoned by their regimental commander.¹

E3 J. Browne, *The History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans*, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1838), vol. iv, 381.

Their chaplain [Right Rev. Dr Alexander Macdonald/Macdonell, the future Catholic Bishop of Kingston in Upper Canada], struck with their forlorn condition, proceeded to London, and entered into a negotiation with the government, in the hope of procuring assistance to enable them to emigrate to Upper Canada. The ministry was opposed to the plan, but offered to settle the Highlanders in the island of Trinidad, just then ceded to the crown of Great Britain [1802]; Mr Macdonald, however, persevered in his

¹ See also, below, 176–9, **A7**, **A8**.

design, and Mr Addington, the premier, procured for him an order with the sign-manual to the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, to grant two hundred acres of land to every one of the Highlanders who should arrive in the province.

As soon as it was known that this order had been given by the colonial secretary, the highland landlords took the alarm, as they considered that it would have the effect of enticing from the country their vassals and dependents.

Despite considerable pressure from highland landlords, eminent statesmen and the Prince of Wales, the regimental chaplain could not be induced to forego his resolution to lead his people to Canada rather than the Caribbean. However, as the Napoleonic Wars gathered momentum and as trade blockades and a shortage of fighting men exacerbated the international situation, the United States of America declared war on Great Britain in 1812. The 1812-14 conflict, sparked off by Britain's persistence in stopping and searching US ships for deserters and illegally press-ganging American sailors, was a crucial point in the history of Canada. Almost every fit man served in the militia. A strong Scottish element is evident in most of the militia units raised before or during this war, reflecting patterns of settlement by veterans of earlier conflicts. A particular case in point was that of the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencible Regiment, which was raised in Canada in 1804 from migrant veterans of the Glengarry Fencibles.¹ Although this regiment did gain battle honours at Niagara in 1813, most of the militia units were little more than paper exercises in keeping track of available fighting men locally. No military training was given, nor were any basic accoutrements of war provided. An annual mustering was the only provincial expense at a time when the defence of Canada was still undertaken with increasing reluctance by a cost-conscious, imperial government.² Although the American War of 1812-14 did not involve the Scottish regular regiments to any great extent, battle honours were gained by the Royal Scots at Fort Niagara (also called the Battle of Lundy's Lane) where they suffered 172 casualties in terminating the American invasion of Canada in 1813. Like honours were gained in the following year by the Royal Scots Fusiliers at Bladensburg, whilst the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders sustained a notable defeat at the battle of New Orleans. The imperial government's policy of rewarding discharged soldiers with land was extended to include Scottish civilians after the American War. They were offered land in the Rideau area between the St Lawrence and Ottawa rivers, the so-called Perth settlement. While half-pay officers

¹ Browne, *History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans*, iv, 376-81.

² C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the British Army 1846-1871* (London, 1936), 1-26. Primacy was accorded to strategically placed garrisons, as at St John in New Brunswick, which a Scottish commander, Maj. William Drummond, defended successfully against the Americans in Jan. 1813: NAS, Airlie Muniments, Maj. William Drummond, St John Garrison, 9 Jan. 1813, to his aunt, GD16/34/359/11.

who received colonial land grants were generally competent administrators, they did not necessarily make good farmers, at least in the opinion of the Rev. William Bell, who visited the Perth settlement in Upper Canada in the early 1820s.

E4 Rev. William Bell, *Hints to Emigrants* (Edinburgh, 1824), 144-5.

Few discharged soldiers make good cultivators, they have not in general acquired the habits of industry and application necessary for farmers. They were allowed rations by government for one year, while these lasted they seldom deserted their land, except to earn wages; but when their rations were eaten up, a great part of them left the settlement. Those that remain are hard working industrious people, and seem to make good settlers.

A few of the half-pay officers reside upon their lands in the country, but most of them remain in the villages—the majority in Perth. The whole number amounts to between thirty and forty, and most of them are justices of the peace. This gives them a greater influence in the settlement, than is perhaps agreeable to the civilians, few of whom hold commissions of the peace, or any other office under government. It is but justice, however, to these gentlemen, to observe, that though instances of arbitrary and oppressive conduct may have occurred, yet, in general, they have conducted themselves with a degree of moderation and politeness that does them credit. [MV]

F LATIN AMERICAN INTERLUDE

The disintegration of the vast Spanish Empire in South America began in 1808 with the subversion of the Spanish throne by Napoleon. Argentina and Paraguay effected an almost bloodless revolution, but elsewhere independence was only achieved after long warfare (1811-24). For naval and military camp followers, life could be hazardous. The journal of Maria Graham, kept during the years 1821-3, offers a particularly traumatic account of the author's experiences in South America during a politically turbulent era. As an innocent but interested sojourner, Maria Graham was not only widowed, but later made homeless by an earthquake. Suffering from tuberculosis, she was befriended by the Scottish naval adventurer, Lord Cochrane, who played a leading part in the independence movements of South America.¹ Thomas Cochrane (1775-1860) was the eldest son of the 9th Earl of Dundonald.

¹ Maria's father, Admiral Dundas, belonged to a cadet branch of the influential Dundas family, and her husband, Thomas Graham, was, at the time of their marriage in 1809, a Scottish lieutenant in the Royal Navy. By the time Maria set off for Brazil as the captain's wife on board the 42-gun frigate *Doris*, she was a seasoned traveller. Her husband's brief was to keep an eye on British trading interests in South America. Sailing round Cape Horn fever broke out on the ship and Maria found herself looking after her dying

He joined the British Navy, and was engaged in active service during the Napoleonic Wars. However, outspoken criticism of senior naval officers, inter alia, led to his fall from favour with the British establishment. In 1817, at the lowest point in his fortunes, Cochrane accepted the invitation of Chile to command its fleet in the war of independence against Spain. Thereafter, Cochrane gained notoriety as a highly successful, but controversial, sailor of fortune, fighting for Chile and later Brazil in a war against the Portuguese from 1823-5, before being reinstated by the British Navy in 1832. Having gained independence for Chile, Cochrane seems to have suffered an uneasy relationship with its leaders.

F1 M. Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile, during the year 1822*. (London, 1824), 347.

[Near Juan Fernandez, 23 December, 1822]

Lord Cochrane has adopted Chile as his country: its government has used him ill; and now at a time when, if he had been so minded, revenge on the authors of the ill-usage he has suffered would have been easy, he withdraws. I know that it has been thought right that in civil commotions every honest man should take part, in order that the wiser might bring matters to an accommodation. This is good for the natives of a country, but is no ways to be desired from a stranger, especially a martial man of high reputation and rank, who might be supposed to have the inclination as well as the power to set up his own authority. In this case, having done every thing to deliver the country from a foreign enemy, and to secure the national independence, it is wisdom, it is generosity, to stand aloof and let the seed of the soil be the arbiters of the concerns of the soil. Law and justice themselves can but guard the citizens from external evils, but may not meddle in their family affairs.¹

Like Maria Graham, Lord Cochrane's wife Kitty found the lot of a naval commander's wife demanding, particularly in such a vast country as South America, not noted for speedy communications. Having transferred his services to Brazil in 1823, Lord Cochrane fretted that his wife would be unaware of his subsequent movements.

husband and chronically ill cousin. Her husband died on board the *Doris* in April 1822, leaving Maria stranded in Valparaiso 'with half the globe between me and my kindred' and civil war raging all around: M. Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile, during the year 1822* (London, 1824), 114, 129.

¹ We would like to thank Ms Vanessa Corrick, Bodleian Library, Oxford for help with locating this material.

F2 Thomas, Earl of Dundonald, G.C.B., Admiral of the Red; Rear-Admiral of the Fleet, *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru & Brazil from Spanish & Portuguese Domination*, 2 vols (London, 1859), vol. ii, 93.

During my absence from Rio de Janeiro, Lady Cochrane—ignorant of my having quitted Chili—was on her way to join me at Valparaiso, but the vessel in which she embarked, had fortunately put into Rio de Janeiro, she was at once made acquainted by my change of service, and remained in the capital till my return. The most hospitable attention was paid to her by the Royal Family, the Empress conferring upon her the appointment of Lady of Honour to Her Majesty. The relief to my mind on finding Lady Cochrane at Rio de Janeiro was great, for, as there had not been an opportunity to apprise her of my departure from Chili in time to prevent her return thither, it had been a constant source of regret to me that she would have to endure the discomfort of two tedious voyages round the Cape Horn before she could join me in Brazil. The fortunate circumstances of putting into Rio happily terminated the embarrassment.

The strong entrepreneurial instinct in this aristocratic Scot was never latent and Lord Cochrane acquired—through prize money, purchases and gifts—considerable land in South America during his time as a naval commander. Although not actively involved in Cochrane's adventures, the imperial government felt it prudent to maintain patrols in the South Atlantic to protect British trading interests and keep an eye out for illegal slave traders. It would appear that even this watching brief in Latin America was not without its taxing demands, notably the opportunity for the penniless naval officer to make a propitious marriage.

F3 P. Christie to his sister, Margaret Boswell, Kingcausie, Aberdeen.

21 July, 1840

NAS, Boswell of Balmuto Muniments, GD 66/2/4/4

... Buenos Ayres, And here I am—the climate is delightful and the place very pleasant compared with Monte Video where I have been for the last four months—the people are exceedingly kind and hospitable, I have been obliged to dine out and go to evening parties almost every night since I arrived. The ambassador expects me to dine with him every day when not engaged, he is a very gentlemanly man but rather antient. We had a very nice party there last night at which the old gentleman danced almost every dance. The Spanish ladies are certainly very handsome and if I could speak the language well you would stand in danger of having a Spanish sister in law, but they have no money and that is [a] feature absolutely necessary to a poor commander ...

The Commodore writes me that he intends to relieve me by another ship immediately, [illegible] he intends to give me a cruise after the Slavers, after which I shall probably go to Rio previous to going round Cape Horn to the Pacific. I hope I shall be saved that trip by receiving my promotion beforehand—It is by no means just in the Admiralty, keeping me so long without my promotion.

G SCOTLAND'S MILITARY HERITAGE IN AMERICA

Naval manoeuvres in the South Atlantic notwithstanding, military recruitment in the Americas had passed its heyday by the 1820s. The ongoing defence of Canada and the Maritimes required the upkeep of military garrisons at strategic points in North America, but provided limited openings for the migrant. Nevertheless, the French-Canadian Rebellion of 1837, against the proposed union of the British provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, led to limited military opportunities for Scots. As well as the highlanders in Glengarry, the Lincoln Scots and the Cote St George Highland Company were raised. Two years later the Royal Quebec Volunteers formed their No. 5 company as a highland one in 1839.¹ Direct Scottish, as against second generation, involvement in Texan resistance at the Alamo in 1848, was desultory as that of Denmark. Paradoxically, the sustained intensity of combat between the States was marked by recruiting appeals to Scotland's military heritage, by both sides, during the American Civil War of 1861-5. These appeals struck a chord with the long-established settler as well as the more recent migrant. In North Carolina, where the Argyll Colony had been formed as early as 1739 and where the settler community had polarised during the American Revolution, there was no division in the community despite an initial reluctance among those of Scottish ancestry to engage militarily at the outbreak of the Civil War. Many of the Scots-Americans of the region would rather have settled the disputes between the North and South off the battlefield. But the highlanders, along with the rest of the Scottish community, answered the eventual call to arms.

G1 D. MacRae, *The Americans at Home: Pen and Ink Sketches of American Men, Manners, and Institutions* (Glasgow, 1879), 189-90.

When the troubles between North and South were gathering to a head in 1860, the Highlanders, with their conservative instincts, were almost to a man opposed to secession. But taught to believe that their allegiance was due primarily not to Federal government but to the State, no sooner did North Carolina go out than they, with Highland loyalty, followed; and no men crowded the front more eagerly or fought more valiantly or desperately

¹ We would like to thank Alastair Campbell of Airds for this information.

to the bitter end. Almost every man of them I met had served in the Confederate Army, and had left dead brothers or sons on the battlefield.

[WSC]

The Scots-Americans in North Carolina made a great contribution to the Confederate war effort, with over 30 companies being raised in the region that comprised the old highland settlement. Although direct emigration from the highlands had all but abated by the 1820s, many of these Scots-Americans in North Carolina felt destined to walk in the martial footsteps of their ancestors. Scotland's military tradition was clearly apparent in the names which some of the companies gave themselves, including the 'Scotch Boys' from Richmond County, the 'Highland Boys' from Cumberland County, and the 'Highland Rangers' from Harnett County.¹ On the Union side, a highland battalion was raised as part of the New York State Militia in 1859. This move was not universally acclaimed, but still went ahead: the regiment adopted trews and the kilt of Cameron of Erracht tartan as worn by the British 79th Cameron Highlanders. Under the command of Lt. Col. Samuel Elliot, it was mustered into Federal Service on 29 May 1861, at which time it numbered 895 of all ranks including a Pipe Band of 16 pipers and 20 drummers. Those who had it soon discarded the kilt and the trews were not replaced. Glengarry bonnets were issued to the regiment for its triumphant return to New York at the end of the war.² The following units, loaded in favour of the Confederacy, were probably composed wholly or in part of Scottish recruits.³

G2 'Scottish Corps in the American Civil War', Philip Haythornthwaite, *Dispatch—The Journal of the Scottish Military Collectors' Society*, no. 93, Summer 1980, 18.

¹ We would like to thank William Caudill for this information.

² After a shaky start when a mutiny took place, Col. Elliott was replaced by Col. Stevens, and the regiment had a distinguished record, taking part in the battles of First and Second Bull Run, Chantilly, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Fort Stedman and James Island. We would like to thank Alastair Campbell of Airds for this information.

³ More information on Scottish corps in the American Civil War can be examined in W. Amman, *Personnel of the Civil War* (New York, 1961), which reprints *Local Designations of Confederate Troops* (Gen. Marcus Wright c. 1786) and *List of Synonyms of Organisations in the Volunteer Service of the United States* (US War Department, 1885). A war memorial to Scottish American soldiers who fought for the Union during the American Civil War and were brought back home for burial was designed and sculptured by George Bissell. The four-sided granite base, which mounts a bronze image of Abraham Lincoln, was erected in Edinburgh's Old Calton Cemetery, where it was unveiled on 21 August 1893. We would like to thank Dr Ewen Cameron, University of Edinburgh, for information on this memorial.

Confederate

Highland Boys of North Carolina
(Coy. C. 24th North Carolina)

Highland Guards (Coy. E. 54th
North Carolina)

Highland Rangers (Coy. G. 1st
Georgia Cavalry)

Highland Rangers (Coy. D. 41st
North Carolina: 3rd Carolina
Cavalry)

Highland Rangers (Col. W.H.
Thomas' Infantry Legion, North
Carolina)

The Highlanders (Coy. K.
afterwards F, 16th Tennessee)

Hillabee Highland (Coy. G. 25th
Alabama)

Montgomery Highlanders (Coy. E.
4th Virginia Infantry)

Moore County Scotch Riflemen
(Coy. C. 35th North Carolina)

Scotch Boys (Coy. F. 8th North
Carolina)

Scotch Greys Artillery (McNair's
Coy., North Carolina Artillery;
afterwards Coy. E. 40th North
Carolina Volunteers: 3rd North
Carolina Artillery)

Scotch Rifle Guards or Scotch
Rifles (Coy. C. 21st later 22nd,
Louisiana Infantry)

Scotch Tigers (Coy. D. 51st North
Carolina)

Scotland Guards (Coy. K. 5th
Mississippi Infantry)

Union

Cameron Guards (James Elder's
Coy. 3rd Battn. District of
Columbia Infantry)

Cameron Highlanders (79th New
York)

(Daniel) Cameron's Highlanders
(65th Illinois)

Cameron Rifle Highlanders (old)
(78th New York, Coys. B. & C.
1861-2)

Cameron Rifle Highlanders (new)
(79th New York)

Cameron Rifles (68th New York)

1st Scotch Regiment (12th Illinois)

2nd Scotch Regiment (65th
Illinois)

Scotch Rifles (Coy. E. 2nd
Pennsylvania Reserves)

[AC]

Although the American civil war did not cross the 49th parallel, the defence of Canada remained an ongoing concern of the imperial government. A glimpse into the relationship between Scottish regiments and ordinary Canadians is given in a press account of the departure of the 78th Highland Regiment from the garrison at Montreal, an account which also illustrates how episodic military emigration frequently

led to permanency and assimilation. In addition to the defence of the country, it was common for garrisoned soldiers to help in a civil capacity by enforcing law and order locally. Despite this often onerous task, the 78th clearly won the affection of the local populace, perhaps partly because of an emotional attachment to the cultural trappings of clanship in a land of many exiled Scots.¹

G3 *Montreal Herald*, 8 May 1869. Departure of the 78th Highland Regiment from Montreal on 8 May 1869 bound for Halifax.

... We have seldom witnessed a scene in which more genuine earnestness of feeling and general public interest was awakened than on that occasion. The wharves, vessels, and piers of the harbour were densely crowded. There would not have been less than 2000 friends and spectators who had come to bid farewell, and paying a parting tribute of respect to this gallant regiment. We believe that there was too deep a feeling of genuine regret and sorrow on the part of the citizens to permit of such demonstrations. There were more tears than shouts when the steamer left the wharf. The very fact that the immense crowds waited for more than three hours in order to see them finally off shows the high esteem and affection in which they held the regiment. And well they might. It is no small matter for us to have such a corps as the 78th stationed in our garrison for nearly two years ... Of the men as a whole it is surprising that considering the temptations to drink and riot to which they are exposed in this city, on account particularly of their nationality, that they are generally so temperate and moral. No better evidence of this can be given than the fact that those who remain in this city, of whom there are a large number both by purchase and discharge, have without difficulty obtained most excellent situations.... We shall not soon again see the kilts—the most picturesque and manly of all costumes, and hear the pipes, the most martial of all music in our Street.—Perhaps these things influence us unduly, but if so we cannot help it. They made our hearts warm towards the regiment—they called up sweet remembrances of the old hills. They made our Scottish blood which had become cold under the influence of this Western World to stir and boil in our veins. They awakened once more within us a sad longing, and a sweet affection for the dear old fatherland.... [MV]

¹ A desire to show their Scottish origins by wearing the tartan was a strong one and in 1857 Highland companies of militia were to be found in Montreal, Toronto, London, Kingston and Hamilton. The growing threat of war between Britain and France led to the raising of another generation of militia units in the 1860s whose descendants are with us today. The earliest to adopt a clearly Scottish identity was the Royal Scots of Canada, formed in 1862 and today the Black Watch of Canada. The military did much to keep alive the strong Scottish heritage of many in Canada. We would like to thank Alastair Campbell of Airds for this information.

Scotland's close ties with Canada were reaffirmed at the outbreak of the First World War. The Scottish Canadian militia regiments included the Black Watch of Canada, the Pictou Highlanders, the Cape Breton Highlanders, the 48th Highlanders of Canada, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada, the Lake Superior Scottish, the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders of Canada, the Seaforth Highlanders of Canada and the Canadian Scottish. These regiments did not serve as such in the First World War. At the behest of the idiosyncratic Sir Sam Hughes, Canadian Minister of Defence, new battalions were raised for the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) from the existing Militia regiments. Over 20 of these CEF battalions had a Scottish identity.

Highland recruitment was not confined to the more densely populated, eastern seaboard of Canada and, indeed, stretched to Uist soldiers from Vancouver.¹ Although most of the battalions went overseas, only a few actually saw front-line service, the remainder being used as reservoirs of manpower to restore the dreadful losses of the battlefields of France and Flanders. Many men who served in these battalions were first generation emigrants and their names are often to be found on their village war memorials back in Scotland as well as on those in Canada. It remains a deeply moving experience to find in Nova Scotia the familiar kilted figure standing on a war memorial.² The 185th Battalion—the Cape Breton Highlanders—when campaigning for the issue of the kilt were able to claim a percentage of Gaelic speakers that few, if any, highland battalions from the home country could equal.³

¹ Cf. *Oban Times*, 12 Feb. 1916, *Pibroch O'Donuil Dubh* by Sir Walter Scott.

² The senior Canadian officer in the field at the end of war—the Commander of the Canadian Corps—was Lieut. Gen. Sir Arthur Currie, originally an officer of the Seaforth Highlanders of Canada; his four Divisional Commanders included Maj. Generals Sir A. C. MacDonell, F. O. W. Loomis, late of the Black Watch of Canada and Sir D. Watson. The list of senior officers of the rank of Brigadier and above in the Canadian Army of the period is liberally sprinkled with Scottish names. We would like to thank Alastair Campbell of Airds for this information.

³ Among the battalions raised was the 236th Infantry Bn.—New Brunswick Kilties—otherwise called The Maclean Kilties of America, whose recruits came mainly from members of the Clan Gillean on both sides of the border. Maclean of Duart, the Clan Chief, was their honorary colonel, and they wore their clan tartan with pride. Eight of these battalions saw front-line service during the First World War, including the Royal Highlanders of Canada, the Cameron Highlanders of Canada, the Seaforth Highlanders, and the Nova Scotia Highlanders. The record of these battalions was distinguished in the extreme and their casualties severe. They were awarded nine VCs, with the 13th Bn. (Royal Highlanders of Canada) being awarded three, and the 16th Bn. (Canadian Scottish) no less than four. We would like to thank Alastair Campbell of Airds for this information.

G4 *Oban Times*, 24 June, 1916.

ARGYLL TARTAN

Many other considerations could be furnished to show the consanguinity between the Old and New Scotlands, but hardly so much is necessary to explain the affection that today exists between London Gaels and a Battalion of Nova Scotians—sometimes known as the Cape Breton Highlanders—that has been in training for some months in one of our Home Counties. When the battalion landed in this country, 70 per cent. spoke Gaelic. They came over in khaki, but after great persistent endeavour all ranks now wear the kilt. The tartan of the Argylls was adopted, and handsome and martial are indeed our cousins in Highland dress, which includes the broad-feathered bonnet with the historic thin red dyce. [AC]

Chapter Four

SCOTTISH SOJOURNERS

'As I walked the deck and looked round upon my fellow-passengers, thus curiously assorted from all northern Europe, I began for the first time to understand the nature of emigration. Day by day throughout the passage, and thenceforward across all the States, and onto the shores of the Pacific, this knowledge grew more clear and melancholy. Emigration, from a word of the most cheerful import, came to sound most dismally in my ear. There is nothing more agreeable to picture and nothing more pathetic to behold. The abstract idea, as conceived at home, is hopeful and adventurous.'¹

In Robert Louis Stevenson's autobiographical account of an Atlantic crossing in 1879, his observant eye and able pen paint a vivid picture of the activities and emotions of emigrants, both on the voyage from Glasgow to New York and the onward train journey across the United States to San Francisco. While his pessimistic fellow-travellers were contemplating permanent settlement, Stevenson, like many optimistic Scots who travelled to the Americas, saw himself primarily as an episodic migrant, a sojourner. While military migration was the aspect of episodic migration with the highest profile, perhaps, sojourning was an activity of choice as well as necessity for Scots below the social levels of the landed, mercantile and academic élites. Sojourning activities, which were by no means always successful, ranged from piracy pre-Union to plantation overseeing, colonial factoring and storekeeping in the eighteenth century, when a particular Scottish niche was opened up in the Canadian fur trade. From the nineteenth century, the advent of industrialisation and transport improvements by steam and rail led to extensive sojourning characterised by skilled as well as unskilled labourers. Sojourning also involved the professional classes such as doctors, teachers, priests and ministers from Hudson's Bay to Patagonia.

A PRE-UNION

Seafaring Scots abounded in the Atlantic and Caribbean in the late seventeenth and

¹ R.L. Stevenson, *The Amateur Emigrant, Part 1: From the Clyde to Sandy Hook* (London, 1925), 13.

early eighteenth centuries. This was the golden age of piracy, when the dividing line between a legitimate privateer and an illegal pirate was often blurred. This indiscernible division offered untold opportunities for men with few scruples and a will to survive, such as the notorious Captain William Kidd. Born in Dundee c. 1645, Kidd went to sea as a youth. After 1689 he was sailing as a legitimate privateer against the French in the West Indies and off the coast of Africa, and became an established sea captain and ship owner in New York, even receiving a royal commission in 1695, to apprehend pirates molesting East India Company vessels. Based at Madagascar, he turned to piracy but was caught on his eventual return to New York. Shipped prisoner to London and tried at the Old Bailey, condemned for murder and five charges of piracy, he was duly hanged in 1701.¹ But his memory lives on as the archetypal swashbuckling pirate in such fictional works as Robert Louis Stevenson's, *Treasure Island*, and its successor, *The Black Arrow*.² Notwithstanding the notoriety of Captain Kidd, few Scots who left their native land for a life on the sea have been immortalised to such an extent as Alexander Selkirk (1676-1721), on whom Daniel Defoe based his famous *Robinson Crusoe*. Selkirk was born in the Seatoun of Largo, the seventh son of John Selcraige. In 1703 Selkirk joined a privateering expedition to the South Seas under Captains Dampier and Pickering, being appointed sailing master of the *Cinque Ports*, initially under Pickering and subsequently under the unpopular Lieutenant Thomas Stradling, whose command provoked dissension and bitterness among the crew. Selkirk shared the crew's overwhelming lack of confidence in the captain. The ship was riddled with shot, the result of more than one engagement on the high seas; in heated exchanges Selkirk warned Stradling that the ship was not safe and that he wished to join a friendly privateer at the first opportunity. Late in 1704, he was therefore landed on the Chilean island of Juan Fernandez, 400 miles offshore, with his sea chest containing his clothes and bedding, his mathematical instruments and navigation books, his Bible, a kettle, hatchet and his gun. Selkirk's decision to leave his ship was a sound one. After leaving Juan Fernandez, the *Cinque Ports* returned to the Peruvian coast, where it foundered on an island off Babacora. Before sinking, the vessel struck her colours before a Spanish force. Stradling and seven of his men were saved, but spent the next 7 years in a Lima prison. Selkirk endured 4 years and 4 months on the island before being rescued by another privateer, Captain Woodes Rogers.³

¹ *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanours from the Earliest Period to the Year 1783, with notes & illustrations compiled by T.B. Howell, Esq., FRS, FSA*, vol. xvi (London, 1816), 234; R.C. Ritchie, *Captain Kidd and the War against the Pirates* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986).

² *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (15th edition, Chicago, 1994), vol. vi, 850-1.

³ We would like to thank the late Ivy Jardine for the extract and information. In 1983 Mrs Jardine and her son, Allan, travelled to Juan Fernandez to lay a commemorative plaque. A fuller account of Alexander Selkirk's adventures and rescue is found in Captain Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World*, first published in 1712.

A1 Inscription from plaque erected on Juan Fernandez in 1868.

In memory of
ALEXANDER SELKIRK,
mariner.

A native of Largo, in the county of
Fife, Scotland.

Who lived on this island in com-
plete solitude, for four years
and four months.

He was landed from the Cinque
Ports galley, 36 tons, 16 guns A.D.

1704, and was taken off in the
Duke, privateer, 12th Feb., 1709.

He died Lieutenant of H.M.S. Wey-
mouth, A.D. 1723 [sic], aged 47 years.¹

[1]

Attack by privateers or pirates was a very real hazard to those sailing the high seas, and many innocent travellers became their victims. Janet Thomson, originally from Argyll, had been forced to emigrate to America with her family some time before 1689 after her husband, David Simon, minister at Southend in Kintyre, was implicated in Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll's Rebellion of 1685. The family accompanied Argyll's brother, Lord Neil Campbell, to East New Jersey, where Simon died some time before 1697.² Although Janet and her surviving family returned from exile after the Revolution of 1689, the homeward journey was fraught with peril, rendering her and her daughter Anna destitute supplicants for relief from the Kirk.

A2 Petition of Janet Thomson, relict of David Simon, to the Right Reverend The Moderator & Remanent Members of the provincial Synod of Argyle.

1707

ICA, Bundle 567

That the petitioners husband was honoured to labour in the work of the Gospel within your bounds for the space of about 30 years, Untill that by reason of his not having freedom to comply with the courses of the late times, He was obliged to transport himself & family to America, where he was removed by death, Leaving the petitioner a Widow in a Strange land,

¹ This original plaque or tablet was erected near Selkirk's lookout, by Commodore Powell and the officers of the *H.M. Topaze*.

² We would like to thank David Dobson this information.

But it having pleased God to bring about the late Happy Revolution, The petitioner with her son Mr Dugald undertook a voyage home to our native Countrey, And in the way, the ship we were in was taken by a French privateer, and my Dear son carried prisoner to Dunkirk, where he continued in hard bondage for a considerable time, and all that we had taken from us, And in this sad case, I arryved in Scotland, But my son being releived & coming home, and having then another son Mr David who was one of your number yet alive, I have hither to been provided for, without being troublesome to others, But it having pleased God in his Holy providence to deprive me of my Dear Husband and two sones All Ministers of the Gospel who were comfortable to me, I am left a poor desolat widow with a daughter that is not able to make any shift for a livelyhood, So that we have nothing to subsist upon, but what God moves some freinds and other good Christians to bestow upon us ...

A no less hazardous but more sustained opportunity for gainful migration had opened up for Scots in Canada. Chartered in 1670, the 'Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay' was, ironically, to become one of the largest and most consistent employers of Scotland's army of sojourners overseas (see section C below). Within little more than a decade of receiving its charter, the company had recognised the advantages of recruiting Scottish servants, particularly those well connected adventurers from the professions.

A3 'Report to the Governor and Committee by John Nixon, 1682', in *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679-1682*, E.E. Rich (Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1945), 277 & 280.

1682

PAM, HBCA

For I would have a select number of men in the country well dissiplined and in good order, so that at all times I may be in a capacity to brydle all mutanous, licentious, and factious spirits; to effect which if England can not furnish yow with men, Scotland can, for that cuntrye is a hard country to live in, and poore-mens wages is cheap, they are hardy people both to endure hunger, and could, and are subject to obediance, and I am sure that they will serve for 6 pound pr. yeare, and be better content, with their dyet then Englishmen will be ... I recommend into your Honours favoure Mr. John Ker chyrgion of the *Dilligence*, one who hath been serviceable to me, and to youre men, in his calling and otherwayes although he hath gained the disspleasure of his Captain by it and for no other reasone, but his corresponding with me. Of his qualifications I have writ else-where, and I would yow could get him into youre service, he fit for youre tourne,

in divers respects, both for his calling, and pen, and good government of himselfe. Lykewayes he can informe youre honoures how yow may get men out of Scotland, who will both faire harder, and serve at cheaper rates, then our London borne childring: they go to france for small wages and seek their fortunnes up and down the world, and doeth good service where they are, and why may not yow imploy them for youre profit. [JHB]

B COLONIAL PLANTATIONS

Notwithstanding the vocational commitment of professionals, the enthusiasm of evangelicals and the curiosity of travellers, most sojourners went to America primarily for commercial reasons. The lucrative prospects from exchanging tobacco, indigo and rice for textiles exported under bounties led Scottish sojourners to congregate in American mainland colonies around the Chesapeake and in the Carolinas. Two brothers from Dumfries, John and William Murray of the Murraythwaite family, emigrated to South Carolina in the 1750s, intending to make their fortunes and return to their native land. William, a doctor, went first. He arrived in Charleston in 1750 and went into partnership with a cousin, Dr John Murray. Meanwhile his brother John had gone into partnership with Dr Murray's brother James to export Scottish linen to the province. John arrived in Charleston in 1754, having purchased the Secretaryship of the province, which he hoped would prove a profitable office. Their cousin, Dr Murray, bought a plantation in 1755 and the same year William followed suit, acquiring 500 acres of land on which he intended to plant an indigo crop that would be worked by 10 negroes, with an overseer, hand-picked from his relatives, sent out from Scotland. For several years the brothers combined the activities of physician, provincial administrator, trader and plantation owner. In March 1757 John admitted to his sceptical mother that he had struggled to pay back £1,200 advanced on credit from the British Linen Company. However, he and his brother were more sanguine about their plantation, which now consisted of 1,300 acres of good land and was within 10 miles of Port Royal and 60 miles from Charleston. Having selectively purchased 30 healthy slaves at a reputedly favourable price, they were confident of clearing all their debts from the next crop of indigo. Nonetheless, by September he was ready to concede failure in a resumé of his ill-fated entry into the textile trade. By 1759, John was back in Britain for a long spell, only returning intermittently to South Carolina before his brother William sold their plantation in 1764, thereby realising sufficient capital to purchase an estate in Dumfries.¹

¹ John Murray, Charleston, South Carolina to his mother, Mar. 1757, NAS, Murray of Murraythwaite Papers, GD219/287/9/12. Both brothers occasionally spent a few years at home and then returned to the colony for short spells. William returned to Scotland for good in 1765 and later acquired the estate of Tundergarth, Dumfriesshire. John also returned to Scotland and held the estate of Murraythwaite until his death in 1823.

B1 John Murray to his mother or to the British Linen Company.

September, 1757

NAS, Murray of Murraythwaite Papers,
GD 219/289/7

It is almost unnecessary for me to inform you that prior to the adventure I knew very little of Trade, since I had been brought up to a different profession, and that I was therefore led into that Engagement as well from my inclination to assist James Murray my Relation, as from the honourable representation made by some friends in Carolina of the Trade of that Province. These I believe you are convinced were the motives that induced me to join my Credit for the Cargo of Linnens shipt in 1753 from Leith for Carolina, which by the bye from the Vessells long passage of four months, unhappily arived too late for the market.

Afterwards when I went to London in 1754 with a View to set out from there for Carolina, I had several conversations with Mr Tod concerning the properest measures for Extending the exportation of Scots linnens into that Country and upon this head it was his opinion and advice that as the term for the bounty was soon to expire, and its renewal was uncertain, Mr Murray & I ought by no means to lose so good an opportunity, but should immediatly order out an additional assortment which could not fail of selling to advantage. And I was inclinable to listen to his advice from two motives, first because I had hopes and indeed assurances that a Gentleman of considerable fortune in London was to be engaged with us as a Partner in the Adventure and next that Dr Murray of Charlestown had by letter given a sort of Commission for linnens to the Value of £1200.

Indeed by these reasons and with the advice and approbation of James Murray I desired that Mr Tod would give orders for an assortment of about £1500 or £1600 value to be shipt at Leith for London to be sent from there to Carolina on our joint accounts. And accordingly a Cargo arrived in London but instead of £1500 or £1600 it was near £2200 value which greatly exceeded my orders & Expectations for I thought we had already engaged fair enough and had received no remittances or account of our first exportation. Besides that the Gentleman in London had altered his mind and now absolutely declined engaging as a partner. Upon these account I signified to Mr Tod who had the Linnens in his possession that if such a Cargo was actually sent out, I should do every thing in my power to sell it to advantage but that I would consider myself rather in the light of a Factor for the Company than as a Merchant, since I had other Views than Trade & never expected or proposed to gain much by it as I was intirely a stranger

to it. He told me he did not know how to dispose of the linnens otherways and that he hoped I would do the best with them in my power. After which the Cargo was shipt for Carolina where it was safely landed, but unluckily the people in whose name Doctor Murray had Commissioned the goods refused to take them but at a rate so low & inconsiderable that we must have been losers by the sale, and as their agreement with the Doctor had not been very explicite the whole Cargo was thrown upon my hand, and I was laid under a necessity of renting a store for them in Charlestown at £45 sterling per annum and engaging a Clerk at high Wages no less than \$50 sterling per annum with bed and board to sell out the goods, since it was morally impossible by reason of my office, and other avocations that I myself could attend.

Very soon after the goods were landed, a Considerable Merchant in Charlestown proposed to purchase from me to the value of £800 or £900 sterling of the Edinburgh & coarse linnens, but when I came to charge them at such a rate as would have yielded a moderate profit, he declined the bargain & offered me a price that would not do more than pay the prime costs & charges & affirming positively that he had bought goods of the same kind as Cheap.

When the Bales were opened, & the Linnens assorted, we found a great many of the finest rotten and otherways damaged in the Bleaching and several of the other kinds torn & rendered utterly unfit for sale. Some of these having been inadvertently sold the people who got them raised such a clamour that the sale of the others was very much hurt. We also discovered that some mistake had been made in the Charging upon both which matters I presented a representation to the Directors when I was last in Scotland ...

I found the fine hollands so unsaleable that I was under a necessity of sending a parcell of them to the value of £200 sterling to Jamaica for which I have never yet received any return ...

I cannot help taking notice to you that I have concealed as much as in my power the faults & defects of our Goods from every one in Charlestown, by which I knew they might have been prejudiced against any future dealings with you, and on the contrary I have used every means in my power at Mr Tod's request to introduce our Scots Linnens into Carolina by recommending them to sundry of our most considerable merchants ... [RMG]

While the mixed success of the Murray Brothers indicated that making a fortune in the mainland colonies was not as easy as envisaged prior to the American Revolution, Scottish sojourners continued to anticipate that the purchase of an estate on easy terms in the Caribbean would bring a quick fortune, which could then be invested in enhancing their status back home. Most sojourners in the West Indies relied heavily

on patronage networks, which were often of considerable complexity and persistence.¹ Moreover, these webs of patronage and kinship could be passed down from generation to generation. James Barclay had emigrated from the north-east of Scotland to Jamaica to join his brother in the 1720s, and 30 years later he was a merchant trading on his own account from the port of Kingston. Despite the length of his absence from his native country, Barclay was still prepared to help those at home whether related by kinship or by local connections. John Gordon was a relative of James Barclay—possibly his brother-in-law—who used his Caribbean connections to secure a position in Kingston for his son Charles, under the patronage of William Elphinstone, a close acquaintance of James Barclay. After a year in the island, Charles took heed of his patron's suggestions to sojourn rather than stay in Jamaica, and by autumn 1773 he had made arrangements to return to Scotland via South Carolina.

B2 William Elphinstone, Kingston, to Mrs Thomas Gordon, Aberdeen.

23 August, 1772 AU, SLA, Gordon of Buthlaw and Cairness Papers,
MS 1160/5/19

... confirming to you the agreeable share of Health which your son Mr Gordon has enjoyed without Interruption, since his arrival here the 3rd June last after a pleasant passage of 6 weeks, & is at present in high spirits, from a near prospect he has of being able to settle all his affairs upon a sure & safe Footing, the whole payable in 8 years ... Your anxiety Madam! on this Son is truly natural, for without Compliment, I do assure you I never mett with a young Gentleman, of a more milky disposition, or that gains more in the Esteem of every body of his acquaintance here, & I have taken care to make him intimately acquainted with a few of the better sort of Folks here, who are all soberly inclined, & he has lived constantly with me, since his arrival here, & I profess myself to be a sober Economist, so that he has hitherto not been led into Temptations of any kind; but the Truth is, I see not the smallest Tendency in him to any Irregularity whatever; He has now taken a small House near me / mine being too small for us both / where I will with pleasure as well as Inclination attend to his health as well as Interest, from the duty, I owe him & his Relations, who have placed a Confidence in me ...

He seems at present to be too fond of the Climate & likes the affable Disposition of the people much, & of staying longer here than I think is altogether safe, that is, until he obtains a Decree for his demands, which perhaps may be 6 or 8 months hence, this I think you should strongly remonstrate against, as I have done, as this Business may be carried on as

¹ See also, above, 34-7, **B1-B4**.

well in his absence, as if he was here; In the mean Time you may assure yourself, & all his Friends, that nothing in my power shall be wanting both to preserve his Health & promote his Interest. I had the pleasure of being intimately acquainted with your Brother here, for several years, indeed his House was ever open to all his Countrymen & I flatter myself, I shall yet have the pleasure of being happy at your Fireside, some time or other / I hope / not far off. [RMcD]

Several eighteenth-century Scots in the West Indies who had ventured forth in the expectation of a tropical Eden where they could carve out a new, and more affluent, life for themselves, found that, even if they kept their health, the emigrant experience was often altogether more traumatic than they had anticipated. Nonetheless, while many exiles retained a hankering for the culture, society and educational system of their homeland, from which they wished their own children to benefit,¹ others were inveterate sojourners to the Caribbean. Archibald Cameron from Lochaber worked on plantations in Jamaica in the 1760s and 1770s, before returning to Scotland for approximately two years. By 1786, he was anxious to return to the Caribbean. He once again sought and secured a position through the good offices of a tight-knit Scottish network of friends, relatives and political connections, in much the same way as he had done twenty years earlier.²

B3 Alan Cameron, Great Tichfield Street, London to Ewen Cameron of Fassifern.

4 April 1786

AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1786/0

In consequence of what you mentioned to me respecting your Brothers intention of returning to Jamaica, I have been speaking to some of my West India friends, with a view of providing employment for him in his former line, and I embrace the first opportunity of informing you that I have a prospect of obtaining an appointment for him as an Overseer & Attorney upon an Estate in St. Thomas in the East, which (when joined in one) is reckoned not only the most respectable but the most lucrative in the Planting Line. Finding the Vacancy alluded to well worth the Contending, I urged the matter so warmly with my friends, that I may venture to say, I have got a promise of it, so far, that I am requested to give a reference for your Brothers professional Character and Abilities as an Overseer and Attorney to some Gentlemen here who was acquainted with him in Jamaica, & should be deem[e]d a Competent Judge in all the Planting Business and its Branches.

¹ Cf. Alexander Johnston, Kingston, Jamaica to James Johnston, Hillhead of Crimond, Aberdeenshire, 14 Feb. 1783, HSP, Alexander Johnston Letters, Powel Family Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, # 1582.

² See also, above, 34-6, **B1-B6**.

In this respect I found myself rather at a loss in the first instance till at length I recollected that Mr Arch[bal]d Campbell (Brother to your neighbour Collector Campbell) who lately returned from Jamaica, was the only Gentleman of your Brothers acquaintance most adequate to the purpose, and I accordingly wrote him at Bath, where he is at present requesting such a representation of your Brothers Merit and experience in the Planting Line, as might prove satisfactory, in the present case, with which request I can assure you Mr Campbell replied in very handsome friendly terms, and one of the Proprietors who breakfasted with me this morning, to talk the matter over, appeared so well satisfied, that he authorised me to write your Brother, to know his own inclinations & sentiments at large upon the Subject, as if the object in view should be agreed to by both Parties, your Brother must come up here, to receive a Power of Attorney to Act and go out immediately from here ... Mr Hunter Blair (Lord Provost of Edin[burgh]) his Brother and Sir Adam Ferguson are the Proprietors of the State in question, they are all here at present and have many applications from different people who wish to procure the vacancy alluded to by way of Promotion and Emolument for their respective friends in the planting Line in Jamaica so that after all POLITICS may get the better of me, especially when I consider there is a LIMB of Parliament concerned, and you know how many GOODVOTES I can give in that line. However dont you delay writing me immediately if your Brother thinks the appointment an Object. Should you have anything of Country concern, news or anything else to write me you had better put it in a separate Letter, yet I would have your Answer respecting our Friend to be couched in such a way so that the Gentlemen for whose inspection it is really intended should not discover that it was wrot studiously for that purpose.... [DH]

Not all prospective sojourners realised their initial ambition to secure a place overseas, for even the backing of a powerful patron did not always guarantee success. The presence of the influential Grants in Jamaica led to their network becoming one of the most prominent in the island, doubtless explaining why so many members of that clan sought their fortunes there, although there seems to have been a difference in perception of the chances of success between Scots in Jamaica and those still in Scotland. Moreover, there were certain conventions which had to be adhered to in order for patronage to be employed. Clearly the severing of an indenture breached the protocol of the network, because John Grant, Chief Justice of Jamaica, a man normally very willing to help out, was certainly in no mood to help the son of the minister of Cromdale.

B4 John Grant to Sir James Grant.

11 November, 1787

NAS, Seafield Muniments, GD 248/61/2/67

About three months ago I had the honour of your letter dated the 27th February, by the Reverend Mr. Joseph Grant, to whom on your recommendation, and on account of his infirmities I shall be happy if I can be of any service. I am however sorry to say there is scarcely any prospect of a speedy provision for him, and there he is, in a very expensive Country, without a shilling in his pocket. The appointment you were told of, was no more than a fictitious qualification procured by a Nephew of Mr. Robert Grant's which it seems was required by the Bishop [of Jamaica?] before he would ordain him. He brought a line to our Lt. Governor from Lord Adam Gordon but there are two or three before him on the list.

I applied to the Commodore on this station who is my particular friend to appoint him Chaplain of a Man of War, but by a late regulation it is impossible, none being allowed except to Ships of the Line, and there is none here of that description. The folly of young men in flocking from Scotland to this Country is to me unaccountable. Very few of them get forward—many of them want bread, and in that number not a few of your Clan. I am concerned to inform you that the poor Minister of Cromdale's son has forfeited the fairest prospects by breaking his indentures, and thereby rendered it inconsistent for me to give him any farther countenance. I do not wish the poor father to know while it can be concealed. [DH]

Sojourning was not always the result of deliberate planning; some emigrants returned home prematurely or unexpectedly because they had met with misfortune. Jonathan Troup graduated A.M. from Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1786, and subsequently studied medicine in Aberdeen and Edinburgh before going to the West Indies for 3 years. His Dominican journal relates the fate of a couple who had emigrated precipitately in pursuit of a spurious fortune, and, having fallen on hard times, had to be assisted back to Scotland.¹

B5 Journal of Jonathan Troup.

2 November, 1789

AU, SLA, MS 2070, fo. 121

About 2 months ago an aged man from Aberdeenshire named Grant wt. his

¹ C.A. McLaren, 'Reports and Surveys of Archives in Northern Scotland', *Northern Scotland* 1 (1972), 122.

Wife & Children had heard that a Relation had died & left an Estate in Antigua (I think) they immediately sold all & shipped to West Indies - But how great was their surprise that there had not been such a man in the Island and if there was that he had no Estate (this I am not surprise at)—however Charitable people collected some money for them to pay their passage to Dominica where they might have a better chance to get passage home. A Contribution was made for them of 10 Joes I think w[hi]c[h] is equal to 16 Guineas—I have not heard of them since and I cannot say if they are home or not

[RMcD]

By 1830 the emancipation of the slaves and a changed economic climate had rendered the Caribbean a much less remunerative location for Scottish sojourners, who were now seeking alternative outlets for their energies and investments. Following the death of his attorney in Jamaica, R. Johnston of Glasgow intended to settle his affairs there and relocate in the United States, operating from a base in Rhode Island. With a word in the right place, he subsequently hoped to secure a diplomatic appointment—albeit the prospects for the prompt sale of his West Indian property in a depreciating market were precarious.¹

B6 R. Johnston, 4 Blythwood Hill, Glasgow, to Dr Clarke, Upper Phillimore Place, Kensington.

14 April, 1830

GUL Sp. Coll., MS Gen 539/11.

... I intend to take Mrs Johnston and my little ones to Rhode Island, United States of North America, where Mrs J. and all her family resided for many years, and ther to fix our habitation, until I can dispose of all my Jamaica property and receive the payment, but those are generally a work of years—Among our friends in Rhode Island is Mr John Gilpin, the present Vice Consul, a gentleman far advanced in years—in the event of his death, and my being there, could I be nominated his successor to the office. It is one of about £300 a year. The situation is filled by an appointment from the Secretary for Foreign affairs in London. Now my dear Sir, if you can so far use your great interest with Lord Aberdeen, to get my name put down or a promise to succeed to Mr Gilpin, you will not only confer a great kindness on me, but in the event of such a thing, enable me to forw[ar]d my son's education in the most extensive manner. Your are well aware of the sad depreciation of West Indian Property, and the present reduction of interest of the 4 p[er] cent C[i]t[y] Stocks in which I have my money, cuts deeply into my former income.

¹ R. Johnston, 50 Norfolk Street, Liverpool to Dr Clarke, Upper Phillimore Place, Kensington, 25 May 1830, GUL Sp. Coll., MS Gen 539/11.

C THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY: A CASE HISTORY

Temporary or episodic emigration was perhaps most commonly associated with climatically inhospitable areas which were unsuitable for permanent European settlement. While many parts of the notoriously unhealthy Caribbean fell into that category in terms of heat and humidity, so at the other extremes of intense cold and frostbite did the fur-trapping territories of Canada in which the Hudson's Bay Company operated. There is a well-entrenched belief on both sides of the Atlantic that the backbone of the Hudson's Bay Company workforce was formed of boatmen from Orkney who, 'made paths, hewed clearings, built portages, erected buildings, and planted gardens in the wilderness'.¹ Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, outbound supply vessels touched at Orkney, and picked up new recruits for the Northern and Southern Departments of Rupert's Land, the Company's trading territories in north-western North America that stretched from the western Arctic to Red River and on to Ungava. The connection was considered, by contemporaries as well as historians, to be mutually beneficial and economically significant to both parties.¹ Labourer John Cromartie was indentured for the Albany River District in 1780 and actually served for nine years before returning home.

C1 Contract of employment, John Cromartie of South Ronaldshay, Orkney.

20 June 1780

HBCA, PAM, A.32/1 fo. 1

I John Cromartie Labourer of the Parish of South Ronaldsha do hereby Covenant and Agree to and with the Governor and Company of Adventurers of ENGLAND, Trading into HUDSON'S BAY, and their Successors, to serve them for the Term of Five Years, to commence from the Time I shall arrive at HUDSON'S BAY unless sooner recalled by the Committee of the said Company after the rate of Six Pounds P[er] year and in Case I should be order'd in Land I am to be allow'd Forty Shillings a year additional, and if I intend to return at the Expiration of this Contract, to give Notice to the Committee of the said Company the year before, but if no such Notice be given, to stay another Year if require'd at the same Wages, and under the like Terms, Agreements, Provisions, Penalties, and Forfeitures as in this agreement mentioned, And during my Voyage to Hudsons Bay and in my return to the Port of London, I will not quit or desert the Ship in which I shall be order'd to Embark on any account whatsoever, without the leave and Permission of the Commander of the said Ship in writing,

¹ W.T. Cutt, 'The Orcadian in Canada', in *the New Orkney Book*, J. Shearer *et. al.* (eds.), (London, 1966), 69

² See the three-part article by Orkney historian J. Storer Clouston in what was then the HBC house organ, *The Beaver*: 'Orkney and the Hudson's Bay Company' (Dec. 1936), 4-8; (March 1937), 39-43; (June 1937), 37-9.

and will for the Preservation of my health do the duty of watch and ward on board the said Ship, and will obey all such Orders and Instructions as shall be given me by ye Commander of the said Ship without any Pay for the same. And to Ship myself upon the first Vessel or Ship that the Committee of the said Company shall Order me to imbarck in, that shall go, or is bound for HUDSON'S BAY; where I oblige myself to stay according to the aforesaid limited Time, and to do, and perform such Labour and Work, and obey such Commands as the Governor in HUDSON'S-BAY, or chief Factor there, shall impose upon me. [JHB]

Although Orcadians were to the fore, a multitude of Scots helped to maintain the Hudson Bay Company's success by ongoing entrepreneurial activity in a range of far-flung outposts. Frequently this involved them in transactions with native people. Orcadian James Sutherland joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a tailor in 1770, and was initially based at Fort Churchill. He later served in a number of locations before being put in charge of the Company's station at Brandon House in 1796, where he died a year later.

C2 James Sutherland, 'P[ortage] D[e] L[isle] Journal', Escabitchewan Journal, 1792-3.

HBCA, PAM, B.64/a/1 fos. 21d-2

May 6 [1793] Monday Wind So[uther]ly: cloudy weather with some rain, the men attending the House and fishing about noon the great Lakelepluis War Chief Capt[ai]n Ka,ke,kamick with eight Canoes arrived, he wore a huge Silver Medal and a very large Cresant couriously engraved, both of Solid Silver, It is customary among the Traders when ever they see one of these medals to honour his Majestys armes with a new Silk Ribband by good luck I had as much of my private property as did this to my satisfaction, and also cloath'd him in the best manner I could and as the stock could afford. This gang will leave me bare of every thing and now I have no Powder in the House and Brandy almost none. The outfit of these Inland place is put up by the Chief and is defective in many an Article.

May 7 Tuesday the men attending drunken Indians, had 4 men on the Watch all night and the Indians had been guilty of great outrage had it not been for this Captain who they stand in awe of. I am sorry I cannot accomedate this man as I could wish or as he is commonly us'd to among the gentlemen Traders from Canada, towards evening Traded about 400 Beaver from such of them as was sober, they very much wanted Sword blades and Ribbands but I had none of these articles, nor will the Chief belive such things is wanted Inland for Trade.

May 8 Wednesday Indians sober finished the Trading in the morning got

about 550 Beaver from them and which has left me nothing in the House, diverted them in the forenoon by the mens dancing to the Bag Pipes which they were very fond of. But Mr McKays¹ arrival of his Journey prevented further dancing for the day, they went away in the evening when at the same time the Indian from Eagle Lake arrived with the large Canoe for which I paid 70 Beaver.... [JHB]

Lord Selkirk's purchase in 1811 of 120,000 square miles of Hudson's Bay Company land not only put the Company firmly on the map and precipitated conflict with the rival North West Company; it also opened up western North America to Scottish settlement. In this letter, written a year after Selkirk and his family had gained control of the Company, he is hoping to find a suitable recruitment agent to fulfil his commitment to procure 200 suitable men for the Company's service.

C3 Lord Selkirk to Alexander MacDonald, 14 Aug. 1811 written from Fort William, containing information of an engagement enter'd into by him with the H Bay Cy about men & wanting my opinion.

EUL Sp. Coll. La. II. 202/1

I mentioned to you, that I am under engagements to find a number of men for the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, at a stipulated rate of wages—which for Labourers is 20£ a year. In reflecting upon the various obstacles, which stand in the way of my accomplishing this object, it has occurred to me, that much of their force would be taken off, if a gentleman of respectable character, & at the same time to talents activity & established popularity were to go out along with the men. Now perhaps the business may be so arranged as to be worthy the attention of a suitable person. The number of men which I have to find next year is 200, & in case of failure, I am bound in a penalty of 10£ for each man deficient, so that by a payment of 2,000£ to the Company I can be free of my engagement. But I would much rather pay that sum to some person capable of fulfilling the engagement which I have contracted, & of carrying thro' the business in an effectual manner. By good management, in the hands of a person of local influence, & otherwise properly qualified, the men may perhaps be found, without incurring any great charge beyond the Company's allowance, so that the greatest part of the sum which I have mentioned would remain as clear gain. Now I would request you to turn in your mind, whether, among your acquaintances in

¹ John Mackay was a native of Clyne, Sutherlandshire, who joined the Company service in 1790 and also ended his career at Brandon House, where he died in 1810.

the Western Isles or on the opposite coast, there be any one, to whom such a proposal would be acceptable, & who could be recommended as a fit person to undertake the business. You will easily perceive that it requires a man of unimpeachable character, not only to secure the confidence of the people, but that I may rely on his fulfilling his engagement in a fair & honorable manner—bringing none but men of good character, & really suitable for the Company's service. You will also perceive the necessity of his going out in a permanent manner, to remain at least for the duration of the men's engagement. If after that trial he does not think well of the country, nothing more can reasonably be required; but if he agrees to settle, a handsome grant of land will be added to the pecuniary considerations already mentioned. If he should prefer an employment in the commercial business of the Company, I think that I may have influence enough to procure an advantageous situation for him, provided his abilities are such as to qualify him for the duty required.

[JC (Edinburgh)]

George Simpson became one of the most powerful and notorious Scots in the employment of the Hudson's Bay Company. Born illegitimate in Lochbroom, Wester Ross, he joined the Company in 1820 and was immediately sent out to Athabasca, straight into the midst of the bitter war with the North West Company. So skilfully did he conduct himself during the conflict that when hostilities ended he was appointed to govern the important Northern Department within the now greatly enlarged Hudson's Bay Company. In 1826 he also took over the Southern Department, running the Company's affairs until his death in 1860, a period in which he was known—for his autocratic manner, his ruthless efficiency and his appearance—as 'The Little Emperor of the Plains'. A parsimonious workaholic, Simpson did not suffer fools gladly and was much given to acerbic remarks about many of the 88 clerks listed in his 'Character Book', kept during the winter of 1831-2.¹ No armchair governor, he travelled extensively on regular trips of inspection, not just for administrative reconnaissance, but also to open up new areas for fur trading, with the result that by the 1830s the Company had extended its fur trading empire in various directions, taking over the eastern shore of Hudson's Bay itself, all of Labrador, and moving west to the region of Great Bear Lake. Simpson, who was knighted in 1841, was interested not only in opening up new fur trading posts in the outback; he was also gripped by the polar exploration mania, in particular the challenge of being the first to discover the much sought-after North West Passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific. As competition increased between the Hudson's Bay Company and its Montreal-based competitor, the North West Company, the former began to imitate its rivals in hiring French Canadian canoe men, while both concerns also hired 'Métis', the native-born sons and grandsons of earlier employees. Even before

¹ HBCA, PAM, Governor Simpson's Character Book 1832, A.34/2.

the companies merged in 1821, Orcadian influence was waning, and only once in the period from 1830 to 1880 did they exceed 40 per cent of the overall workforce. While the islands provided 88 per cent of the Northern Department's servants in 1830, competition from whaling from Lewis after 1831 and Shetland after 1842 dropped the figure below 50 per cent by 1855, and Lewis outstripped Orkney by the early 1870s.¹ This extract from George Simpson's annual report evaluates the relative advantages of Orcadians and Lewismen.

C4 Official Reports [by Governor George Simpson, York Factory] to the Governor and Committee in London.

10 August 1832

HBCA, PAM, D.4/99 fos. 3-5

... With regard to Servants, we beg to request that thirty Orkneymen ... be sent out by the ship of next year. The Orkney servants we have lately had were weak, undersized many of them Sickly and nearly the whole of them half starved in appearance so that for the two first years of their contracts many of them were ineffective. They are however generally speaking, quiet, orderly well behaved men. The Lewis islanders are preferable in many points of view, being strong hearty active and fit to be immediately employed on laborious service; but although steady well behaved and generally of a serious turn of mind, we find them exceedingly stubborn and difficult of management and so clannish that it is scarcely possible to deal with them singly. Under those circumstances we are not desirous of having any more of them in the country than at present, and highlanders are equally objectionable from the same cause. I therefore beg leave to recommend that instructions be sent to your Honors' agent at Orkney, sufficiently early to enable him to make his selection before the Agents of the Davis Straits fisheries begin to engage these people. [PG]

Shortly before he died in 1860, George Simpson corresponded with a countryman who was later also to serve as Governor of the Company. Donald Smith, who emigrated from Forres in 1838, is probably the best-known example of a hugely successful Scottish, sojourning entrepreneur, associated with the Company. Smith emerged from the obscurity of a 30-year career as a Labrador fur trader to become in turn commissioner of the Canadian Government charged to inquire into the 1869

¹ R. Glover, 'The Difficulties of the Hudson's Bay Company's Penetration of the West', *Canadian Historical Review*, 19 (1948), 240-54; John Nicks, 'Orkneymen in the HBC 1780-1821', in *Third North American Fur Trade Conference, Old Trails and New Directions* (Toronto, 1980), 103. Trends in the much smaller Southern and Montreal Departments were similar, while Scottish servants were rare in the far western Columbia Department.

disturbances in the Red River settlement, Land Commissioner for the Hudson's Bay Company, Member of Parliament, a principal investor in the Canadian Pacific Railway, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1889-1914, and in 1896 Canadian High Commissioner to Great Britain. Created Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal in 1897, his business letter indicates something of his meticulous attention to detail and reinforces impressions of rigorous trading in the North-west.

C5 Donald A. Smith to Sir George Simpson, dated North West River, Esquimaux Bay.

16 March, 1860

Private letter, HBCA, PAM, D.5/51, fos. 393-4

While addressing you in October last I did not for a moment suppose that we should not have been able to send out our accounts and letters, but so terrific were the storms which then visited this coast, that seldom could our boats leave the harbour, and when they did, it was only to be driven back for shelter. Not only had no such hurricanes occurred before since I have been in Esquimaux Bay, but those whose reminiscences run back some fifty years, say that they have never experienced anything similar. — The result is the loss of a great many fishing and trading vessels including, it is reported, a Brig and a schooner of Captain Norman's and one or more ships belonging to Messrs Hunt & Henley. — Our loss has been confined to several small fishing skiffs at Rigolet, among which there was a complete wreck, and to replace them will occupy our carpenter the greater part of the spring. — Deeply as I regretted and still regret not having been able to transmit the accounts to England, under the circumstances, I could not help it.

I am happy to say that the hunts made by Planters and Indians have been so far good, and will tell favorably on our returns. [JHB]

In the twelve years that elapsed between Simpson's death and the assumption of control by Smith, the variable fortunes of Company employees were both monitored and experienced by Alexander and Duncan MacArthur, two of five brothers from Cawdor in Nairnshire whose careers in Canada demonstrated the characteristics of rolling migration as well as sojourning.¹ First to arrive in Canada, in 1861, was Alexander, who worked initially for the Bank of Toronto, and subsequently took up an accountant's post at the Hudson Bay Company's Montreal headquarters, having been denied an expected salary increase with the bank. While younger brothers James and David were to pursue business and farming interests in the west, Duncan

¹ Duncan MacArthur, Montreal, to his sister Bella, Nairn, 15 Mar. 1872, NLS MacArthur Correspondence, Acc 10623 folder 3.

was to follow Alexander into the service of the Company. Peter too joined the Company briefly in 1883 as manager of inland navigation in West Canada, before returning to the lumbering and carpentry business in which he had previously been engaged on both sides of the Canadian border.¹ In July 1864, the upwardly mobile Alexander wrote home to his brother Duncan about his new appointment.

C6 Alexander Macarthur, Toronto, to Duncan Macarthur.

13 July, 1864 NLS, Macarthur Correspondence, Acc 10623, folder 2

I wrote you last about a fort-night ago. That letter would have prepared you in some manner for the news which I have to give in this one. I said in a P.S. that I had received from Mr. Hopkins a letter offering me £192 Stg per ann: in the Hudson's Bay Comp. On the day I posted my letter to you I received word by telegram from Mr. H. to meet him at the Station here on his way to the interior. I accordingly did so, driving down to a Station about a mile and a half to the east of the City, and going on board the cars there conversed with him until the train was fully engaged with other parties until the train departed for the West. Our conversation was over by the time the train stopped: The result of my interview with him was that I agreed to enter the service of the Hudson's bay Comp., as a second officer and accountant in the Montreal office, of a salary of £242 sterling per annum. This will be equal at least to what I will get here for the next twelve months, and I look upon the prospects as much better than here. The appointment has the sanction of the Resident Governor, A.G. Dallas Esquire, and only requires to be confirmed by the board and Governor in London, whose sanction I expect will be out here in about a month hence. There is little or no doubt as to their sanction, but yet it may be refused and as the former correspondence on the subject was dropped by Mr. Hopkins, at the instigation of my superiors in the Bank, I have to be careful this time in not letting them know any thing about the present offer I have. You will please look upon the matter in the same light until I can give you news of the confirmation from England. Mr. Hopkins particularly desired me to consider the matter as confidential, and I am breaking that tacit consent which I gave to its being treated so on my part in letting any person whatever know about it. But I have little fear of its coming over here from you. My acceptance of his offer would bind me to service in any part of the Coy's domination but I will not likely ever be sent, against my desire, from Montreal. The prospects you will naturally be anxious to know something of. Well then in the first place; the salary is as good as I will get here for the next twelve months; and Mr. Hopkins, who since Sir Geo. Simpsons death,

¹ See also, below, 237-8, **D4**.

has been in charge of the Montreal office, thinks of leaving the Service, and there would only be one Officer above me in Montreal. I believe there is little doubt of his leaving; if not immediately at least within the next few years. The Officer who is now next to him in Montreal is in poor health, and can only stand the work for some years more; so that in the course of some few years I would fall into his place, which would be the place now occupied by Mr Hopkins and the most influential of any under the Governor. Unless I find that this will fall to my share in a few years, I would enter business but I have Mr H's own opinion the Montreal office would fall to me after some time. Then there is as an inducement, the change of employment, which cannot but excersize a beneficial affect upon me. Again, I do not care for my supervisor in the bank here. He is a peculiar man to deal with and I have a dislike for him which it is impossible to get over, and in Consequence I will be glad to get rid of him, and the institution. There are not sureties either in the H[udson's]B[ay] Coy and now, seeing that Mr. Cameron is gone, I cannot but think that I might have some difficulty in regard to them by and bye, as they are not resident in the Province. The H.B. Coy are to carry on a different system now to what was previously in force, and Mr. Hopkins assures me that merit and zeal, confirmed with perseverance and diligence will in future be well and quickly rewarded. Mr. Hopkins had the opinion of increasing his first offer, and it was on my refusal of that offer that I stated I would accept the sum I have stated to which he agreed, so that I have received my own terms. My knowledge of business and accounts will give me an eminent advantage over the other officers of the Coy., and I think I will not be slow in improving upon that advantage. [MV]

While the managerial position of the MacArthurs undoubtedly enhanced their capacity to send remittances home, Scottish fur traders were usually mindful of their dependents on both sides of the Atlantic. Orcadian Alexander Kennedy joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1798 as a writer, and remained with the Company until he retired in 1829, having been made a chief factor on the merger with the North West Company. He died in London in 1832, a year after drawing up his will, the executor of which was the Company Secretary.¹

¹ It was also in 1832 that 18-year-old Hector Morrison of Sandwick Hill, near Stornoway, put his 'X' to a contract for £16 a year and began a 54-year service with the Hudson's Bay Company and a 70-year residence in the New World, much of it spent at Norway House, at the northern end of Lake Winnipeg. In 1840 he was promoted to the rank of fisherman, but the increase in pay was very modest, and, as his savings rose and fell intermittently, Morrison became the archetype of the long-service, low-level company employee. By 1856 he had £226 in his London account, mostly from windfall wages in the Arctic, and from accrued interest. He spent fairly freely at the Company's sale shops, patronised a private order business run by a Stromness shopkeeper named George Halcro,

- C7 William Kennedy to William Smith, secretary to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, concerning estate of Alexander Kennedy, d[ied] 6 June 1832.

Saint Margaret's Hope,
28 July, 1832

HBCA, PAM, A.36/8, fos 99-100D

I, Alexander Kennedy of the Parish of South Ronaldshay County of Orkney, but now at York Factory, Hudson's Bay, North America, being of sound mind & memory do make and declare this to be my last will & Testament ...

To my beloved Sisters, Mary & Isabella I leave the Sum of three Hundred pounds Sterling each to be paid with the moneys that may be forthcoming to me from the Hon[oura]ble Hudson's Bay.

All the rest of the monies due to me or that may be forthcoming to me from the Hon[oura]ble Hudson's Bay Company as well as what may be Standing in my name in the Bank of England in the three p[er] Cent Consolidated funds & in the Three per C[en]t Reduced Annuities I leave to my wife Aggathas and my children by her namely John, Alexander, Mary, Elizabeth, William, George, Phillip, Roderick & Isabella the principal and interest thereof to be equally divided amongst them share & share alike & in the event of my wife Aggathas being now with child or having been delivered of one since I left her it is my will & desire that the said child shall inherit an equal share with the rest of my children above named—... And it is further my will and desire that my wifes share be retained by my Executor and paid into the hands of the Hon[oura]ble Hudson's Bay Company trusting that they will have the goodness to allow her to be paid the interest thereof only annually during her natural life and at her decease the principal thereof be given to my youngest surviving child above named or alluded to in addition to the share allotted to him or her ... [JHB]

Although employees often asked to have part of their wages paid to their dependents in Scotland, the Company had a prohibition against that practice which neither loyal old hands nor promising new recruits ever had the bargaining power to circumvent. Recruits could receive an advance of 6 months' pay on signing a contract; otherwise a servant's only way to remit funds home before retirement was to instruct his district

and maintained his place in Lewis society by sending annual remittances to female relatives at least until the late 1860s. At the same time he attached himself firmly to the new society which emerged in the fur trade territories, married and built a house which he later bequeathed to a daughter. We would like to thank Judith Hudson Beattie for this information.

officer in Rupert's Land to have the departmental accountant at York Factory draw a bill on London against actual accumulated earnings. In practice, for a servant in what is now Alberta, this meant that instructions had to be issued before the district boats went out in April or May, in order to catch the autumn ship from York to London and have the transaction processed by Christmas. It also meant that an oversight by the servant or one of the accountants could not be corrected for a year or more. The distress caused by a breakdown in the remittance arrangements is illustrated by the following unsuccessful appeal made by the wife of long-standing Company labourer Edward Anderson to the Hudson's Bay Company's London office in 1857, a situation which in a barter economy such as Shetland caused severe hardship.¹

C8 Christina Anderson, Lerwick, to William Smith, secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company.

London, 22 December, 1857 HBCA, PAM, A.10/42, fos. 557-557D

My Husband Edward Anderson who is in the Hudsons Bay Service wrote me Some time ago Stating that he had Sent me Five Pounds which has not yet come to hand and as I am very needful at present it would oblige me very much if you could advance me the Five Pounds on his account. I am led to believe that he has omitted to enclose the check and the more so from his regularity in Sending me Small Sums annually. If you comply with my request please to Send it on to Mr. Peter Williamson jr Merchant Lerwick Shetland as I have been receiving Some Supplies from him for my Family and had it not been for Mr. Williamson's humanity Since my husband left here I and my children could not have been alive. [PG]

The Hudson's Bay Company was, of course, a male preserve, with a largely single labour force. Like other European fur trappers, the Scots commonly aligned themselves with native women, a practice that facilitated trade as well as enlivened the Arctic exile. From time to time, however, European wives appeared on the canvas. In 1830, at the age of eighteen, Frances, the wife of the Company Governor, George Simpson, began married life by taking a leisurely canoe trip from Montreal to York

¹ Seven years after Christina's appeal, her husband applied for re-engagement with the Hudson's Bay Company, even though he was over the age limit. Edward Anderson, one of 201 Shetlanders to join the Company between 1842 and 1870, did not fit the age or status profile, being married and over 30 when he enlisted in 1848, over 40 when he returned to his wife in 1858, and 47 when he applied, successfully, to re-engage in 1864: Edward Anderson, Lunnasting, to John Cowie, Agent for the Hudson's Bay Company, Lerwick, 5 Mar. 1864, HBCA, PAM, A.10/57, fos. 419-419D.

Factory. She journeyed up the Ottawa River in an élite party of eight, which travelled in two well-stocked canoes, rowed by thirty 'fine looking Canadians'.¹

C9 Diary of Frances R. Simpson.

2 May, 1830

HBCA, PAM, D.6/4, 28-32

Our Canoe, a most beautiful craft, airy and elegant beyond description, was 35 feet in length, the lading consisting of 2 Water proof Trunks (known by the name of Cassets) containing our clothes; 1 Basket for holding Cold Meat, Knives & Forks, Towels &c. 1 Egg Basket, a travelling Case (or Canteen) containing 6 Wine Bottles, Cups & Saucers, Tea Pot, Sugar Basin, Spoons, Cruets, Glasses & Tumblers, Fishing Apparatus, Tea, Sugar Salt &c. &c.—also a bag of Biscuits, a bale of Hams, a Keg of Butter &c. &c. ...

At 9 O'clock we put ashore for Breakfast, above the Rapids of St. Ann—the water being too shallow for the Canoes to touch the bank, Mrs. McTavish & myself were carried in the arms, and the Gentlemen on the backs of our sturdy Canadians, which (as may be supposed) caused a hearty laugh both at, and to, such of the company as were novices.

Immediately upon landing, the Guide 'Bernard' (an Indian) kindled a fire with his Flint & Steel, and a small piece of Bark & Touchwood, with which the 'Fire Bag' is furnished: two or three men with hatchets, provided wood—3 poles tied together were placed over the fire, with a large kettle suspended from them by a chain—the cloth was laid on the grass, & spread with Cold Meat, Fowls, Ham, Eggs, Bread & Butter everyone sat down in the position found most convenient, and each made the most of the time afforded. [JHB]

A steady stream of letters in both directions across the Atlantic supplemented word-of-mouth reports from new recruits and returning veterans to keep employees up to date with domestic affairs and, simultaneously, inform families and local associates about employment prospects and working conditions. The correspondence to an Orcadian labourer in the Mackenzie River district ranges over family, parish, and even international affairs, touching on the central importance of various types of migration to the economic well-being of the local community, and offering to supply

¹ Other wives fared less well under the dual rigours of Company life and the Canadian winter. Letitia Hargrave (née McTavish), one of Francis Simpson's travelling companions and wife of James Hargrave, died prematurely at the age of 41, probably as a result of the hardships she experienced at York Factory, having being worn to a 'perfect skeleton.' A synopsis of Letitia's life and writing can be found in J. Robinson, *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers* (Oxford, 1990), 300.

the sojourner with 'anything that you stand in need of'. John Isbister joined the Company in 1828 and was sent to York Factory, the principal depôt of the Northern Department. He initially served in the small team of permanent employees who, each year, transported boatloads of cargo about half the distance to its destination, the Mackenzie River district. In 1834 this freighting work was turned over entirely to native seasonal labourers, and Isbister was posted all the way inland to the Mackenzie River itself. Writing to inform his brother that he, like other acquaintances in Orkney, had recently married, William Isbister's letter, which was endorsed by his parents, was undeliverable. On 5 September 1835, one of the Company's 25-foot inland boats bound to Fort Good Hope grounded on a sand bank in the Mackenzie River, a few miles south of the Arctic Circle. In their hasty efforts to refloat her, John Isbister, who suddenly fell into deep water and a companion who went to his rescue, were two of the three boatmen drowned. The Isbisters in Harray had laboriously composed this missive to a son and brother who had already been dead for nine months.¹

C10 Private correspondence addressed to John Isbister.

17 June, 1836

HBCA, PAM, Fort Seaborn Correspondence
Inwards, fos. 1-2d

John Isbister

Labourer

York Factory, or Elsewhere

[In another hand, in pencil, marked 'Drowned']

...

Harry June ^{the} 17th 1836

Dear Brother,

... I am stopt home this year but I was very nigh to be at davis straits this year again with the Lady Jean about the 17 of May and was very nigh agriad for 2 L a month and 1^a a tun but my Mother and Wife would not let me goe. I was with a ship the last year called the Neptune of Aberdeen and our Master's name was William Penny and he was mate of the Traveler the year that I was in her and the year that my Brother died we had a verry bad year we had Five fish and we were the third best fished ship that came to Orkney. There was a great Deal of Ice in the country the last year there was eleven ships wintred there some of the ships got home about Christmas and Newyearsday and some of them did not get home until the first of March and 21 of them dead and all the rest of them not well only 4 and some of them died after they got home and there is one of them that is not heard of yet called the William Tore of Hull. The men is been verry scarce this year they have entered a great many on board a manawar that made the men

¹ Fort Simpson Post Journal, 1835-36, Tues. 29 Sept. 1835, NAS MG19 D6, ii, 65.

scarce it was expected to have been ware but not it is expected to be dropt again. I am gread to the herring fishery this year for 14^s a week in south ronaldshay [PG]

William Isbister was formerly engaged in whaling, a seasonal exodus in which Scots, especially from the east coast and the Northern Isles, were well represented in the nineteenth century. After 1840, the Scottish whaling fleet came almost exclusively from Dundee, Peterhead or Aberdeen, with crews also being drawn from Lerwick and Kirkwall. While drowning, like frostbite, was an occupational hazard in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company,¹ whaling likewise exacted a heavy toll in human life, with a high proportion of crewmen who invariably had a horror of being buried at sea, never returning home.² A week before John Isbister drowned, another undelivered letter from John Spence, to his friend and fellow Orcadian carpenter Joseph Spence, sheds light on the working conditions and domestic arrangements of Company servants. Passing reference is made to changing conditions in the Northern Isles that he had observed during a visit home.³

C11 John Spence, carpenter, on board the Prince Rupert, York Factory, to Joseph Spence, Seaman, Fort Vancouver, Columbia River.

17 September, 1835

HBCA, PAM, Undelivered letters,
E.31/2/1, fos. 285-286d.

In Remembrance of our old acquaintance I write you this to let you know that I am in good health at present hoping this will find you and all old acquaintance well also. The year I left you I did not get home. It was the 27th Sept before the ship was ready to leave York. We proceeded as far as the mouth of the Straits where It was all Blocked with Ice. We than bore up for Churchill and the Prince of Wales for Charlton. We got in Churchill River the 17th Octr when we had it very Cold. We passed a hard winter both with hunger and Cold and to Crown all got 5 Plank and 4 timbers in the flat of our ships Bottom stove in and all the Cargo Damaged. We had a very hard Job to get it repaired. The rock was in through the bottom and we Could not get it out only by Blasting in with Powder. I Bored 6 different

¹ Cf. Norway House Journal entry, 14-24 June 1841; HBCA, PAM, B.154/a/36 fo. 58-58d.

² Logs of the Whaling Steamer *Eclipse*, 1894; NAC, MG29 A 58, vol. 2, file 1; Private Journal of Alexander J. Lamb, Seaman aboard the S.S. *Diana*, 20 July, 1903: Dundee Museums and Art Gallery.

³ Stromness-born John Spence had joined the Company in 1820, and after spending thirteen years in Canada as a boat builder, had returned to Europe for two years before resuming his work as a carpenter on Hudson's Bay Company ships from 1825 to 1861 at Vancouver, where he finally retired.

holes in the rock Sitting in water to the Breast but we got it repaired and got the ship home and I am now on Board of her at York Factory as Carpenter ... I am well appointed for the time but the Voyage will be short if we get home this year which I hope we will. Joseph Give My Compliments to my Old Lady Although I Suppose she has altogether forgot me. I Sometimes think of old times yet we had Pleasure and Sorrow together but I think now I paid too much head to Stories not Saying but they were true but when it was only for a time that I thought of remaining with her we might [have] been quieter had I been more Careless. I would be happy to See you all and I Still think I will but I am not Sure how Circumstances may go. I am not married as yet nor yet thinking of it. They are plenty of girls in Orkney but by their appearance to me they want money to keep them up. They are remarkable dressy now at home. An old fellow like me wanted a Clean Pocket handkerchief every day they dazeled my eyes so ...

[JHB]

As a counter to the harsh realities of sojourning in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, Edinburgh-born children's author R. M. Ballantyne (1825-94) created inspiring images of fur trading. Recruited by the Company at the age of 16, he spent 7 years as a clerk in Rupert's Land, where his experiences formed the basis for many of his books. He shares with James Fenimore Cooper much of the responsibility for creating a powerful romantic image of the North American frontier which had a crucial—if unquantifiable—influence on sojourning and settlement in that region. Thus, the severity of the climate is offset by a strange phenomenon in the Bachelors' Hall after the 1846 Christmas Ball.

C12 R.M. Ballantyne, *Hudson's Bay, or, Every-day Life in the Wilds of North America, being six years' residence in the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Edinburgh, 1848), 166-7.

Before concluding the description of our Christmas doings, I may as well mention a circumstance which resulted from the effects of the ball, as it shows in a curious manner the severity of the climate at York Factory. In consequence of the breathing of so many people in so small a room, for such a length of time, the walls had become quite damp, and ere the guests departed, moisture was trickling down in many places. During the night, this moisture was frozen; and, on rising the following morning, I found, to my astonishment, that Bachelors' Hall was apparently converted into a palace of crystal. The walls and ceiling were thickly coated with beautiful minute crystalline flowers, not sticking flat upon them, but projecting outwards in various directions, thus giving the whole apartment a cheerful light appearance, quite indescribable. The moment our stove was heated, however, the crystals became fluid, and ere long evaporated,

leaving the walls exposed in all their original dinginess.

Romantic images of the frontier notwithstanding, economic necessity was the catalyst which ushered most recruits into the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, not least in Lewis in the 1840s and 1850s, where pressure had been applied on crofters whose rent was in arrears. The landlord, Sir James Matheson, was a cousin of Alexander Matheson MP, a member of the Company's governing committee. Service with the Hudson's Bay Company was a recognised outlet for his surplus tenantry. But when four discontented former recruits made depositions before Stornoway Justice of the Peace (and estate chamberlain on Lewis) Donald Munro in 1856, a powerful warning was transmitted to the Company to get its affairs in order in the Western Isles. A long-running and bitter internal company dispute about wage levels for European and French-Canadian or native labour had sharpened divisions within the service, soured the mood of available labourers in Scotland, and led to public condemnation by dissatisfied servants. One or two individuals with arguable claims were paid for their silence, but the tendency was for the Company to be tried and found wanting in the mart of public opinion, thereby damaging its recruiting efforts, and perhaps fostering the litigious attitude of the Lewis petitioners who eventually had their day in court on 26 November 1857.

C13 Depositions of Stornoway recruits.

1857 HBCA, PAM, London Inward Correspondence,
General, 1857, A.10/41, fos. 2-4

Compeared Murdo Macleod residing at South Shawbost, Island of Lewis, who declares,

I was engaged in 1848 for five years to the Hudsons Bay Company by Mr. Morison, Banker, Stornoway their agent, and was to have £17 per annum of money wages and my board and lodgings. During the first year of my engagement I was employed driving oxen and was very well pleased with my Master. I was then ordered across the Rocky Mountains, and expected to have been sent to Colombia but instead of that was sent to New Caledonia. In this place I remained during a year—in the course of which we made excursions to Bear Lake for furs.—On several occasions we got only the same kind of provisions and the same quantity as was allowed the dogs vizt two dried salmon each.—I recollect that on one occasion we ran short of provisions and had to kill one of our dogs for sustenance for which I had to pay £5. On another occasion I had to sell my shirt for provisions and during my stay in New Caledonia we were very ill off in that respect. I was also overwraught by a Peter Ogilvy a 'half breed' Man who was over me, who said that I must work at the roads both day and

night.¹ The Manager of the District, a Mr. Manson,² was very severe upon the Men and ill used them. One Sunday morning in particular I saw him strike James Macfadzean a severe blow with a heavy stick from the effects of which he bled profusely. Macfadzean was a well-behaved Man, and shortly thereafter quitted the service. I also saw him strike a Frenchman with an augur. I frequently saw him strike others, but he never attempted to touch me. At one time I was very unwell and weak from want of provisions he came up to me and called me 'a damned lazy brute'. He had two sons with him there, and the other Men told me they were more cruel than their Father, but I never saw them do anything out of the way. The Station at which we were is Stewart Lake. When I left it we went to Thomson River Station under Mr. Fraser where I remained for three years and was very well pleased. I never heard any complaints against Mr. Fraser who was very kind to us, and I was promoted under him to be Cattle Man. At the expiry of my engagement I went to Fort Victoria, where I remained nine months and entered into a new engagement as Shepherd at Bellevue Island where I was stationed till my return home. I was there little more than two years.— I was well satisfied at Bellevue and they were kind to me. All the Chief officers were good to us—and it is the subordinates at a distance from seat of government of whom we had reason to complain. I returned to the Lews in July last. [PG]

The Company's ideal recruit was a young single man, aged at least 21. Younger men were not thought to have reached the peak of their strength, and married men were considered unlikely to renew their contracts after the end of the mandatory 5-year term. The advantages of renewals, even at a small advance in wages, were considered to outweigh the risks and costs of recruiting and training new men. Those re-engaging had their characters, health and morals carefully examined by the Company's northern Scottish hiring agents, while the London office checked account books and correspondence to see whether the applicants had been frugal or spendthrift, obedient or truculent, during earlier service. By the 1870s competitive employment opportunities were making it more difficult for the Company to attract servants from at least one of its traditional recruiting grounds.

C14 Letter and hand bill from John Stanger, Stromness to William Armit, secretary to the Hudson's Bay Company.

¹ Peter Ogden—not Ogilvy—was the country-born son of Chief Trader Peter Skene Ogden and served as an officer in the Hudson's Bay Company, chiefly in the Columbia Department and New Caledonia district. There was a clerk named John Ogilvy in the area at the same time, and Macleod has apparently confused the two names.

² Chief Trader Donald Manson, born in Thurso in 1796, spent most of his career in New Caledonia (now the interior of British Columbia).

London, 15 January, 1875

HBCA, PAM, A.10/93 fos. 121-122

... respecting the engagement of servants for the Comp.—I have advertised in the usual way by hand Bills and through the local papers to that effect.—Also I have had several applications before receiving my instructions which I will now attend to by writing the parties but I am not sure whether they will agree at the rates formerly given the rise of wages in Orkney is equal to what has taken place in the other parts of Scotland, once Farm servants can readily obtain £22 yearly once formed which they have frequently stated to me. I will however endeavour to obtain good men at the former salaries, and should I find that it cannot be accomplished I will let you know in sufficient time to receive the opinion of the Board on that subject.

[JHB]

Although the Company continued to recruit Scots well into the twentieth century, the paucity—or unsuitability—of highland recruits, as well as the increasing search for youths with initiative and leadership qualities rather than for unskilled labour, led it to cast its net in a different direction by the 1920s. Élite grant-maintained public and private schools were targeted through apprenticeships in the fur trade awarded to boys with a reputation for common sense. Prefecting and service in the Officers' Training Corps or the Boy Scouts took precedence over academic distinction.¹

C15 Extract from *Headmasters' Conference Bulletin No. 3.*

1928

HBCA, PAM

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY. There are some vacancies in the Fur Trade Department for Public School and Secondary School Boys between the ages of 17 and 20. Approved applicants are sent out to Canada on a five year contract to some chosen post, in order to gain experience in the elements of the business. Free transportation is provided, and the maintenance allowance is gradually increased from 240 dollars in the first year to 504 dollars in the fifth, with board and lodging.

Promotion is possible all the way up to and including the higher administrative appointments of the Company—District Managers, Accountants, Inspectors, District Office Staffs, and the highest post which the service has to offer—Fur Trade Commissioner.

The fur trader's life should have a special appeal to the type of boy who seeks something more than a purely routine task such as that of a

¹ J. Chadwick Brooks, Secretary, Hudson's Bay Company, to Headmaster, George Heriot's School, Edinburgh, 26 Mar. 1929; HBCA, PAM, A.102/158.

junior clerk in a bank or insurance office. An apprentice may be sent to a northern post where he learns to trade with the Eskimos, to keep the Company's books, to drive a dog team, to meet emergencies, to explore, and to seek opportunities for development. Or he may be sent to a post among the Indians in the less northerly parts of Canada, or to a so-called 'line' post somewhere on the railway where white trappers and Indians bring their furs to barter with the traders. It is a full-blooded life, affording plenty of scope for initiative, and the rewards are ample for those who succeed.

The main drawbacks of the work are the limited society and the isolation at each post. To many boys the loneliness of the long winter at a small post where there are perhaps only two other white men, is irksome—especially to a boy who gains no pleasure from reading and whose thoughts linger on the pleasures of civilisation. And there are boys to whom the glamour of the 'Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay' would be a primary incentive, but who find this an empty solace for the hard facts of the fur trader's life; but there are other boys who would gain inspiration from their surroundings and carry on the traditions of the Company with the same courage and tenacity as of old, at the same time enriching them with an enlightened spirit of progress.

D INDUSTRIAL SOJOURNING IN NORTH AMERICA

Service in the Hudson's Bay Company notwithstanding, the Scots presence in Canada is associated more with settlement than sojourning. However, the transport improvements associated with the era of heavy industry, notably steamships and railroads, not only made sojourning faster, safer and more comfortable than in the days of sail and of horse drawn wagons, but facilitated and encouraged temporary, or episodic, emigration throughout North America. A complete potted history of a temporary sojourn in Canada is given in the diary of James Gordon, a labourer from Aberdeenshire, who followed a variety of occupations during his three-and-a-half year stay. On 16 June 1886, he boarded a train at Lumphanan and the following day took ship from Liverpool. After disembarking in Quebec, he spent two days in Montreal before—like so many emigrants in that era—being lured to the west to work for the Canadian Pacific Railway on condition that he received a free pass back east after six months. The train journey west took seven days, passing over the good farming country of Ontario and on through Manitoba to the Rockies, whose mountain scenery he found reminiscent of that of Scotland, save for the abundance of timber and fruit. On arrival at Donald, without having stopped anywhere for more than a half-hour, Gordon began working in a sawmill for 7s. 6d. per day, but found the work too heavy and left after only two weeks, having sprained his wrist. Within two days he found another job further west at Rogers Pass, building sheds to protect the railway from snow that slipped in spring from mountains up to 1,400 feet high. But the work, which employed 3,000 men within a range of 6

miles, turned out to be just as hard, and even more dangerous, with daily accidents and occasional fatalities. Having been injured by a falling piece of wood, he contracted rheumatism after lying up for two weeks in his tent before being conveyed by train 40 miles to the nearest hospital, which was supported by monthly payments (of 2s. each) from the men working on the railway. After spending three weeks in hospital at Donald, James Gordon collected his clothes and wages and cashed in his free rail pass back east. His return journey was not uneventful. East of Winnipeg, the engine was derailed by ice on a crossing. In an attempt to cure his rheumatism, Gordon spent a further six weeks in a Toronto hospital at a cost of 15s. per week. He then worked on the Welland Canal for a week before going on strike, suffering a relapse, and returning to Toronto, where from May to July he worked, at 6 shillings a day, for a builder digging out house foundations. Subsequently, he had various temporary jobs in different parts of Ontario but remained anchored to the exiled Scottish community before family circumstances dictated his return to Aberdeenshire in October 1889.

D1 Diary of James Gordon, Immigrant Labourer, Loanend, Lumphanan, 'A trip from Lumphanan to British Columbia and stayed 3½ years and the journey home again'.

December, 1889

NAC, MG 29 C 29

... on the 18 July 1887 I engaged to a farmer for two months for hay and harvest the wages was \$60 or about £12. The name of the place was Bradford [Brantford] about 100 miles north of Toronto on the Northern railway. We had to work from daylight to darkness. This farmer had three farms he managed two of them himself the other one was managed by one of his sons. He had 100 acres of alsic clover on one farm it was all mowed down first then it was driven into a large barn and thrashed out in the end of the year. All the farmers have self-binders and lots of them only afford one man to sett up the sheaves it is very hard work to keep up to one of the self-binders. On all the farms there is a large Bell which they ring in the morning to weaken the men also when the meals are ready. We finished the hay and harvest in 5 weeks after that I ploughed three weeks and then my time had expired with the farmer but I was none to sorry for he was the worst master I ever served. On the date he payed me my wages he kept of 2/ of my wages for breaking an old sythe so you may guess what like a man he was. When I left the farmer I went back to Toronto and engaged to work on the Trent Valley Canal on conditions I got dry work. The Contractor payed our railway fair to Peter Bourough when he gave us all a good supper. There was 21 of us altogether after supper we had to go 40 miles by stage we arrived in the morning and went to bed or noon. We then started work but the work was not what we expected it to be we were standing up to the

[k]nees amongst water so next night we all with the exception of one made up our minds to leave the Trent Valley Canal ... then I ingaged on the Guelph Junction railway ... the farmers about Guelph were mostly Scotchmen. The Town was mostly built of stones. I left Guelph about the middle of December 1887 and went back to Toronto I then ingaged to work in a planning mill ... I worked there untill spring. I then left as I could get better wages working with the masons. When I was with the masons I got the chance to drive a team of horses for the Shedding Company. I worked there untill I left for home. It was the best job I ever had many a day we scarcely did anything the wages was \$36 monthly or about £7.10 the head men of the Shedding Co were all Scotch ... when stoping in Toronto I joined a socitey called the Sons of Scotland that Society made an excursion every year to some part of the country when we ingaged in athletic sports the same as the games in Scotland ... one night when I came in from my days work there was a letter from home with the sorrowfull news that my mother was dead. About nine weeks after my mothers death my poor Father died also when I along with my Brother William who was working along with me made up our minds to leave for home so we took the train on the 22 Oct from Toronto to Monterall a distance of over 300 miles when we arrived at Monterall we went aboard the ship Sardina bound for Liverpool ... on the journey homeward there is little amusements the people are not so hearty as when going out

The increased ease of transatlantic crossings opened up new employment opportunities, particularly to skilled labour. Episodic emigration expanded markedly, and short-term contracts were increasingly offered to men—and sometimes women—in a variety of American industries and trades. It was largely as temporary workers that an army of Aberdeen tradesmen helped shape the American granite industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly in New England, and most notably in the town of Barre, Vermont. Although some were recruited by agents for specific jobs, most went out in the mere hope of employment, lured by the expectation of much higher wages than they could earn at home. Many of these skilled Aberdonian masons, who played a crucial part in training American stonecutters, became long-term seasonal emigrants, travelling west each spring and back to Aberdeen in the autumn, often with orders for the Scottish yards. Others might spend a few years in Barre, saving their wages with the ultimate goal of opening a yard of their own in Aberdeen, where business would be sustained by American orders. Those who remained permanently in America played a significant part in maintaining links with Aberdeen, particularly if they became successful enough to open their own yards and attract further temporary workers from home. Interviews with elderly Scots conducted during an oral history project in Barre reflect the comings and goings which preceded their families' ultimately permanent settlement in Barre. While the majority of these

*skilled labours re-crossed the Atlantic at least once, William Imlach did not return to Scotland, but sojourned in different American locations before settling down in Barre.*¹

D2 William Imlach, interviewed by Andrew Sacher.

Barre, Vermont, 26 May 1976

APL

I was born in a little place what they called Cairnie in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, on September the 23rd 1892. And I came here—I came to this country in 1913. I was, well I came over in May and I'd have been 21 in September. I went out to Illinois, to Lake Forest, Illinois, that's 30 miles north of Chicago ... and I worked out there a couple of years, and I come back here in 1915.

—What sent you out to Lake Forest, out to Illinois?

Well, there was a friend of mine there, we worked together—I always worked on the farms on the other side, in the Old Country, and there was a fellow the name of Bill Fowlie, he came out a year ahead of me, and we kept corresponding, and, oh, one day in the Spring of 1913, I kind of got fed up, and I wrote to him. I asked him if there was any chance of work out here, and he says—he wrote back—sure, come on out and work ... And I went out to there and I drove team for a year. Then at slack time I got laid off and I went to work with a gardener on a gentleman's place down on the lake front there. Hubbart, the name was. And I worked there till up till Christmas, and then I got laid off—they didn't need two of us, and laid off for a couple of months, and I don't know—I went up to Wisconsin, looking for work up there, and I met in with an uncle—my father's youngest brother, and I hadn't seen him for a good many years. He put it into my head I ought to learn to be a paving cutter, you know, these lots (?) the streets is paved with. He was a paving cutter, so was my Dad. And I had a brother was working here, and I come east to learn to cut paving. Huh, I worked nine days at it, that was enough—I kept pounding my hand, and that was enough, so I started to work in the quarries, and I worked there until—oh, December of 1917, I come down here to work, to go to work in Barre, in the stone sheds. And I put in the rest of my life here. I worked for Young Brothers, then I had to go in the army, and I put in a little while there. When I came back I started to work again at Marr & Gordon ... between the quarry and the stone sheds I was 43 years in the granite.

Some skilled workers crossed the Atlantic because they were down on their luck at

¹ See also, below, 286, E9.

home; others went not so much to escape their financial obligations as in an effort to meet them. But it was sometimes fruitless, with sojourners being cast back as applicants for poor relief. William Mennie (25) was an unemployed fishworker, and James Noble was a journeyman baker with a wife and four children. Both were from the Aberdeenshire coastal town of Fraserburgh and both found it impossible to recover their fortunes on either side of the Atlantic during the 1920s.

D3 Fraserburgh Parish Council, Record of Applications for Poor Relief, 1921-1924, 1 November 1921 to 20 September 1924. No. 75, 249.

12 September, 1924

ACA, AC6/27/26

Went to America in Oct. 1923 and returned here 7th August last as he was only being employed in Motor Works 2 days a week and had wife and child to support at home. Registered at Exchange 5 weeks ago but no benefit yet.

D4 Record of Applications 20 September 1924 to 4 November 1926. No 338, 103.

2 November 1925

ACA, AC6/27/27

Applicant returned from New York 2 weeks ago. He has been in America since June 1923, but was not successful there. He is now registered at Labour Exchange.

E EVANGELICAL SOJOURNING IN SOUTH AMERICA

The well-attested religious links between Scotland and America, which were rooted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were certainly enhanced as a two-way traffic by transport improvements as well as denominational diversity during the nineteenth century. Transatlantic sojourning was stimulated by evangelical revivalism,¹ with missionary endeavour spreading to Latin America at no less a pace than economic development. After Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1821, the country relied heavily on British engineering and technical expertise, as well as labour. The association of evangelical and economic endeavour on the part of Scottish migrant workers was noted by Frances Erskine Inglis, who was born in Edinburgh in 1804, but spent her childhood in France and Boston, where her mother and nine siblings moved after her father's death. In 1838, Frances married Don Angelo Calderon de la Barca, the Spanish Minister to the United States and a man of dashing repute. A year later they travelled together to Mexico City, where he took up his prestigious

¹ Cf. Grantown-on-Spey Baptist Church History, HCA, transcript, 9, HCA/D319.

new post as Spanish ambassador.¹ Leaving New York for Mexico in the latter part of 1839, she endured a long journey by sea and land, before arriving on Boxing Day. Not long after settling into her new home and very different lifestyle, Frances, her husband and a party of friends ventured to Tepenacasco to visit the silver mines at Real del Monte. Despite her long absence from Scotland, Frances had never entirely forgotten the land of her birth.

E1 Madame C[alderon] De la B[arca], *Life in Mexico during a Residence of Two Years in that Country* (London, 1843), 138–40.

... we caught a glimpse of Real itself, with its sloping roofs and large church, standing in the very midst of forests and mountains. We began to see people with fair hair and blue eyes; and one individual, with a shock of fiery red hair and an undeniable Scotch twang, I felt the greatest inclination to claim as a countryman ... We visited all the different works; the apparatus for sawing, the turning-lathe, foundry, &c.; but I regretted to find that we could not descend into the mines. We went to the mouth of the shaft called the Dolores, which has a narrow opening, and is entered by perpendicular ladders. The men go down with conical caps on their heads, in which is stuck a lighted tallow candle. In the great shaft, called the Terreros, they descend, by means of these ladders, to the depth of a thousand feet, there being platforms at certain distances, on which they can rest. We were obliged to content ourselves with seeing them go down, and with viewing and admiring all the great works which English energy has established here; the various steam-engines, the buildings for the separation and washing of the ore; the great stores, workshops, offices &c. Nearly all the workmen are British, and of these the Scotch are preferred. Most of the miners are Indians, who work in companies, and receive in payment the eighth part of the proceeds. The director gave us some specimens of silver from the great heaps where they lie, sparkling like genii's treasure.

While the respective economic and political interests of Britain and the United States in South America may have diverged frequently during the nineteenth century, transatlantic co-operation between the American Bible Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society paved the way for evangelists to distribute Spanish Bibles in Bolivia at the outset of the twentieth century. Travelling by mule from Buenos Aires with his fellow missionary, Charles Wilson from Australia, Will Payne, from Aboyne, Aberdeenshire, took his family, two boxes of Bibles and a gospel tent. Having previously obtained a licence from the Bolivian government to sell books, Wilson and Payne

¹ Frances Erskine Inglis (d. 1882) was made a Spanish marquesa. A synopsis of her life can be found in Robinson, *Wayward Women*, 233.

nonetheless met with fierce opposition from the Roman Catholic clergy and their followers in Cochabamba.

E2 Will Payne & Charles T. Wilson, *Missionary Pioneering in Bolivia, with some account of work in Argentina* (London, n.d., c. 1903), 116-17.

Frequently we had thought of the possibility at some time of seeking to preach the Gospel in Cochabamba, the most northerly department of Bolivia; and when the doctors decided that it was wiser for Mrs Payne to leave Oruro, the great altitude of which had been so trying to her, we thought the time had come to fulfil this desire ... A diligence drawn by six mules, and carrying seven passengers, leaves Oruro each week during the dry season for Cochabamba, and makes the journey in two days; a new piece of road having shortened the trip. When we left Oruro in 1902 we had three days of travel with this diligence before we reached Cochabamba. The first part of the road lay across the great pampas that stretch away in front of Oruro, and as our mules tore across this plain at a great pace, we had an opportunity of getting accustomed to the movement of the coach before we entered the mountain road, where the bumping and jolting over stone, etc. began ... By the time we had reached Cochabamba we had got quite into a tropical climate, and though still about 8,000 ft. over sea level, it seemed quite a low-lying country compared with the great altitudes we had been accustomed to. For the last few miles into Cochabamba the road was along the foot of the Tunari mountain, the snow on which all year round helps to reduce the temperature, and renders Cochabamba a very pleasant place to live in ... We secured a house, and as soon as I could get seats made and things in order we began to invite a few of the friends to come to listen to our message. We realized that here, as in every town of Bolivia, there was some danger, as the priests were not likely to allow their power and influence to be thus rudely shaken.

The attendance at our meetings soon reached from 150 to 250 persons; but of course many opposed and excitement grew to boiling point ... On Sunday, Sept. 21st, bells rang out to call the people to defend their religion. The crowds gathered in the Prado, but no one came forward to address them. A few sacristans etc., mixed with the crowd, urging them on to vengeance on the Protestants.

About 2pm. We heard the roar of furious thousands, and like a river let loose, they rushed down on our house. Paving stones were quickly torn up, and before the police arrived windows and doors were smashed, and about a thousand voices were crying for blood. We cried to the Lord, not expecting to live much longer ... I was beaten and dragged about while the cry went up, 'Death to the Protestant.' The first was blazing outside,

as they had a quantity of kerosene, and with all the forms, chairs, texts, clothes and books, the street was a veritable bonfire ... It seemed that the end had come, when a big Cholo, who had been helped by me on a recent journey drove back the savages by sheer force. One man rushed at me with a knife but Terrazas knocked him down. Soldiers now arrived, the regiment Abaroa striking terror into the hearts of the mob as they simply charged through everything and wielded swords on all sides.

We were glad to find ourselves in life, the poor children escaping also, and in a few minutes we had a stream of sympathisers that lasted till night.

The records of the colonial committees of Scottish Presbyterian churches are full of commentary about the sojournings, trials and tribulations of ministers and catechists all over the world. As furlough, illness or career advancement took men back to Scotland, the churches were always on the lookout for replacements.

E3 Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts passed by the General Assembly 1920, Report of the Colonial Committee, 225.

THE ARGENTINE—Dr Fleming, who was at home last year on furlough, when sending St Andrew's Scots Church contribution to the funds of the Colonial Committee (£43, 1s., the largest ever sent), writes:-

We have maintained all our services during the year 1919, although not in so complete a form as we usually do. The clerical staff was depleted, owing to my absence on holiday and to the illness of Rev. D. Macdonald. We owe much to Rev. Neil Maccoll and Rev. A. Taylor Hill, who have both returned to Scotland.

The charge at Chascomus is still vacant; but there is now money enough in hand to warrant another minister being obtained, and I hope that this will be done. In the meantime we continue to give a fortnightly service, once in Spanish and once in English, from St Andrew's. Progress is being made with the reduction of the debt on our suburban churches. In 1918 our hall at Belgrano was freed from debt. This year, at our church at Jalleres, the debt has been paid off; at our other two churches, Bahia Blanca and Temperley, the debt has been reduced. Our 'Camp' work, which your Committee supports, has been carried on throughout the year by the Rev. Neil Maccoll, the Rev. A. T. Hill, and now by Rev. R. J. U. Martin. This gentleman will return to Scotland in April; but we hope to have his successor, Rev. J. Y. Clark, in May or June, so the work should go on without interruption.

We trust your Committee will continue their support to this work. Without your help we would not have been able to 'carry on.'

Chapter Five

THE GAEL IN AMERICA

Gaels were certainly present among the contingents of Scottish adventurers, political prisoners and entrepreneurial sojourners in the Americas from the seventeenth century. However, the roots of substantive community migration from the highlands and islands lay firmly in the eighteenth century, when tenurial changes, depicted progressively as improvements but adversely as clearances, were harnessed to perceptions of better opportunities across the Atlantic. The emigration of the Gael was part of the ongoing process of removal and relocation following the convulsive switch in estate management away from clanship in favour of commercial landlordism. The first phase of clearance, from the 1730s to the 1820s, was marked by the break up of traditional townships following competitive bidding instigated by the clan élite of chiefs and leading gentry that set the clansmen as farmers and labourers against the tacksmen as the middle management of the clan. As a result, the multiple-tenant farms managed by the tacksmen and worked by clansmen and their families gave way to single-tenant farms for cattle ranching and sheep walks. Erstwhile clansmen were relocated occasionally in planned villages, but more usually in crofting communities to pursue fishing, quarrying of lime and slate, burning of seaweed, ferns and wood for kelp, potash and charcoal respectively. Agriculture became an ancillary pursuit as crofting was propped up by seasonal migration to the lowlands or episodic sojourning in military service. The alternative to relocation was removal, with many Gaels opting for urban centres or emigration to the Americas rather than endure downward social mobility and rural congestion in crofting communities.¹ The second phase of clearance, which lasted from the economic recession following the Napoleonic Wars until the land agitation of the 1880s, saw the intensification of commercial pastoralism associated with extensive sheep walks and the expansion of sporting estates. The propensity to famine within the crofting communities led to their selective removal, notably those reliant on kelp as opposed to fishing or quarrying. With military recruitment largely in abeyance, migration overseas, particularly with the expansion westwards in the United States and Canada, became a more congenial if no less arduous option than the ghettoised

¹ A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996), 210-41.

squalor of the industrial towns and cities. Although security of tenure was conceded by the Crofters' Holdings Act of 1886, no meaningful mechanism was effected to resettle cleared lands and no accompanying provision was made for security of income. Accordingly, the third phase of clearance was characterised by a further haemorrhaging from the land, with Gaelic communities not only moving westwards to the Pacific coast but southwards into Latin America prior to 1939.

A THE FIRST PHASE OF CLEARANCE

Albeit Gaelic sojourners in Jamaica established the basis for an Argyll Colony by the 1720s and settlers from the central highlands were brought in to protect the frontiers of Georgia from the 1730s,¹ the first significant migrant presence tied systematically to tenurial reform in the western highlands occurred in the Cape Fear River area of North Carolina. Although the initial settlements in Cumberland and Bladen counties cannot be dated precisely, a Gaelic community may have been present as early as 1729 and was further augmented from 1736 onwards.² Alexander MacLeod—known as 'Glendale' by virtue of his lands in north-west Skye—was an illegitimate son of Norman MacLeod of Dunvegan and Harris, who acted as factor for his father. His letters, however, relate to affairs on the extensive property of Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat in Skye. Seemingly, MacDonald's style of estate management, particularly his attempts to play the tenantry against the tacksmen, so deeply offended local populations that they emigrated in protest. Social tensions, as well as rent increases, provided an underlying dynamic driving emigration during this phase of clearance. The departure of tacksmen and entrepreneurial tenantry removed notable amounts of vital capital and had a profound effect on social and economic conditions on the island. Large-scale departures induced panic and apprehension in those who remained. Heavy cattle sales in order to fund transatlantic emigration lowered overall domestic stock prices, and Glendale suggests that communities facing removal and relocation began to contemplate emigration as a pre-emptive move against a drop in living standards. Glendale not only confirms the relative wealth of departing tenantry, but also the sophisticated methods used by tacksmen to pool capital resources in order to make emigration possible. However, an ancillary stipulation that no subscriber could invest less than £20 to acquire land in North Carolina indicates a migratory process that was tightly controlled and loaded in favour of former status within the clans. With up to 30 tacksmen on the Sleat estates having invested capital in excess of £2,000, they were intent on achieving

¹ A.W. Parker, *Scottish Highlanders in Colonial Georgia: The Recruitment, Emigration and Settlement at Darien, 1735-48* (Athens, Ga, 1997).

² Gaels were also attracted to North Carolina by inducements offered by Gabriel Johnston, the Scots-born governor and former professor of Hebrew at St Andrews University. Charges of Jacobitism were several times levelled against Johnston by his political enemies, but evidence that he harboured such sympathies was more circumstantial than conclusive: *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, ed. W. S. Saunders, 10 vols (Raleigh, N.C., 1886-1890), IV, 932-3.

*nothing less than unfettered ownership of colonial land.*¹

A1 Alexander Macleod to his father, Norman Macleod of Macleod Esq.,
at Park, nr. St. Andrews.

Glendale, 18 February, 1771

DCA, MSS Section 4/1113

... there is the strongest arguments for your keeping fair with your people [as] possible, people's going to Ammerica is become now a very serious matter in our neighbouring country, by ye folly and pride of their superior, he [MacDonald of Sleat] wrote a taunting letter in winter—to Doctor MacLean his factor against such as was going to Ammerica, an other lately giving the Doctor full power to take any tacks yt might be offered and to sett the lands upon small tenants, the Doctor read them all—these letters which gave such a general offence that now they are so much bent on going to Ammerica that if Sir Alexander was to give them lands as formerly they swear they won't stay under such a T[yrann]t. They propose to go all in a body to North Carolina and buy lands and settle near each other, ten of the most substantial gentlemen have already signed a covenant of this nature and published an advertisement for a meeting at Portree the first Wednesday of March next inviting other gentlemen to join them and giving encouragement to the country tenants to follow them, in short besides these ten gentlemen all the people from high to low are fully determined to join them at ye Portree meeting to share ye fate of their neighbours, there is not a man from high to low in Slate or Trotternish but Aird, Bellanch [Martin of Beallach] and Doctor MacLean but will go, the ten convinanters have already engaged 100 families of the lower class to follow them, from all this Sir Alex'r will have £1,500 per annum of lay [waste] lands next May, and as for tenants on his estate for taking them up he'll be as much as disappointed as possible, he'll repent of his management with terrible loss to himself and familie and I look upon it now out of his power to prevent it as ye people have such an universale hatred against him. It is hard to say where this humour may stop, but certain it is if your people was slighted by you under their present difficulties they would soon determine like their neighbours who think worse of their superior's haughty behaviour than the hight of their rents, I would therefore humbly advise you to see your country next summer and treat them as usual wt kindness. [AM]

¹ Alexander Macleod to [Norman MacLeod?], DCA, Glendale, 11 Mar. 1771, MSS Section 4/114.

Allan Macdonald of Kingsburgh was one of the premier tacksmen to emigrate from Skye to North Carolina in the 1770s.¹ The recipient of his letter, John Mackenzie, was a prominent lawyer from the highlands who counted many of the region's élite amongst his clients. The letter graphically demonstrates the scale and intensity of the area's first cycle of mass and sustained emigration. A large primary departure of people did not necessarily relieve pressure within estates. If anything, this merely stimulated further population loss by means of chain migration. Kingsburgh's description of Trotternish in the aftermath of mass emigration offers an unusual perspective, illustrating how corrosive the process could be on the social fabric of estates.

A2 Allan Macdonald of Kingsborough to John Mackenzie of Delvine, W.S., Horse Wynd, Edinburgh.

2 March, 1773

NLS, Mackenzie of Delvine Papers,
MS 1306, fol. 67

The only news in this island is emigrations; I believe the whole will go for America—in 1771 there shipped and arrived safe in North Carolina 500 souls. In 1772 there shipped and arrived safe in said place 450 souls. This year they have already signed and preparing to go, above 800 souls and all those from Skye and North Uist. It is melancholy to see the state of this miserable place; the superior summoning the tenants to remove for not paying the great rent etc. and the tenants the superior for oppression, for breaking the conditions of his tacks, and for violent profits—The factor, tenants at law, for iniquities and wrong accounts and them out of their lands in the month of May and June without previous warning—No respect of persons, as the best are mostly gone, stealing of sheep etc. constantly, and picking and thieving of corn, garden stuffs, and potatoes perpetually, lying backbiting and slandering—Honesty entirely fled, villainy and deceit, supported by downright poverty in its place. When this next emigration is gone, only Aird and other three old men, will lease, that will be in Slate and Trotternish of the name of Macdonald. [AM]

The attractions of North Carolina continued to be touted in publications and letters, not infrequently by shipowners and land speculators, who stood to profit by an increase in emigration. This glowing testimonial of Alexander Campbell of Balole was based on a visit to the province c. 1769-70, and is known to have circulated in Skye in 1772. It undoubtedly had a positive influence on the notable emigration from there to Cape Fear.

¹ See also, above, 115-6.

A3 Alexander Campbell of Balole to Corriechalachan (copy).

[17?] March, 1772

NAS, Gilchrist of Ospisdale Muniments,
GD153/51/Box 1/Bundle 5¹

This produce of [North Carolina] is Tarr Turpentine Beef & pork & some Indigo Rice and Tobacco all Sort of timber, with various other Commodities; N.C. is but a new Settlemt in Comparison to S.C.: I have seen the first Child born to the English there & I do no[t] believe his above 45 year old An Uncle of mine Niell MacNiel of Ardulay brot over the first Highlanders that went there 30 years ago, he then settled under many disadvantages 40 Miles in the midst of Woods distant from any other Settlemt, which hurt him and them greatly but now the Case is quite altered, the town of Wilmington which is now the princ[a]ll one in the province, is a fine thriving pretty place, it had but 3 hutts in it, when my Uncle went over, it is 24 miles f[ro]m the Sea on a river larger than the Thames, and has a considerable trade with most parts of England; 100 Miles above this town lies Crosscreeks on the Same River, a very thriving place, the Highlanders are mostly settled about this last, each has a plantation of his own on the river Side & live as happy as princes, they have liberty & property & no Excise, no dread of their being turned out of their lands by Tyrants, each has as good a Charter as a D. of Argyle, or a Sir A. MacDonald, and only pay half a Crown a year for 100 Acres they possess, in Short I never saw a people seemed to me to be so really happy as our Countrymen there, As to health they have no more Complaints than those in the Highlands; [R]J[C]

While most historical debate and study have centred on tracing the origins of mass emigration, as well as the impact of displaced populations on colonial development, it is also clear that the relationship between the Gaels and the American colonies was far from one sided. Writing to George Gillanders, Kenneth Mackenzie of Seaforth's factor for the island of Lewis, John Morrison, as tacksman of Begrigary, highlights conditions in the island at the height of the pre-Revolutionary emigration cycle. In a calculated manner, the lower social order of tenants used the threat of emigration to America as a bargaining counter, in order to move from being subtenants of tacksmen like Morrison to a direct contractual relationship with their landlord. Not only was the actual departure of populations an underlying cause of social change, but the very possibility of emigration was an important influence in regional estate management.

¹ The document is an undated copy letter which is appended to another copy letter dated 17 Mar. 1772 and endorsed 'Coppies Letters anent N. Carolina March 1772'.

A4 John Morrison to George Gillanders Esq., Factor, Beulie.

Begrigary,¹ 26 December, 1772 NAS, Gillanders of Highfield Papers,
GD 427/204/21

This will inform your Hon[ou]r since your officers came last year about the beginning of Aprile and in a manner settled William McKenzie's lands and mine upon the tenants, that we neither received obedience nor dues from them conform to justice, and now since some of them resolved for America, and that such as resolves to stay went to your Hon[ou]r and by the encouragement they got, the Americans and they agrees about setting the lands as they please notwithstanding as William McKenzie and I is bound in tack, we are of opinion we ought to manage it and not them.

[AM]

Although the British Atlantic empire was to sustain considerable colonial disruption and territorial loss in the 1770s, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were already proving popular with Gaelic emigrants prior to the American Revolution. The organising abilities of tacksmen were complemented by offers of land from Scottish agents and speculators. The pioneering exodus, primarily from the bounds of the MacDonalds of Clanranald in Moidart, Arisaig and South Uist to Prince Edward Island (formerly St. John's Island) was orchestrated in 1772 by the Gaelic entrepreneur, Captain John Macdonald of Glenaladale, who had carefully planned and generously budgeted with respect to the voyage and the settlers' immediate needs.² However, for most emigrants the first weeks and months in the New World were particularly hazardous, as they struggled against cultural, economic and physical hardships. When the ordinary setbacks of pioneering were compounded by the extraordinary circumstances of war, the emigrants faced a particularly uphill struggle.

A5 Rev. James MacDonald, Tracadie, to 'Rev Dear Sir', (docketed "St John' Island").

4 November, 1776

SCA, Blairs Letters, BL3/288/9

... Glenaladale stays at Halifax and is Capt. in the King's Service, for which he had no ambition, but was brought into it by means of Capt. Alexr. MacDonald [John, Vicar Apostolic of Highland Vicariate] Brother to Mr

¹ Parish of Barvas, Lewis.

² Cf. Account of John Macdonald, Glenaladale for Emigration from Uist to Donald Macdonald, 1772, SCA, Scottish Mission, SM4/14/2

Tiberiop,^y which he did with a very good intention whatever way it may answer expectation. There was indeed a kind of necessity of Glenaladale's following that profession especially at his juncture in order to arrive at a decent part of the world without some employment or other, unless a man should have a yearly income and there is none in this Island that has that except three gentlemen. The plan that Glen and his Brother had in bringing a number of settlers to this place is like to misgive for severals of them went off the Island the very first year, and such of them as remained here are not in a condition yet to pay any rents to Glen's Brother and by all appearance will not be in a condition to pay any rents hereafter, and it is the same case with all the poor inhabitants here. This unlucky war between England and the Americas hurts this place very much and tho' there was no war at all, seldom a year passes but what the Island is hurted by some mischief or other, this year several inhabitants were obliged to leave the place for want of provisions as the mice destroyed all their corn, and their potatoes; and there are but few inhabitants in the Island but what has been hurted by them in a great measure, and they are dreading some other new scourge next year. It is for this reason that Mr MacDonald and his Sisters are to leave the Island and determined to go to Halifax in a short time. If things answer their expectation, they'll endeavour to bring their friends here to some other more mild and prosperous climate. [C]

His fellow landlords in the highlands did not always appreciate the entrepreneurial endeavours of MacDonald of Glenaladale. His colonial undertaking was subject to continuous carping from migrants, particularly those from South Uist who were evicted for refusing to turn Protestant and in a limited position to bargain for settlements. Nonetheless, though he himself had not settled permanently on Prince Edward Island, he remained convinced that he had improved the lot of his Catholic, erstwhile clansmen both materially and spiritually.

A6 Captain John MacDonald, London, to John Geddes, coadjutor bishop of Lowland Vicariate, Edinburgh.

8 January, 1785

SCA, Blairs Letters, BL3/451/10

... Major McDonald, the Brother of the late worthy Bishop [Hugh MacDonald of the Highland Vicariate], is just arrived ... He is very desirous of settling in the same country with me, but having formerly heard such dreadful Accounts of St John's, he went there last summer to be personally satisfied and staid some weeks. He says he never saw a country he likes better or that is more pleasant; that he saw fields of as good grain as anywhere, and that our People have plenty of bread, roots, greens, beef, mutton, pork, fresh and salt fish and game, with several other peculiar advantages, that

induced him to purchase a farm of 1500 acres for himself. I thank God for it. I did not doubt this would have been the case in due time, but not having been there these ten years to observe their progress I was not sanguine enough to look so soon for it. They might have had more patience and given me less trouble and expense. Many of them took advantage of my disposition. But this will recoil on themselves and others as it of course must render me shy and terrified at the thought of any farther concern with them. I have done with all such, and no consideration on Earth, but a similar attempt on their Religion, would ever again make me meddle with them. Then indeed would I act as formerly to greater advantage as a good reception is prepared. These have been truly fortunate, rescued from Indigence and hunger, that persecutes all that remain, there are not half a dozen dead of the two hundred and odd souls that left the Highlands: they have property and plenty, a secure footing in the world, a Provision for their Children, they have scarcely been alarmed even in time of War, and if they attend to my advice in regard to what is still wanting their situation may be improved ... [C]

After the loss of the American colonies, Loyalist highlanders flocked north to join their countrymen not only in the Maritimes but in Glengarry County in Eastern Ontario, which had attracted a continuous stream of migrants originally from the estates of the MacDonnells of Glengarry and other clan territories in Lochaber. Clerical as well as landed commentators on the Glengarry migrations show how in some instances Gaels chose emigration as the communal reaction to the appearance of competitive bidding, by organising and paying for their own departure. Ranald MacDonnell of Scotus, one of the leading clan gentry, draws his legal kinsman's attention to such independent management in Knoydart, which was a feature of the first phase of clearance. Many tenants, facing higher rents or the loss of land, sought a community solution to their dilemma. This process was documented in their subscription to 'articles of mutual engagement' and guaranteed in the bills which they gave to Angus Sandaig, one of the leaders of the 1786 emigration.

A7 Ranald Mcdonell of Scothouse to Alexander Macdonell, writer, Inverness.

1 April, 1786 NAS, Fraser-Mackintosh Collection, GD128/8/4

... as the people here are turned mad for emigrating, I am afraid there is no less than 280 full passengers engaged, and given bills to Angus Sandaig in this country. I would fain known if such of the poor people as repented could with safety draw back. The bills are on stamp paper in the following form as I am told. Pay to me or my order &c For my passage from here in a Ship to be freighted by you at my desire from Greenock to Quebec. The half of the freight is said must be paid about the 20th of this month. I beg

to hear your sentiments on this head per bearer, who is himself one of those that are to emigrate. By the by, I believe few or non[e] of them will [realise?], however I would wish to give some trouble to those who occasioned all this fine worke [MMcL]

Most observations about the first phase of clearance were made by those in authority. We hear little from the erstwhile clansmen themselves about their ambitions or achievements. The poem of Iain Liath, a 1786 emigrant from Knoydart to Glengarry, provides a rare glimpse into the ordinary emigrant's experience, with a closing reference to the pressures that had driven him from his ancestral homeland.¹

A8 John MacLeod, Glengarry County, Ontario. Newspaper clipping, likely from the *Glengarry News*.

n.d. Private collection

Sann air maduin Di-domhnich
 Rinn sinn seladh bho thir
 Air long mhor nan tri chrnac
 S'air sagairt pareisde linn,
 Rinn e fhein an ard-urnuigh
 Ri Rìgh nan Dal ga air dian,
 S'ris an aingeal naomh Rafael
 Air eur sabhailt gu tir.

[It was on Sunday morning that we sailed from land in the big three masted ship with our parish priest with us. He made a fervent prayer to the King of the Elements to protect us and to the angel Raphael to bring us safely to land.]

Nuair a ghluais sinn bho challa
 Bha moran gal ann s'caoidh,
 Iad a fhalbh air gach beallach
 A leigeal bheannchdan luinn;
 Bha iad a buaileadh m'basan,
 Gan dul ri air faicinn a chaoidh,
 Nuair chuir i cul ris a'n fhearann
 S'na suil gheala ri crainn.

¹ Rinneadh an t-oran so, le Iain Mac Dhomhnuil, Mhic Aonghas Dhomhullaich, (Iain liath), bha fuirach faisg air Glenroy ann a Charlottenburgh ann a Ghlinn-a-garraidh ann an Chanada. Thainig e air imrich dhan—ha so ann sa bliadhana 1786 a Knodart. [This song was made by John son of Donald son of Angus MacDonald (Grey-haired John) who dwelt near Glenroy, Charlottenburgh, Glengarry in Canada. He emigrated here in the year 1786 from Knoydart.] Translation by Ian Paterson, School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

[When we departed from Harbour there was much crying and lamentations; people were going along every mountain path bidding us blessings. They were beating their palms without expectation of seeing us ever more when she turned from the land with the white sails hoisted.]

...

E cheud latha dheth 'n' floghar
 Sann a fhuair sin fearan
 Gad bha sinn tanuil air chall
 Rinn Sinn moran tol-inntinn
 A dol air tir ann's n'am
 Gad a dh'flag sinn air sinnsear
 Ann's na rioghachdan thall.

[It was the first day of autumn that we got a faint view, then it was we saw land although we were lost for a time. We made much rejoicing going ashore at the time although we had left our forefathers in the far countries.]

Bho n'thainig mi 'n' taobh so
 Bha mi daonan ri feum,
 Dol a ghearaidh na craobhe
 Le faobhar neo-gheur.
 S'Gad a bhidhinn fo airsneal
 Cha bhidhidh acaid nam cleibh,
 Sann a bhidhinn cho aotrom
 S'mi gun saothair fo'n ghrein.

[Since I came this way, I was always gainfully employed, going to cut wood with a blunt-edged implement, and although I was depressed there wouldn't be a pang in my body but I would be lively with no harassment under the sun.]

Ach mile marbhaisg air a ghaothe
 Ma i daonan a tuath,
 S'i cur neart anns na Faolich
 Gus na daoine bhi fuar.
 Fad a gheamhraidh sin earraich
 Gum bith a ghaillin cho buan
 S'bithith a chuilag s't-samhradh
 A cumail srann ri air cluais.

[But a thousand curses on the wind it was always from the north, strengthening the storm-days, to make men cold. Throughout winter and spring inclement weather will be so persistent, and in summer the fly will be humming at our ear.]

...

Thuar mi greis dheth m'chleachdach
 Ann aite taitneach gu leor
 Se'n tigh mhor s'nach robh aiceid
 Far m biodh pailteas air bhord
 Farm'biodh iomadh di bhearsean
 A chluidhair ceartean s'geal
 Ann an comun nam armnion
 S' gua dad a laithair dhuidh beo.

[I received part of my experience in a pleasant enough place, in the big house where there was no distress and plenty on the table, where there were many pastimes, playing cards and betting in the company of warriors and few of them now living.]

Gur e mheudich mo mhulad
 N' deigh na chuna mi ann
 Du shiol nam uachdarain priseil
 A bha dileas gach am
 Gun a dh fhalh iad as buileach
 S' gun aon duine dhiu thall
 Agus fearan air sinnsear
 Bhi fo chiobearan Gallic.

[What has increased my sorrow, after the number I saw there of the seed of worthy chiefs who were always steadfast, is they have left it completely with not one of them over there and our ancestors' land under Lowland shepherds.]

[MMcL]

Gaelic emigration, which was by no means confined to the western seaboard and the Hebrides, ebbed and flowed in response to conditions and prospects on both sides of the Atlantic. The decade after 1783 is generally recognised as witnessing something of a hiatus in the intensification and spread of mass emigration from the highlands. Indeed, it is calculated that departure levels ran at approximately a fifth to a third of the rate evident before the outbreak of war in the American colonies.¹ The following letter refers to emigration from the Perthshire estate of John Campbell, 4th Earl of Breadalbane, during the period extending from the end of the American Revolution until the outbreak of hostilities against France in 1793. Although no destination is named, public attention was at that time focused on Glengarry and the Eastern Townships, and it is probable that the strong links which subsequently emerged between the Breadalbane estate and the Perth-Rideau area were forged in the late eighteenth century. The letter, however, is concerned not with destinations but with

¹ T. M. Devine, 'The paradox of Scottish emigration', in T. M. Devine (ed.), *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society* (Edinburgh 1992), 1-15.

the implications of emigration for the estate. It throws light on the complex interaction of rents, markets, tenant income and landlord strategy that helps to explain this relative drop in emigration from the region. It is likely that the writer, John Campbell, was a member of the Lochend family, and appears to have been Breadalbane's factor in Argyll and the western district of his Perthshire estate. The recipient, John Campbell, Lord Stonefield, was a senior Scottish judge in the Court of Session and was one of the chief advisers to the new, inexperienced earl. In addition, this letter reveals that the would-be emigrant, James MacVean, was not only a substantial tenant, but was also innovative and in no way hostile to the adoption of improvement methods and techniques. His candid admission to planning his departure a year in advance suggests that emigration was often a well thought out strategy, and one of several options open to tenants.

A9 John Campbell to The Honourable Lord Stonefield.

Achmore, 20 May, 1785

NAS, Breadalbane Muniments,
GD 112/16/4/1/2

... I give your Lordship this trouble to intimate that James MacVean tacksman of Inshdaive the highest farm in Glenlochy on the Southside of the River came to me yesterday evening and gave up his farm, there was a breach in his lease at this term, and I had tak'n his renunciation sometime ago, as I had done that of others that he might agree to the proposed advance of rent. I asked his reason for giving it up so suddenly, and at so late a period; he said I might have understood that it was his intention to emigrate against the ensuing year, but what anticipated his intention was the high prices he now got for every thing he had to dispose of, which might very probably not be the case next year, that he had that very morning sold his sheep at fourteen shillings a piece. When I first knew his intention to emigrate, I endeavoured all I could to dissuade him, as I knew him to be one of the cleverest and most substantial tenants on the estate, but found it to no purpose. His rent was £25 the valuator advanced it to £34 and your Lordship on my suggestion lower[e]d it to £32 which it can well bear. It can be easily let, it has a good neat house, far beyond the common run, and yet not too much for the farm, what corn lands there are together with the meadows and lower pasture are separated by a good fence from the hill pasture and everything about the farm in order. He was the second on the estate who had a two horse plow. Several[sic] would I'm persuaded be glad to get it, but I will mention it to none till I hear from your Lordship
...

[AM]

Petitions of the distressed serve as a reminder that emigration was not a panacea for all ills. During the American Revolution, Gaels were among the skilled Scottish

artisans who went out to Quebec and other parts of British North America to serve as ships' carpenters and wrights with the intention of remitting money back to their wives and families pending their eventual emigration. However, those who lost their lives in British service left destitute widows and children who, in turn, were thrown back on parish relief.¹ Migrants, whose resources were becoming more limited as crofting became entrenched in the highlands and islands, also petitioned for relief on finding their expectations unfulfilled on the other side of the Atlantic. When a group of distressed emigrants from the island of Eigg appealed to the public in Montreal for assistance in 1790, English and Scottish merchants, who were deeply involved with the North West Company and its many highland officers, replied with generosity.²

A10 The Humble Petition & Address of several families lately arrived in this Province from Inverness-shire, North Britain.

Montreal, 8 November, 1790

NAC, MG 23 G III 5,
vol. 1, 269-72

... That owing to the oppression of their Landlords and a barren Soil from which their Industry could scarcely furnish them with the means of Subsistence but above all that humane treatment, which many of their Countrymen had formerly experienced not only on the part of Individuals but from Government when from like motives, they emigrated to this Country, they have been induced in like manner to remove, with what little stock they had, into this Country, where, under a British Government they might have the free use of their Rights and Religion and where they likewise expected to have met with that assistance for their future encouragement, which had been so bountifully bestowed upon the former Emigrants, their Countrymen. That upon application for such assistance, it has been denied them which has rendered their situation truly miserable, having no other resource left than that of laying their condition before a Charitable Public, who from motives of humanity they expect will be inclined to render them some small assistance, not only for their present support but to enable them to remove up the Country where they intend to settle, and where they expect, through what little aid those of their countrymen who have already there settled, may have in their power to

¹ Cf. Memorial and Petition for Beatrix Morrison, 1786. 8 May 1786. To Captain Colin Campbell of Carwhin: The Memorial and Petition of Beatrix Morrison eldest daughter of the deceast Robert Morrison late boat carpenter and glasier at Taymouth, NAS, Breadalbane Muniments, GD 112/11/1/4/34.

² The Montreal merchants and their associates, who included James McGill, Thomas Forsyth, Judge Fraser, John Morrison & Colonel James Gray, took the advice of Capt. John MacDonald of Glenaladale, before supplying six quarters of beef and £762 to the 21 or 22 families in Febr. 1791: Letter to Colonel James Gray in James Morrison's letterbook, dated Montreal, 4 Feb. 1791, NAC, MG 23 G III 5, vol. 2, 576-77.

lend them, they will be enabled to pass the winter, when a fertile soil and their own Industry will sufficiently provide for their future subsistence.

[MMcL]

The difficulties of newly arrived emigrants were often connected with the tribulations of the transatlantic voyage. Those who left Glenelg with Alexander McLeod in mid June 1793 were exceptional in taking a year to complete their journey to Upper Canada – albeit, as this retrospective account makes clear, they settled successfully in the district renamed Lochiel.

A11 To His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head, KCH, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada &c &c &c In Council. The Petition of Alexander McLeod of the 6th concession of Lochiel, Yeoman.

Lochiel,

31 December, 1837

NAC, RG 1 L 3, vol. 308, 46-46g

(Upper Canada Land Petitions, 'Mc' Bundle 21, 1837-39, on microfilm reel no. C-2139).

... That in the year 1793, Your Petitioner having determined on emigrating to this Province, gave up the possessions he held in the Highlands of Scotland, but previous to his departure he engaged 150 Settlers from Glenelg, Glenmoriston, Strathglass and Knoidart to accompany him. That for the purpose he went twice from Glenelg to Greenock freighted a Ship there to carry himself and the other Settlers to this province, and she having proceeded from Greenock to Culreagh in Glenelg arrived there on the 12th of June 1793, and all the Settlers being then awaiting her arrival, they were all embarked with their baggage by your Petitioners, and the Ship set sail on her destined voyage on the 15th of the same month.

That the Ship had proceeded on her voyage to nearly half way across the Atlantic when they encountered a most tremendous Storm which caused her to spring a very dangerous leak, on which the Officers of the Ship having held a consultation, it was adjudged best and safest that the Ship should return to Greenock to have the leak repaired, rather than run the risk of perishing at sea by prosecuting the voyage further at present. That the Ship did accordingly return to Greenock where your Petitioner and his Settlers were landed and where they remained for more than a fortnight waiting until either the same Ship or some other Vessel could be got ready. That the company from whom your Petitioner freighted the Ship got a Brig ready at the end of the fortnight; and your Petitioner having again embarked his Settlers with their baggage, she proceeded on her intended voyage, but had not been out more than 4 days when a heavy squall of wind carried away her upper masts and Sails, on which she was obliged to

return to Lamlash in Scotland, to have the damage repaired. There she remained 3 days, and all things having been set to rights again, she set sail, and on the 1st of next November arrived during the severe snow storm and excessively cold weather off Prince Edward Island; and not being able to proceed to Quebec on account of the lateness of the Season, she put into Charlotte-town in that Island where the Settlers and your Petitioner were obliged to winter. That during the course of the winter your Petitioner proceeded to the South Side of the Island, and engaged a large Schooner owned by some Canadians to carry his Settlers early in next Summer to Quebec. That in the latter part of May, the Schooner arrived at Charlotte-Town, and your Petitioner having got all his Settlers and baggage on board, she proceeded on her voyage, and arrived at Quebec on the 4th of June 1794. That your Petitioner again engaged the same Schooner to carry them all to Montreal, where they arrived safe a few days thereafter. From thence they were accommodated with the King's Boats with a passage to the River Aux Raisin in this Province. From thence they proceeded overland to what was then called 'North Lancaster,' now 'Lochiel', and the Settlers or rather the heads of families having obtained a Grant each of 200 acres of Land, they all settled down on their respective Lots and are now a thriving & numerous body in their own persons, and in that of their descendants ...

[MMcL]

Some emigrants found that, despite the seeming abundant availability of land in the New World, their opportunities were restricted not only by problems of transportation and supply, but also by the rights of Native people and the commitment of government to certain privileged settlers. When the McDonald and McLellan families (comprising 8 adults and 18 children) were unable to support themselves on land near Pictou, they moved onward from Nova Scotia to Upper Canada following their successful petition for assisted passage. That choice of a secondary migration destination was, like the first, based on two factors—better land, and the support of family and friends in a Gaelic community.

A12 To His Excellency Robert Prescott Esquire Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in the said Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and their Dependencies, and in the Island of Newfoundland and Vice Admiral of the same &c &c &c. The Humble Petition of Donald McDonald, Angus McDonald, John McDonald and John McLellan.

Quebec 1 August, 1797

NAC, RG8 C505, 38-40a

... That your Excellency's Petitioners emigrated from Scotland many years ago, with intention of settling in Nova Scotia, where having arrived they took possession of Lands allotted to them, which proved so barren as hardly to afford subsistence to their numerous families, twenty-six in number and increasing, your Excellency's Petitioners however persisted in hopes of ameliorating the Soil, by their industry, untill they received Letters from their friends, settled in Upper Canada inviting them to go and settle there, where the soil is more fertile, the climate milder, in consequence of this invitation and seeing no prospect of success at Pictou, your Excellency's Petitioners disposed of their little all which barely sufficed to pay their passages and provisions to this place where they arrived on Saturday last & being totally destitute of the means of procuring provisions or a Batteau,[boat] wherewith to proceed hence, Your Excellency's petitioners therefore most humbly pray that your well known goodness and humanity may be extended to them by granting an order for a Batteau to be delivered ... such of his Majesty's officers in Upper Canada as may be pointed out to them and such further relief as to Your Excellency may seem meet.

[MMcL]

Although emigration to the Maritimes was often the first stage of movement which continued within North America for Gaelic families, Cape Breton Island was to emerge as the pre-eminent and most enduring settlement of Gaels arriving from the highlands and islands. The Gaelic ethos of Pictou commended by the Catholic clergyman, Augustin McDonald, in 1802 was attributable, in part to the highland bridgehead established by the arrival of the Hector from Lochbroom almost 30 years earlier, and in part to the leadership provided by tacksmen as former clan gentry. This rôle was becoming redundant in the highlands once single-tenant farms were run as entrepreneurial concerns antipathetic to the congestion of erstwhile clansmen incrofting communities.

A13 Rev. Augustin McDonald, Pictou to Rev. Charles Maxwell.

Edinburgh, 2 October 1802

SCA, Blairs Letters, BL4/187/16

We arrived here 18 Sept after an unprecedented passage of only 29 days. We brought all ashore alive and in health being 105 full passengers besides the Cabbin except two children and one was born by the way. We were received with heartfelt satisfaction by the Inhabitants mostly Scotch particularly highlanders all country men to the exception of a few Irish and English. All pendants were set a flying. An officer of health came sparingly alongside putting a number of questions till hearing all was well he came aboard and breakfasted with ous for it was early in the morning. Then poured in the Inhabitants. Boats were launched from all quarters, we were

landed and joy shined in every countenance that met ous. The town of Pictou is only in its infancy and still compts for forty to fifty houses. The situation is pleasant beyont exception. Three land rivers runn into the harbour, navigable for many miles upward. The Tide intermixes and in time carryes in shoals of herring and salmon. There is besides an outlet to the sea which could be secured by a chain. The harbour is spacious and satisfactorily safe, fit for a great number of shippings of any size. The landscape around and position of the forms are very handsome. But the whole country is as covered with the beautifullest woods of every description and variety as we may suppose old Caledonia to have been ... In the forrests live a number of Indians, sunnburnt complexiont poor shabby and mean in their appearance, but harmless but so wandering in their disposition that it is hard to say when they will be induced to give it up or imitate surrounding examples into Civilisation ... Here are not Countrys but Kingdoms challenging to be possessed. Our crops are all mostly of the white kind and these very abundant and the land produces optionally for the sake of being desired all the kinds of fruits not only the most common but such as you rear in sealed orchards and hot bed Guardians. Sugar we extract and sell it like Tallow lumps or Cabbogs of Cheese, but we have not yet got into refining of it. Our tables are luxurious. Your best Gentlemen not even your landed ones can't afford such constant good and delicate fare as here is practised amongst every description even the meanest if I can call anyone mean where everyone is a Gentleman and member of the County assembly. Here are neither a profusion of your genteel folks nor such as an individual of the beggarly order. If any such comes you find them nobilitated whenever they put a foot on American Ground to the great consternation of all who see'd them before in their deshablile ... They who came to Cape Bretton this year at their own venture shew still better what these Gentlemen were worth: for being left to themselves they landed in a barren place where only woods and wild boars were without provision, soon were obliged to leave it some starving the rest like to starve even those that came for them as they were obliged to share with them the scarce allowance they had brought and when they arrived where inhabited sickened and are likely to carry contagion to where they come. These might have observed of what a value it might have been to have a gentleman of worth at their head ...

[CJ]

While clerical commentators had extolled the prospects for migrant settlements led by tacksmen, the clan élite remained generally hostile to their erstwhile clansmen's enthusiasm for America during the first phase of clearance. Landlords, such as Alexander MacDonnell of Glengarry, a martinet whose public espousal of Gaelic traditions never stood in his way of removal and relocation, anticipated a receptive

ear from the British government intent on retaining a reservoir of soldiers and sailors in the highlands and islands during the Napoleonic Wars.

A14 A. Macdonell of Glengary to Lord Pelham, Secretary of State, Whitehall, Glengarry House.

By Fort Augustus,
21 March, 1802

NAS, Home Office: Correspondence and
Papers, Scotland (H.O. 102), RH2/4/87

About four or five months ago I made a survey of my estates with the view of ascertaining the real value of it, and thus from known data to be enabled to fix the reduced price at which it would be reasonable I should let it to my numerous Tenants & Dependents. Upon mature reflection & advice, it appeared to me that Ten per cent was a sacrifice as great as I could afford, and accordingly I made offer to my tenants of remaining upon their lands at said Ten per cent bellow the amount of offers from strangers, with which the Tenants appeared content: and which the Country regarded as a handsome sacrifice on my hand; and beyond what it was supposed other proprietors would make. Upon my return here about a month ago, I was very much surprised to learn that the Tenants, for whose comfort and encouragement I had proposed to make the above sacrifice, in general wished to surrender their leases, and that they had all (with very few exceptions) signed engagements to go to America (Canada I believe). That they might have no room or cause for charging one with embarrassing them, I accepted their surrenders; but as I said, that no blame or suspicion of oppression should be attributed to me, I have this day made new offers to them of the most encouraging nature, namely, Life Rent Tenures of their old holdings, and indemnities for all improvement agreeable to [cover?] and what the effect of this last measure will be I know not; but it seems to me that both my own interest & my public duty require & direct that I should give Your Lordship this information, & to add further, that it is my opinion, from the disposition to emigrate that now prevails in this quarter, if the Government or the Legislature do not speedily & decisively interpose, the Highlands will be depopulated ... [MV]

The inhibiting effect of the Passenger Vessels Act passed by the British government in 1803 was a key factor—along with renewed warfare and an adverse economic climate on both sides of the Atlantic—in preventing the return of Archibald McMillan from Montreal to Lochaber to continue his activities as an emigration agent.

A15 Archibald McMillan, Montreal, to Ewan Cameron [of Fassifern].

20 October 1805.

AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1805/1

It was my intention to go home the Year after coming here had the War not brock out & the Emigrant act having since passed makes it more & more difficult to attempt bringing any of our Country men here however desirous they may be of it; but independent of that view my little Business here would require my presence both in England & Scotland in order to establish a credit & if something unforeseen does not Interfere it is my Intention to proceed for home if not in the month of March next, by way of N[ew] York, at farthest by the Fall Fleet next year & if it would be found convenient to connect with this interprise the Bringing of Emigrants here the Better ... I wrote your son Mr Duncan in Fily [Philadelphia] last by [small hole in paper] of New York & as I found him a punctual correspondent til now I have some reason to think my letter miscarried. I cannot continue without acknowleging my obligation to you for your attention to the orphans my Father left & also for the Friendly sentiments you cherish for his memory Be assured that for your goodness to us all along you have Secured our greatful best wishes which will ever attend you & yours. We cannot help looking towards our Native spot with Sympathy & feelings which cannot be described yet I have not hesitation in saying that considering the arrangements daily take place in it & the total extinction of the Tye 'twixt' chief & clan we are surely better off to be out of the reach of such unnatural tyranny ...

Emigration was only temporarily arrested by the Passenger Vessels Act of 1803. However, as the relative affluence of the migrants declined, so did their prospects of securing viable settlements among the existing Gaelic communities in North America. Nonetheless, as demographic growth and potato cultivation withincrofting communities promoted rampant sub-division of landholdings, the attractions of emigration were not diminished by problematic accounts of adapting to a new environment; particularly the need to become comfortable with the once unfamiliar axe for forest clearance, to develop harnesses for long journeys by carriage to markets and to adapt to changing consumer and dietary standards.¹ John Howison's observations, published in his emigrant guidebook in 1821, were based on a fact-finding visit to the young community, and offer a lowlander's critique of the Glengarry settlement almost 40 years after its foundation.

¹ Cf. History of the Glengarry settlers written in 1883-4 while interviewing older community members including George's uncle Ranald Sandfield McDonald, NAC, MG 29 C29, George Sandfield McDonald fonds, file 1.

A16 John Howison, *Sketches of Upper Canada* (Edinburgh, 1821), 34-9.

... I entered the settlement in the evening, and the first person I met was a common labourer, whistling and walking gaily along, with his axe over his shoulder. I accosted him, and had some conversation with him, in the course of which he informed me, that he had commenced farming two years before, not being then possessed of subsistence for two months; but things had prospered with him, and he now owned a house, three cows, several sheep, and seven acres of very fine wheat. He seemed in high spirits, and concluded his narrative with wishing, that his countrymen could be made acquainted with the advantages which Upper Canada afforded to the poor.

This account filled me with high expectations, and the more so, as I had been told that the upper part of the settlement was in a state of rapid advancement. I therefore hoped to see my countrymen elevated in their characters, and improved in their manners, by the influence of independence, and stopped at a private house, which my driver had recommended as being much superior to the tavern. Here I found a large family devouring pork and onions, and a room containing as much dirt as it could conveniently hold. I had scarcely passed the threshold, when I was importuned by signs to take my seat on the head of a cask, and helped abundantly to the family fare. Resistance was vain, as none of the party seemed to understand a word of English, and I suppose my unwillingness to join in the repast was attributed to *false modesty*.

The evening being far advanced, I was obligated to resolve upon remaining with them all night. After listening for a couple of hours to Gaelic, I followed the landlord to my bed-room; but the moment he opened the door, a cloud of musquitoes and other insects settled upon the candle, and extinguished it. He made signs that I should remain a few moments in the dark; but I followed him down stairs, and firmly declined paying another visit to the apartment intended for me, as it seemed to be already occupied.

As our road lay through the Glengary settlement, I had an opportunity next morning of seeing it, and was rather disappointed, the improvements bearing no proportion to what I had anticipated. The majority of its inhabitants were indeed very poor when they commenced their labours, and had a variety of discouraging circumstances to contend with, the principal of which were, the peculiarities of the climate, the almost inaccessible situation of their farms, the badness of the roads, and the immense woods which encumber the soil. They have, in some degree, surmounted the greater number of these difficulties; but still the settlement is not in a very flourishing state, and its inhabitants seem too unambitious to profit by the advantages of their condition. A very great majority of the houses are

built of logs, and contain only one apartment; and the possessors display no inclination to improve their mode of life, being dirty, ignorant, and obstinate. Few of the settlers have more than sixty or seventy acres cleared, and the generality only thirty or forty; yet, how many comforts, and even luxuries, might persons of moderate industry derive from a domain of this extent!

[MV]

B THE SECOND PHASE OF CLEARANCE

The nineteenth century was to see a significant reversal of attitudes to highland emigration, on the part of government, landlords and emigrants alike. The British government, while remaining hostile to direct intervention in estate management, came increasingly to regard emigration as a partial remedy for pressing problems of overpopulation, poverty and famine. The economic collapse after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 led most landlords to reconsider their hostility to emigration. From the Gaels' perspective, negotiated removal was replaced by enforced exile to the same locations in British North America where, in previous generations, they had settled largely voluntarily. Nonetheless, communal departures managed by entrepreneurial tenants continued. However, these tenants were now opposed to their further relocation withincrofting communities rather than to the break up of traditional townships. Memory of this process from North Uist and Benbecula in the mid 1820s was preserved in oral tradition and recorded in Gaelic from Johnny Allan Macdonald of Enon, Cape Breton, the grandson of the leading pioneer.¹

B1 Interview with Johnny Allan Macdonald (1890-1995) of Enon, Cape Breton, by Jim Watson. Published in *Am Bráighe*, Winter 1993-4.

Q: Bha sibh ag aithris dhomh mun a'cheud fhear a thàinig a-nall gus a'seo?

A: O, Aonghas Dòmhnallach. Bh'e à Càrnish, Uist-a-Tuath. Tha e air Ainmeachas a's a'leabhar seo, ach tha an t-ainm ceàrr. 'Se Alasdair a tha 's a'leabhar ud agus Mòr a bhean. Uell, an t-ainm a bh'air... 's s Aonghus agus Margaret a bhean, agus bha dà dhiag do chlann aca.

Bha iad ann an Càrnais an toiseach, agus mhoive iad an uair sin. Cha robh mòran àit' aca ann an Càrnais, 's chaidh iad a dh'àite ris an can iad sruth an Uisg.' Agus as a sin chaidh iad a dh'ait' eile. Tha mi air an t-ainm a dhiochuidhneachadh, ach 's ann ann a Beinn a'Bhaoghla a land iad. Agus bha meeting aig Aonghus 's na càirdean aige 's h-uile neach a b'aithne dha. Tha fhios agad gu robh e a' cheart cho math dhaibh dèanamh deiseil air son movadh a-mach as a siod num biodh iad 'gan driveadh air falbh uaireigin.

¹ This informant still retained his Gaelic patronymic. 'Se Seonaidh Alasdair Mhòir a chanadh iad rium (Seonaidh mac Alasdair Mhòir Sheonaidh Aonghais 'ic 'Ille Chriosda). [They call me Johnny son of Big Alasdair (Johnny son of Big Alasdair son of Johnny son of Angus son of Gilchrist)].

Chall e meeting agus dh'inns' dhaibh dìreach mar a bha gnothaichean. Agus, "Tha mise faighinn a' bhàta. Tha mise faighinn a' bhata agus chì mi gum bidh uisge glan ann am baraillean glan. Agus tha mòran a' falbh as a' seo air soithichean agus na baraillean uisg' aca... 's e baraillean anns a' robh greis. 'S tha feadhainn dhiubh a' bàsachadh mus ruig iad a nall 's feadhainn a' bàsachadh an dèis dhaibh tighinn anall.

Agus creic sibh a h-uile sìon a thèid agaibh air faighinn (air adhart) as aonais ann am bliadhna. Agus biodh fios agaibh dè tha a' dol a dh'èirigh dha na gnothaichean a chumas sibh nuair a gheibh sibh facal a dhol chun a' bhàta. Agus biodh porg agus minchoirce gu leòr agaibh, agus sin agaibh na thèid agaibh air giùlan airson biadh.

Dh'fhàg iad an uairsin ann an 1828. 'S e 1827 a tha 's a' leabhar a th' agamsa ann a shìod, ach tha sin ceàrr. Nuair a fhuair iad fios falbh, mhove iad clever chun a' bhàta: *Commerce* an t-ainm a bh' air a' bhàta. Cha do bhàsaich gin dhiubh (tighinn anall). Bha iad uile gu lèir ann an slàinte mhath 'tighinn a-staigh a Shudni.

[Q: You were telling me about the first person to come over here.

A: Oh, Angus MacDonald. He was from Carnish, North Uist. He is named in this book, but the name is wrong. Alastair is named in the book and his wife is named Sarah. Well, his name was Angus and his wife's name was Margaret. They had 12 of a family.

They were in Carnish at first, but then they moved. They didn't have much land in Carnish and they went to a place called Sruth an Uisge. From there they went to another place. I forget the name of the place, but they landed up in Benbecula. Angus held a meeting with his relatives and everyone he knew. You understand that it was just as well for them to move out of there before, one day, they would drive them out. He (Angus) called a meeting, and he told them just how things were: 'I'm going to find a boat and I'll see that there is clean water in sanitary barrels. There are many leaving here on ships and their water barrels are barrels that contained grease. Some are dying before they get across and other die after getting across. Sell everything you can get along without within a year. Be aware of what will happen to the things you keep when you get word to go to the ship. Have enough pork and oatmeal and that's what you can carry for food.'

They left in 1828. It says 1827 in the book I have there, but that's wrong. When they got word to leave, they went clever to the vessel—the ship's name was the *Commerce*—and in 1828 they arrived in Sydney [Nova Scotia]. Not one died [crossing over]. They were all in good health arriving in Sydney.]

[MMcL]

Not all accounts of emigration to the Maritimes were viewed with such equanimity, particularly as the century progressed and economic conditions and prospects grew

bleaker. The Skye families who drew up the following petition bitterly regretted the day when they accepted the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company's offer of free transport and first choice of the best land to tempt them to the Stanley settlement site (on the Nashwaak River near Fredericton) in the wilds of New Brunswick. The Company not only reneged on its promises to pay transport and provisions and provide cleared land; it also grossly mishandled arrival arrangements. No doubt its sales literature seemed convincing to the families and its holdings and capital base were extensive. The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company had 550,000 unsurveyed acres of Crown land in York County, New Brunswick, which it sold or leased on easy terms to emigrants following its formation in 1831. It claimed to have spent £80,000 over 3 years in developing the Stanley site and '£8,000 of it on supplies for the people who were complaining'.¹ The main problem seemed to stem from the settlers' unsuitability as wilderness clearers. When they understandably balked at the prospect of taking up jobs in the local lumber industry—virtually the only work available—they faced a bleak future. In the end the Colonial Office intervened on their behalf and authorised employment on construction jobs and free Crown land for the 33 families. In breaking with the normal pattern adopted by emigrants of choosing settlement locations which contained previously-established settlers from their particular part of Scotland, the Skye emigrants allowed financial inducements to take them into uncharted areas which were full of unpleasant surprises.

B2 Extract of a petition from Thirty Three Skye Families to the New Brunswick House of Assembly in 1838 complaining at their treatment by the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company.

PANB, RS 24/1838pc, File 4, petition no. 77

[The Land Company] authorized their agent to give a free passage including provisions to such emigrant families of respectable character as he may be satisfied are unable to defray the expense themselves; and those who emigrate this year will of course have the choice of the best and most convenient lots of land to settle on. After this year the agent is authorized to give a free passage only to such as cannot pay for themselves. That on your petitioners first agreeing to come out to this Province they were required to sign a printed agreement and to pay a deposit into the hands of the agent at the

¹ H. Cowan, *British Emigration to North America: The First Hundred Years* (Toronto, 1961), 140-41. Most Maritime-bound Skye emigrants went either to their major stronghold at Belfast, Prince Edward Island or to the many sites in Cape Breton where their fellow-countrymen could be found. The likelihood is that the families relocated to these islands or, as was becoming more and more common at the time, found themselves better prospects in the Upper Canada locations where Gaels had also established successful settlements.

rate of twenty shillings for every adult as a security for the fulfilling of such agreement to be refunded if engagement of your petitioners were fulfilled to be forfeited if your petitioners failed in that respect.

That although the last paragraph above recited expressly promised a free passage and provisions to your petitioners—yet your petitioners would represent that after they had been induced to dispose of their little moveables and many of them had left their homes and were on their way to the port of embarkation the aforesaid agent required your petitioners to sign an agreement for the payment of their passage money and your petitioners having left their homes ... had no choice but to sign the said agreement. That although the said company had engaged ... to provide well found ships at the proper season of the year for the transportation of your petitioners yet your petitioners would represent that the ship in which they had their passage were so ill found that many of the passengers suffered very much from sickness and disability contracted in consequence thereof and although passengers were to be brought out at the proper season of the year yet your petitioners were shipped from Greenock on the first September and arrived in Saint John after a passage of 43 days. Your petitioners were then brought to Fredericton and were left to lie on the beach and in the lanes in the neighbourhood of the Commissioners residence in Saint Marys for upwards of six weeks during which time they were exposed to the inclemency of the season. And although the said company had engaged to furnish 100 acres to each family with five acres cleared and under crops and a comfortable log house thereon—yet your petitioners were sent out to the Company's settlement in the month of November and December, were put in the most miserable hovels so open that your petitioners were exposed to snow and rain and the piercing winds of winter—no chimneys were erected in any of the huts—and the provisions furnished to your petitioners by the said company were of the very worst and the most unwholesome quality—so much so that a most fatal disease was brought on among your petitioners whereby upwards of 40 men women and children died and many of the settlement are now in the most feeble and sickly state. Some of your petitioners during this first winter have had their wives and little ones lying for several successive days in their beds covered with snow. That your petitioners have not received their lots with the quantity cleared and cropped as was engaged to be done—that the Company have now entirely abandoned your petitioners giving them no means of support and even not paying them for the labours which your petitioners bestowed on the Companies property during the past year and your petitioners are now so destitute that they are subsisting on the charity of their neighbours and unless some further assistance is now rendered to your petitioners very many of them will soon be beyond the reach of temporal assistance—as well as free from worldly suffering.

[LC]

By the 1840s, however, as the *Passenger Vessel Acts* were set aside, the impact of endemic famine within the crofting community added a new despairing dimension to the emigration debate. The predominant image of Gaelic emigration, particularly from the Outer Hebrides, was one of enforced eviction. Trenchant criticism of ruthless landlords underpinned much of the negative historiography of the highland exodus which developed during the course of the nineteenth century. Colonel John Gordon of Cluny's notorious clearance of his estates in South Uist and Barra during the great highland famine was amply illustrated in the following list of evicted families.

B3 Families on the East Side of the Island [South Uist] from times immemorial. Evicted, where sent to.

1840-50 SCA, Diocese of Argyll and the Isles,
DA9/43¹

- At Carry. Dugald MacDonald of Drimore wife & family.
Glasgow. America
- do. Ronald Crawford wife and family. Evicted. America
- do. John MacKenzie wife & family, died in Glasgow
- Bun na Liggie Duncan MacIntyre of Hector of Angus ban Marion MacLeod wife & family. Evicted. America
- Archibald MacLellan mac Chalum bhan wife Marion MacLeod & family. America
- do. John MacKinnon mac Thormaid ic Neil ic Ian bhan Ann MacLellan his wife and family. Evicted. America
- do. Angus Steel mac Ian ic Ian ic Aonghas Janet MacLeod his wife & family. America
- do. John MacPhee Marion MacDonald wife & family. Evicted. America
- do. Michael MacIntyre Catherine MacIntyre his wife & family. America
- do. Alexander MacPhee carpenter Catherine MacNash his wife & family. Evicted in 1845.
- do. Donald Campbell Rachael Munro his wife & family. His ancestors were in the same house and had the same lands in 1745, from which he was evicted in 1845.

¹ Docketed: "This Mss account of the 'Clearances' made in S. Uist by Col. Gordon in 1840-50 was found among the papers of the late Father Dawson. ...I fancy it to have been the work of the late Father Donald McColl who was for many years priest at Ardkenneth in S. Uist and who warmly pleaded the cause of the crofters before the Napier Commission of 1880".

- Oainish Angus MacDonald, fear Oainish, mac Dhomhnull ic Sheumas, wife, daughter of Rev George Munro & family. Evicted. Left for America. He was also fear Gaoligarry.
- Do. Donald ban MacLellan mac Lachlan ic Dhomhnull ic Ian ic Ian, Marcella Ferguson his wife and family, evicted. Sent to America
- Rossal Angus Johnston mac Alastair Ruaidh his wife Mary Johnston & family. Refusing to go to America he was caught, bound hand and foot, carried on board the vessel, thrown down the hold and hatch closed on him and others, the factor shouting bind the scoundrels in 1851 ... [C]

Reports of poverty-stricken and disease-infested emigrants began to filter back across the Atlantic. The Canadian commentator Adam Hope described how major receiving areas of emigrants deemed it prudent to make preparations to cope with the anticipated onslaught of human cargoes of misery and dejection, preparations which included the provision of funds from urban centres such as London, Ontario to assist the passage of Gaels into rural settlements where those who could not afford the relatively cheap land were expected to find remunerative work as labourers while young females were to be engaged as servant girls. Hope, who was a firm believer in removing communities from congested crofting districts to Canada, remained sceptical about the extent of migrant poverty.¹ He also differentiated between parsimonious and generous landlords, commending the much-maligned 2nd Duke of Sutherland for his chartering of emigrant ships and his offer of free passage to join exiled kinsmen. The Zorra settlement, which was about 30 miles to the east of London, Ontario, had been established in 1820 by a Sutherland emigrant, who succeeded in attracting large numbers of his countrymen to join him in the 1830s. Other Sutherlanders moved west from Nova Scotia during periods of decline in Pictou's shipbuilding industry from the 1840s.

¹ Hope claimed in a subsequent letter, 'One trait in the character of Highlanders struck me as caused in great measure by poverty, and that is they are not ashamed to let you know that they are paupers and to make themselves out poorer than they are. In changing some one pound Scotch Bank Notes in our stores they let us understand they durst not allow their notes to be seen in Scotland or they would not have got their passage paid!!! In less than five years you will find that their Highland pride won't allow them to acknowledge that they got their passage paid.' Adam Hope of London, Upper Canada, to George Hope, Fenton Barns, Haddington, 8 Oct. 1849, Letters from Charles James Hope, St Thomas, London and Hamilton, Ontario, NAS, RH1/2/612/9.

B4 Adam Hope of London, Upper Canada, to George Hope, Fenton Barns, Haddington, Scotland.

12 August, 1847

NAS, RH 1/2/612/8¹

The tide of Immigration has not yet reached this place to any extent. Our Hospitals and sheds etc. have been erected near the town and every preparation made to meet the wave of disease and destitution in case it should reach our Town. This has been a most disastrous year for the many thousands of immigrants who have sought the shores of Canada. The people at home are to blame for all the misery, disease and deaths that have overwhelmed thousands from Britain this Summer. The poor people are not in a fit state for a long sea voyage crowded to suffocation in ships in the most filthy state without an adequate supply of wholesome food for the voyage. I observe from an account in one of the Montreal papers that the Duke of Sutherland has chartered the *Panama* of Liverpool, and given a free passage to 287 persons, tenants and their wives and children residing on his Estates in Sutherlandshire to Quebec besides furnishing the whole with 10 weeks wholesome provisions for the voyage. The consequence was they have all reached Canada in health, without a case of sickness or death occurring on board and last week the whole party I am informed have safely reached the Township of Zorra in good health ... The above case shows if Landlords would put themselves to some trouble and expense the poor and the needy on their estates can be sent to Canada with all safety. The Hospitals in Hamilton and Toronto are full of the sick and the dying. The inhabitants seem to escape the fever well, few having fallen victim to the fatal typhus fever that has made such havoc amongst the poor Immigrants.

[LC]

Apologists for emigration notwithstanding, the great famine of the 1840s had put highland landlords on the defensive as their commercial activities and propensity to clearance attracted a hostile British and international press. Land agitation within crofting communities from the 1870s was inspired by Irish examples of direct action, fortified by transatlantic intellectual support and co-ordinated by Gaelic exiles and sympathisers in the lowlands and London. The signal battle of the Braes in Skye which instigated the Crofters' War in 1882 had an overlooked aftermath¹: notably, the exodus of many leading agitators and their families to North Carolina, the favourite haunt of many Gaelic emigrants during the first phase of clearance. This exodus, which failed decisively, was not of farmers but of crofters for whom farming was an ancillary pursuit. Virtually all the disgruntled settlers returned home, their

¹ Letters from Charles James Hope, St Thomas, London and Hamilton, Ontario. Original document held in the Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Adam Hope fonds, F 484.

² J. Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community* (Edinburgh, 1972), 130-45.

disappointment being attributed in oral testimony to the misleading promises of a Dundonian agent who engendered in the emigrants false expectations regarding their easy assimilation into communities of 'old Scots' in that State. In the period of reconstruction after the American Civil War, the North Carolina Bureau of Agriculture attempted to compensate for the loss of slave labour by recruiting workers from elsewhere, primarily from other parts of the United States, but also including a group of between 70 and 130 from Skye. The scheme had been set on foot after Dundee dressmaker Margaret MacLeod, resident in the State for two years prior to 1883, had brought the crofters' plight to the attention of influential citizens in Robeson and Richmond counties, resulting in the formation of fund-raising parties on both sides of the Atlantic. A vanguard party of 73 highlanders arrived in Laurinburg in March 1884, followed by another party of 65 crofters two months later. Homesickness and discontent quickly surfaced. Within four months 2 crofters had returned to Scotland to publicise their complaints against Margaret MacLeod and to initiate funding to bring their families home. Many other crofters followed, as they found it difficult to secure employment and were in turn criticised by xenophobic North Carolinians for their idleness and failure to assimilate. The stories of the returnees, recalled by their grandchildren, focus on the details of their journey to America, the hardships experienced in North Carolina, and the challenges they encountered in their attempts to return to Scotland. One such narrative, that of John Nicholson (in Gaelic Iain Dubh), who was aged about 24 at the time he emigrated to North Carolina, was collected from his grandson, Willie Nicholson, a retired sea-captain, from the crofting community of Ollach, in the Braes, Skye.

B5 Interviews with Willie Nicholson, conducted by William S. Caudill.

1996 'Dol a Dh'iarruidh an Fhortain Do North Carolina' [*Gone to seek a Fortune in North Carolina*]

WSC: So your Grandfather told you about the trip to Carolina?

WN: Well he used to talk about it. I used to listen to it, as there was quite a few people that used to come 'round to hear the story. It wasn't a one-night story. I think it went on for a couple of nights.

...

WSC: A two night story? That must have been some story!

WN: An epic! (laughter) You know they had long nights to do it.

WSC: That must have been quite detailed?

WN: Yes, yes! I always remember him saying too that after they got to ... they must have been walking a lot when they were down ... they did a lot of walking. It was a very, very hot day, and when they were due for a drink of water or something like that and they went to this place, it was in North Carolina, and they went there and this woman came to the door, and they had never saw a black person, and she was black, and they refused the water from her.

WSC: Oh, really?

WN: Yes, she was black! Of course they never saw a black person and didn't know if it was right or wrong. I remember him repeating that. But there was quite a few of them together ... but, eh ... I know that some of them came back. The MacPherson fellow, he was down there and he got back. There was money sent from home to get them back. I think they were more or less going out to where the slaves had been. It wasn't what it was pictured when they arrived there. But he ... I don't know how he got to New York ... I have no earthly idea whether by horse or train to New York. He must have told us, cause he was in New York for quite a while, and was working in New York. He was on his own then, he was away from the rest, and he was working there and ... I think he got blood poisoning, I think, or something, and he shaved his hair. His head was bald ... it was like a Dutchman or a German, that's sort of their trademarks ... his hair was very cropped, and he was working on the quay there ... there was the Allan liners, they came across from Scotland to America. So he got when they call then, what I call ... what is called today a pier head jump. There was somebody else that jumped, that left, the ship in New York, and they were looking for a man and they took him on board. He got back, he worked his passage back on that ship ... to Glasgow ... to Greenock or Glasgow. That's how he got back, but he didn't go home immediately. He away then to the herring fishing in Campbeltown, and he stayed there ... they had a very, very good season, and he made quite a bit of money. So he came back with quite a little bit of money ... not the money he made in Carolina (laughter) but the money he made in Campbeltown. He lived 'til he was 84 years of age, He died during the war, I believe it was ... 1942 ... 1942. He was a great old man. Yes, a great old man! He was a survivor. He was survivor, yes! Oh, he taught us all to be survivors. Three of us went through the war, and we all survived as well.

[WSC]

Although patterns of emigration reflected the predominantly Protestant composition of thecrofting community, Catholic clergy in Canada were in open competition to attract recruits following the outbreak of the Crofters' War in 1882. The Catholic bishopric of Argyll and the Isles was inundated with requests from Newfoundland to Manitoba to help establish, augment and replenish Gaelic settlements depleted by the onward migration into the United States and the Canadian West.¹ While clerical recruiters in the Maritimes and Ontario dangled the bait of a compatible environment

¹ Cf. Letters to Bishop Angus MacDonald, Oban, from Rev. George Corbett, parish priest, St Andrews, Ontario 19 Mar. & 22 May 1884 & from Alexander, Archbishop of St Boniface, St Boniface, Manitoba, 18 May 1884. SCA, Diocese of Argyll and the Isles, DA9/44/1 & /5-6.

combined with the earlier settlement of like-minded compatriots, Thomas Sears was cautious about entangling himself in emigration schemes to Newfoundland which, if they failed, would put him in bad odour with unsuccessful settlers. He was also anxious to encourage Catholic highlanders to emigrate to the Codroy Valley in the hope of preventing both English Wesleyan encroachment and the land being snapped up by speculators.

B6 *Thomas Sears, Prefect Apostolic of West Newfoundland, St George's, West Newfoundland, to Bishop Angus MacDonald, Oban.*

19 December, 1884

SCA, Diocese of Argyll and the Isles,
DA9/44/21

I have seen with sorrow the accounts of the disturbances that are taking place in parts of your extensive Diocese in consequence of the harsh and unjust treatment at the hands of their Land Lords.

I have heard of some having gone to Western Canada lately to look for a home there. From what I know of that class I feel confident that they would find a more congenial place to locate themselves, in this Western District of Newfoundland. The climate approximates that of Scotland much more than the Canadian climate. The country is mountainous with fine valleys of unsurpassed fertility. The Government gives free Grants of land and there is the fishing which is considered the best in the world.

Then your people would enjoy another advantage as Catholics. They would find several of the inhabitants here of their own race and language as well as priests who could attend to their spiritual wants and console them in their native tongue.

If I thought there were any Catholics among these Crofters who may wish to emigrate, I'd give a more full detail of the advantages they would enjoy by coming to West Newfoundland ... [C]

Bishop Angus MacDonald was concerned about the reports of spurious promises of agents luring Catholic highlanders west into areas dominated by Protestants and where the land, though fertile and available for settlement at a relatively cheap price, had many drawbacks for settlement; not least the short summers and excessively cold winters, the great scarcity of fuel in treeless plains and the temporary nature of employment for the many migrants employed in railroad construction. A less alarming, if not wholly reassuring, picture of Gaelic settlement on the Canadian prairies demonstrates the significance of rolling migration, as Scots, from other parts of Canada as well as fresh from Scotland, joined the vast stampede to the 'golden west'. At the same time, the bishop's correspondent did not miss the opportunity to put in a plea for religious reinforcement.

B7 Rev. David Gillies, Villa Maria, Wassilla, North West Territories, Canada,
to Bishop Angus MacDonald, Oban.

19 June, 1886

SCA, Diocese of Argyll and the Isles,
DA9/44/8

Some three months ago I took charge of this parish of Gaelic speaking Scotch crofters (as they are called) who came to this country 2 and 3 years ago from your Diocese. They had no Catechism so I got one printed at St Boniface ere I came out here, a copy of which I send you herewith. Now I find that the people have no manuals so I address myself to your Lordship to see if you can send me about 100 Gaelic manuals. We are very poor and it is only by accommodating myself to many hardships that I manage to live here. The people are very good, full of faith, yet they are greatly exposed to loose it here unless they are looked after, as they are surrounded by protestant ministers on all sides, and who have funds to enable them to build churches and schools, while we must strive very hard, with empty hands, to get up small buildings wherein to assemble on Sundays. I managed to get up a small building 16 by 24 which serves as Presbetary, Chapel and School room. I have organised a Catholic Separate School District here and the Government gives us an aid of \$350 per year. I teach class myself as I can't find a Catholic teacher to come here without paying him a big salary. I am preparing about 40 of our children for first Communion and Confirmation and am to have our Archbishop to come here in July to give Confirmation.

[C]

C THE THIRD PHASE OF CLEARANCE

The land agitation, and the investigations and legislation to which it gave rise, ushered in a new era of unprecedented government intervention in the region from 1886. Following the passage of the Crofters' Holdings Act the autonomous power of the landlords was steadily eroded by the encroachment of central and local authority control. Emigration continued, however, following both established and new patterns, with the addition—eventually—of the extra ingredient of government subsidies. However, the celebrated experiment in state-aided colonisation from the Hebrides to Killarney and Saltcoats in Manitoba proved a particular disappointment. When in 1890 the Countess of Aberdeen visited the infant Killarney colony, she painted a bleak picture of the prairie in her private journal, but was more guarded and optimistic in her published writings.¹

¹ Similar sentiments are expressed by the travel writer Jonathan Raban, in *Bad Land: An American Romance* (London, 1996). Raban's travelogue focuses on the broken dreams of homesteaders who tried and failed to make a living in the harsh environment of Montana.

C1 The Countess of Aberdeen, unpublished journal.

2 October, 1890

NAC, C-1352

May Heaven preserve us from ever being fated to banishment to the far-famed wheatlands of Manitoba. Oh the inexpressible dreariness of these everlasting prairies, with their serpentine black trails winding through them—the only objects standing out being little untidy-looking corn ricks and wooden shanties, most of the size which would be put up as a keeper's shelter at home but here inhabited often by farmers owning some hundreds of acres and some half-dozen or dozen children ... the struggle to live has swallowed up all the energy, and it has been quite the exception to see even any attempt after the commonest form of tidiness, much less any attempt to nurture a few flowers or plant a tree. One would not think that such a life could be helpful in fostering any higher tendencies.

Almost three years after Lady Aberdeen visited Killarney, another highland emigrant who had crossed the border from Canada to the United States made a name for himself in California.

C2 *Highland News*, 5 August, 1893.

C.J. Mackay, 'The Scottish Immigrant as California Vigilante'

Sutherlandshire men will vividly remember 'Radical' Mackay—the youngster who championed the cause of the Muie crofters, and after acting as Secretary for the Edinburgh Branch of the Sutherlandshire Association, ultimately emigrated to America. There he has distinguished himself by ridding California of one of its most notorious stage robbers. The incident took place in June. The following is an account from a California journal:—'Black Joe', the terror of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, was shot through the heart last night while trying to rob the mountain stage that runs from the San Joaquin to Pine Bridge. For years 'Black Joe' Mitchell followed the avocation of robbing stages. As a freebooter he was bold and merciless. The man who stopped his wild career last night is a young Scotchman, of the name of C.J. Mackay. Mackay is bookkeeper for the Boston Commercial Company of Central California, and as he had considerable trouble with 'Black Joe', he was armed to the teeth when on his last trip to Eagle Pass. About sunset the stage rolled into the dark ravine at the south end of the narrow gorge, and shortly afterwards 'Black Joe' Mitchell's voice was silent. The robber was behind a ledge when the coach approached him. He called the driver to 'halt', but just as the words were dying on his lips C.J. Mackay pulled a Winchester Repeater and shot 'Black Joe' through the heart. It was

but the work of an instant, and 'Black Joe',—robber and highwayman—was dead. The stage stopped and the body of the bandit was laid to rest in a rude hole midst the desert sand. [FMS]

By the early twentieth century, the traditional Gaelic stamping grounds in the Canadian Maritimes were clearly characterised more by out-migration than settlement. Professional agents from the Atlantic provinces did their best to rekindle interest by regular recruitment visits to the highlands and islands, even during the First World War, although E. B. Elderkin of Nova Scotia, who toured England and Scotland in winter 1914, was somewhat disappointed with his trip to the Outer Hebrides. The crofters, in his opinion, were ill-fitted for successful settlement, and would be better left to their fishing and kelp burning—a surprisingly late reference to the latter practice.

C3 Nova Scotia Legislative Library and House of Assembly, Journals and Proceedings, 1915. *Report of the Secretary of Industries and Immigration*, 32-3.

PANS, MFM 3614

From my observations I would say that the Hebrides are the most hopeless places that I have ever seen in which to secure suitable emigrants for Nova Scotia. There is not a tree on the whole of the Islands, and with the exception of a small district, say one and a half miles long by half a mile wide on the Western side of Benbecula, which had evidently been a bay, but had been filled up with the sands of the ocean which formed a natural dyke, where by the application of commercial fertilisers and sea weed, they were growing potatoes, wheat, and oats that looked fairly well. Beyond that there was practically little cultivation. The land referred to is divided up into small lots, the occupiers of which live some distance from them. The remainder of the island is rock and peat. Where it is high peat and they can drain it to a sufficient depth, by the application of lime they are able to grow some crops, but their methods of agriculture are very primitive, and these people would have everything to learn after they reached the Province. I did not meet a single individual whom I would have felt justified in recommending, even had they been willing to go. However we only met a very small percentage, and there may be those who would be desirable, but I did not come across any such.

At Loch Maddy I met a Mr. Ferguson who was a Shipping Agent for North Uist, and he informed me that he knew a man who would have between £100 and £200, who was desirous of going abroad, and that there were a number of others in like condition. I gave him full information in regard to Nova Scotia and had a full supply of literature, and a map for each

school house sent to him. He agreed to communicate with me in London with regard to this man and the others, but although I have written to him since, I have not yet heard from him.

The people of the Hebrides Islands are seemingly a very happy and contented community. In some parts they depend wholly on fishing, and in other parts the gathering of kelp, which they reduce by fire to ashes, and for which they receive from £4 to £5 per ton; it is used in the making of iodide of potassium. It is surprising in how short a time a family under good weather conditions will gather a ton. The wants of these people are few, and easily supplied, and I cannot help but say that in my judgment it would be next to a crime to put forward an organised effort to transplant them into a different climate and conditions. Crofters as I have seen them, say in Inverness, who occupy small holdings of about 10 acres which they cultivate, do some fishing, and in fact, any labour that comes to hand, would make desirable citizens for many parts of Nova Scotia, particularly in Cape Breton, or along the South-West shore.

In the 1920s, the combination of yet another highland economic crisis with the new opportunities for jointly funded colonisation provided by the Empire Settlement Act gave rise to numerous schemes to attract Hebrideans to Canada. Some succeeded, while others foundered on the rocks of crofter hostility, bureaucratic ineptitude or the parsimony of governments on both sides of the Atlantic. A proposal to relocate crofter-fishermen in British Columbia—itsself an attempt to resurrect an abortive scheme of the 1880s—was abandoned after lengthy negotiations because the British Columbian administration feared an influx of indigent or unadaptable highlanders who would become a public charge on the province.

C4 T. D. Pattullo, BC Minister of Lands, to F. C. Wade, Agent General for BC, London.

13 March, 1924.

NAS, Agriculture and Fishery Papers,
AF62/1964/1

The settler leaves the Hebrides with his passage paid either by himself or by the Imperial and Dominion Governments to British Columbia. On his arrival in British Columbia he has a credit of \$600 to be advanced as required. He will be placed on a suitable piece of agricultural land, either on the Coast islands or the Coast mainland, of an area from five to twenty acres; or if desired by the settler further inland, 160 acres. He will be charged the current prices for the land, which on 160 acre blocks will run from \$2.50 to \$5.00 per acre, and on the smaller tracts according to location not to exceed \$25.00 per acre, with a rebate of \$10.00 an acre for every acre put under cultivation within a period of five years.

He will be provided with a tent so that he may have immediate covering until he can make provision himself to build a house. Every assistance will be rendered to him to secure immediate employment with the various fishing concerns; or it may be possible that the settler himself may be able to make arrangements to fish on his own account as there are numerous small boats operating on their own account, and who are making considerable sums of money.

The Government will keep careful watch over the settler, but beyond this the settler will be expected to rely on his own energy and endeavour to get along; and the Government will not interfere any more than is absolutely necessary.

One of the most significant features of Hebridean emigration in 1923 and 1924 was the appearance of large liners at Stornoway and Lochboisdale, embarking passengers in scenes reminiscent of the localised departures of the eighteenth century. While the Metagama's Northern Hebridean colonists seem to have been absorbed with relative ease into Ontario and American society, Andrew MacDonell's attempts to establish a Catholic colony in northern Alberta aroused considerable controversy on both sides of the Atlantic, partly because of bureaucratic blunders, but not least because of the pejorative legacy of the Cluny estate's policies of eviction and clearance more than half a century earlier. Further negative publicity accrued from the migrant crofters' own complaints in 1925, that the lands they had been allocated had already proved unworkable and they had been saddled with government loans to buy stock, farm machinery and other necessities which, though repayable after 32 years, were beyond their meagre resources.¹ MacDonell himself always claimed he had been let down by his colleagues, as well as hostile parties on both sides of the Atlantic.

C5 Father R. A. MacDonell, OSB, 'British Immigration Schemes in Alberta'.

n.d. SCA, Diocese of Argyll and the Isles, DA9/26

When I first came to Canada before the Great War, I had in view to organize the settlement of British people on land in Canada. After serving as chaplain with the Western Scots regiment in France, I went to Ontario where my settlement schemes were a failure. Then, after 2½ years I got in touch with Archbishop O'Leary of Edmonton who invited me to his Archdiocese where he said he would do all he could for me. He could not help to provide

¹ NAC, Petition sent to Charles Stewart [Minister of the Interior], 23 Jan. 1925, with covering letter from Archibald McLellan, Red Deer, RG 76. C-10446, vol. 633, file 968592.

farms for the Scottish families that I wanted to bring to Canada, but he would provide churches, schools etc., and would welcome me personally to stay with him.

I then told the Canadian Pacific Railway's Colonization Department that I was in touch with quite a number of people who were ready to migrate to Canada. I knew that they had little conception of life in Canada and suggested that it might be a good idea if a small delegation were brought over from the Hebrides. That was agreed to and in the fall of 1922 a delegation of four men came, headed by Father Donald MacIntyre. I led them over parts of Saskatchewan, Alberta and B.C.

Alberta was selected as the province offering the best opportunity and Red Deer was to be the centre. A former Indian school, with good buildings and a farm of 1100 acres was available. It was agreed that a party of 18 families would be enough to begin settlement, and that each family should have \$1,000, or at least \$750 capital to purchase a farm and to provide certain equipment.

The delegation then returned to Scotland. They were to explain to their neighbours what they had seen and their own ideas as to the opportunities for settlement. Meantime I got busy making advance arrangements. I got 35 farms appraised by an officer of the Soldiers' Settlement Board and declared suitable for people with their limited capital. The farmers were ready to sell as they were anxious to return to Russia where they looked for a new paradise.

The delegation arrived in Scotland in the fall, but I did not hear a word from any one of them for several months. However, as a bolt from the blue I had a cable from Col. Dennis of the C.P.R. in the spring saying that 50 families of Hebrideans had sold out and were ready to sail for Canada. Half of them had no money.

Pastoral as well as commercial concerns for the welfare of distant Gaelic communities were not confined to the Pacific West of North America. Gaels had been emigrating to the South Atlantic since the mid nineteenth century, initially to the Falkland Islands and subsequently, as the islands' sheep farming economy decayed, to more promising pastures in Patagonia. All branches of Scottish Presbyterianism were acutely aware of their responsibility to meet the spiritual needs of their far-flung congregations. In 1925, four years before their Union, the Established and United Free Churches of Scotland combined to send the Rev. Douglas Bruce of Broughty Ferry to Patagonia in response to claims that the churches were ignoring the needs of Scottish settlers. Following his visit, this report appeared in the United Free Church Proceedings.

C6 United Free Church of Scotland, *Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly*, May 1925, 235-6.

The citizens of the Argentine Republic had left it to the Scots, the English and the Spanish to prove that sheep-farming could be profitable. Of the English-speaking people in Patagonia, 75 per cent. were Scottish in origin. Of these there were probably about 3000. Some of these had come, or were still coming, direct from Scotland; many more came from the nearest British territory, the Falkland Islands. Most of them were of crofter stock. Stornoway was an easy first in the list of their birthplaces. Caithness took the second place, and for the third place one had to go to Dumfries. Of the children whom he had baptised, twenty-five were the children of full-blooded Highlanders, some of them still speaking Gaelic ... The time of the coming of the people dated back to the 'seventies and 'eighties of last century ...

Would people emigrate to places that were so lonely, where there was a different language, where the conditions of life were so hard? Those who had been there some time believed highly in the prospects of Patagonia, and that their countrymen would continue to emigrate. Even in the few months he had been there, he had met with fifteen men who had just come from Scotland.

Malcolm Mackay from Achmore, Lewis—one of almost 200 to leave the Hebrides for Patagonia¹—emigrated as a shepherd in 1914, returning briefly to Scotland seven years later to marry Christina MacDonald from Leurbost. Once back in Patagonia, Malcolm and his bride initially set up home in Lazo, and later in Laguna Blanca, an isolated estancia out on the pampa, when he became farm manager. Four children were born to the family in South America, all of whom were sent back to the Hebrides for their schooling. What education they had gleaned before their return had been delivered by their mother at home, as the nearest town—Punta Arenas—was 3 days' journey away from Laguna Blanca. Spanish, Gaelic and English were all spoken in the Mackay household. Allan, the youngest child, was born at Punta Arenas on 16 May 1927. Accompanied by his mother and one of his sisters, he returned to Scotland on a refrigerator ship carrying frozen lamb to Britain, to stay with aunts on Lewis during his schooling at the Nicholson Institute in Stornoway. In addition to his birth being registered at both the British Consul's Register of Births and the Republic of Chile's Registro Civil, Allan's baptism was registered at the 'local' presbyterian church.²

¹ G. Mackenzie, *Why Patagonia?*, 2nd edition (Stornoway, 1996), 96-107.

² We would like to thank Allan and Mary Mackay, Alexandria, for their kind hospitality and for supplying this document.

C7 Certificate of Baptism of Allan Mackay, 1927.

Private Collection

Certificate of Baptism.

Baptism solemnized in Punta Arenas, Straits of Magellan, South America in the year 1927

No. 16

When born: *May 9 1927*

When baptized: *May 26 1927*

Christian name of child: *Allan Macdonald*

Parents' name—Christian: *Malcolm and Christina Macdonald*

Surname : *Mackay*

Abode: *P. Arenas*

Profession: *Empleado*

By whom Baptized: *J. Williams*

I hereby certify that the above is a true copy of entry No. 16 in the Baptism Register of the College Chapel of St Andrew, Punta Arenas, Straits of Magellan.

Witness my hand this 26 day of May, One thousand nine hundred and twenty seven

[signed] *J. Williams, Chaplain.*

Chapter Six

SETTLEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT

This feeling of love for their native country is more strongly implanted in the Scotch, than either in the English or Irish, and, consequently, they feel the pang of separation more keenly. It is certainly a trait in their character, which does them honour; but it is the cause of much unhappiness to them, and too often paralyses their exertions; causes them to despond, and even brings on disease. It is but right to mention this fact, as it is too much overlooked by those leaving home, and, in my opinion, is a point of the greatest importance; as, what avails even plenty in a strange land, to those who are pining for home, for friends, and for all the thousand endearments they have left behind them?¹

John Reilly, author of a promotional guidebook to North America, delivered this admonition when recalling a chance meeting with a family from Edinburgh aboard a Canadian steamboat in 1834. While his attribution of the emigrants' unhappiness to a negative attachment to their homeland inherent in the Scottish psyche was debatable, the mixed fortunes of settlement and resettlement certainly formed the core of much of the emigration literature which bound Scotland to the Americas with ever firmer and more complex ties. The distinction between explicit inducements or warnings and general reporting was often spurious, for advice and information were commonly intertwined in the same report or piece of correspondence. Would-be emigrants reached their decisions partly on the basis of accumulating—from both published and private sources—factual information about the settlement experiences of their predecessors. This information, which commenced pre-Union, was diverse particularly in relation to the areas with the most intensive pattern of Scottish settlement initially in the colonial plantations, and then in British North America. Some settlements, notably in Atlantic Canada, served as a launching pad for further pioneering ventures on the western frontiers. As new horizons

¹ NLS, John G. Reilly (attributed to), *Journal of an Excursion to the United States and Canada in the year 1834: with hints to emigrants; and a fair and impartial exposition of the advantages and disadvantages attending emigration. By a citizen of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1835), 91-2, Mf.Pres.33(3). We would like to thank Miss Hazel Robertson for this extract.

opened up in South America and as the process of modernity created opportunities from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, migrant families often relocated and even returned within a generation.

A PRE-UNION

Much reporting was negative or accusatory. The destruction of the infant Scottish settlement at Port Royal, South Carolina in September 1686 was blamed by Sir William Dunlop on business partners, such as Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie, not having sent out more settlers as promised. Able men like Dunlop faced daily frustrations in striving to become successful planters. The eventual failure of this colony was largely due not just to Dunlop's partners in Scotland reneging on their promises, but primarily to the mismanagement of Port Royal by Henry Erskine, Lord Cardross, antipathetic relations with the English colonial administration, punitive Spanish invasions and deteriorating accords with native Americans.¹ By 1689, Dunlop was in Scotland, having failed to establish a plantation in South Carolina.

A1 William Dunlop, Charleston, to Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie.

21 October 1686

NAS, Eglinton Muniments, GD3/5/775

I did much long to hear from you & was dayly in expectation of the laird of Dunlop here & had prepared a considerable pairt of his loading of square cedar & other lumber here, when Capt W'm Anderson with his vessell came here & Informed me that Your ship was at Antigo and was returning home again to Scotland & Dunlop & the other passengers w't her. S'r you may be assured I was not a litle surprised to find all my fair hopes of releif coming to us from our ffreinds thus dashed at once and all forsooth because the ship got a good ffraught homeward, truely I wold have thought that Skelmorly wold have been more concerned in our setlement at Port Royall then in a trading voyage to the West Indies. I know not who were the first advysers of you to send the ship (which you made me believe was bought out for our service to advance the setlement at Port Royall) by the way of the Leeward Islands to kill the passengers who were to come in her for the lure of a little gain some merchant aboard her might get and the ship herselfe a looser. Nor doe I know who advysed the return of the ship from Antigo when she was designed hither without performing her voyage; or so much as sending me that pairt of the Cargo which belonged to me in particular neither hath either Dunlop or any other from Antigo been pleased to write a line to me to tell me that the ship wold not come; whereas I received

¹ See, above, 75, A3.

letters from others there who write to me of Dunlop's being there. S'r you may think for as good natured as I am, I cannot but someway resent these disappointments, and certainly be more sensible of this bade conduct when I tell you that if that ship had come straight from Scotland to Port Royall or come at all before the 17th Augst I might in all probability have prevented that ruin which hath come upon us; ffor on August 17 came on us 3 Spanish halfe gallies w't 155 Men; we were not then above 30 men who could bear Armes & one halfe of these were in the country & co[u]ld not get to us; so that not having more time then to ffire 3 great guns we were forced by their multitude to flee before we came to handy blowes for they came in the day time & we seeing their multitude & finding we were not able to maintain the place got away ... [RMG]

Lord Neil Campbell, who had been an active member of the Carolina Company before abandoning it for East New Jersey, had bought a share in that alternative colony with his business partner, Edinburgh merchant Robert Blackwood. However, Lord Neil had found life increasingly difficult after the beheading of his brother, Archibald, 9th Earl of Argyll in 1685. Forced to realise what assets he could, which in this case included his colonial property at Rariton River and at the town of Perth Amboy, his instructions to the selling agent reflect the work and cost involved in transporting servants and goods from Scotland to start up a plantation.¹

A2 Instructions from Lord Neil Campbell & Mr Robert Blackwood, senior, to Mr James Campbell.

n.d. [1689?]

NAS, McGregor Collection, GD50/186/65/1

That you will endeavor to bargain and sell to Doctor Cox or any other merchant you can finde that three quarters of a whole proprietie belonging to us lying in East New Jersie in America for which you would endeavour to gett as good a pryce as you can It standing us nearely £1100 star: [sterling] for land, transportation of servants and goods But wee would not have you agree with any under £300 star: ready money or Citty security pay[ab]ll in a short time.

For the encouragment of any that shall offer to buy the same you may informe them

1/ That in ano 85 wee transported there 22 men servants and 3 boyes and furnished them and maintained them for 3 years, gave such of them as were

¹ L.G. Fryer, 'Robert Barclay of Ury and East New Jersey', *Northern Scotland*, 15 (1995) 1-17. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, this form of indenture was similar to that utilised by the Carolina Company.

labourers Corn, Cattell and all materialls for working and built houses for them and all of ym are under contract for Rent with us ...

2/ We have already surveyed and laide out to us at least Eight thousand acres a part whereof our tennants doe actually possess tho the same be not yet patented My Lord coming away in a hurry But the map itself clears the lying and bounding of the same.

3/ The said land is almost all fronted with Rariton River which is there navigable for boats where wee had and left with our servants two Cannowes of our own, It hath besides many springs & brookes in it.

4/ It hath a very good convenience for tuo water mills one hard by ye oyr which had timber and millstones prepared for that use.

5/ There is in the same land 2000 acres or thereby of meadow ground or Indian fields which needs no preparation for labouring but fencing

6/ Wee have likewayes our proportion of Aicres cleared and labored att Amboy one house built and timbers & stones prepared for building the other.

Nota That we know not what of our servants are alive or dead or what of our goods etc. are remaining or disposed of but are willing to dispose of our Interest as it is now stated in America and above represented without being oblidged to make anything good.

B COLONIAL PLANTATIONS

Notwithstanding the evident failure of Scottish colonial ventures pre-Union, Scots were soon to the fore as a distinctive group among British migrants to the plantations after 1707. Thomas Nairne, a Scotsman who emigrated to the New World in the late seventeenth century and became a successful Indian trader, is the reputed author of a promotional pamphlet that was published in London in 1710. This draft, which gives an informed account of life and work in Carolina, can be regarded as one of the earlier promotional works aimed at the more affluent category of emigrant. Particular stress is given to the necessity of importing technology and labour as well as capital, initially to clear land and, subsequently, to make a plantation productive.

B1 'A description of Carolina', pp. 14-15.

c.1710

JCBL, Codex Eng 10

If any one Designs to make a Plantation in this Province out of the Woods the first thing to be done is after cutting down a few trees to splitt Pallisadoes or Clapboards and therewith make small houses or hutts to shelter the slaves after that while some Servants are clearing Land others are employed in Squaring or Sawing Wall plates Posts Rafters Boards and Shingles for a small house for the ffamily which usually serves for a Kitchin afterwards when they are in Circumstances to build a larger. During the time of this

Preparation the Master Overseer or white servants go every Evening to the next neighbours house where they are lodged and Entertained kindly without any charges and if the Person have a Wife or children they are commonly left in Some friends house till a suitable dwelling house and conveniencys are provided fitt for them to live decently. The properest time to begin a settlement is in Sept[ember]. Or at farthest before the first of December the time between that and the first of March is spent in cutting down and burning the Trees out of the ground designed to be sowed that year Splitting Rails and making fence Round the Cornground and pastures. The Smallest computation usually made is that each labouring person will in this time clear three Acres fitt for sowing in the second fall or Winter. After a Plantation is settled they make Gardens plant Orchards build barns and other Convenient houses. The Third Winter Persons of any substance provide Brick lime or other Materials in Order to build a good house. The Lime here is all made of oyster shels burnt with wood of these there is great Plenty lying in and by all Creeks and Rivers in great beds or heaps where large boats are laden at low Water ... People who design to make their Fortunes in New Countrys should consider beforehand what Method or Course of Life they propose to follow when they arrive here & not flatter themselves with vain fancys as if Riches were to be got without Industry or taking suitable Methods to attain them. It is Encouragem[en]t sufficient for rational men to know that when due means are used they seldom fail of obtaining the End. In this province a little will serve to put a Person in a way of living comfortably, as any place whatsoever, and perhaps less; that you and your friends may truly be convinced of this, without being led into any Mistakes, I will first Insert an Account of what will settle a Planter to live with Comfort and Decency and next a list of what is sufficient to settle an Estate of £300 a year from which you may proportion other conditions of Life as you Please in order to Live comfortably. After a Mans own and familys passage is paid and cloths bought for the first year or two he must have

2 Negroe slaves	@ £40	£80
4 Cows and Calves	@ £1 5s	£5
4 sows 15 shills. A Canow		£6
a steel Mill or pair of Querns		£3
Axes hoes Wedges hand saws hammers & other tools		£2
200 Acres of Land £4 surveying etc. charges	£2	£6
a small house the first year or two		£8
Corn Peas Beef pork etc. for the first year		£14
Expenses and Contingencys		£26
Charges of settling an Estate of £30 p. Ann.		£150

This calculation is made in the Money of the Province which is just £100 sterl. The things mentioned here are of necessity to One who would settle with any tolerable Decency and from this small beginning by moderate Industry accompany[e]d with the blessing of Heaven a Man may get a competent Estate and live very handsomely but there are many who settle without any slaves at all by labour themselves.

Prior to the American Revolution, North no less than South Carolina proved particularly rewarding to entrepreneurial leaders of emigrants from all parts of Scotland. George Mackay of Mudal was planning a migrant venture from Sutherlandshire in the spring of 1772. His apprehensions that prime settlements in the Carolinas had already been taken over by merchants, nobles and army officers, were laid to rest by an anonymous informant—albeit, the preference of the imperial government at this juncture was to attract foreigners rather than deplete the population stock for manufacturers and the military within the British Isles.

B2 Unknown correspondent to George Mackay of Mudal.

1772

NAS, Gilchrist of Ospisdale Papers, GD 153/51/71/2

... from the best Information I could learn of North Carolina from Gentlemen of undoubted Veracity that were on the place that a twentieth part of that province is yet no Mans property but the Kings, who will give it to any Subject at half a Crown, the hundred Acres of quit rent and to foreigners cheaper ...

The Climate is rather hot than cold, but the people of Argyle who have settled there for 40 years past live as healthily in it as in Scotland, witness some of the first Settlers yet alive above 80 years of age. The Soil is too dry for Rice, but will when cleared produce wheat Barley & Indian Corn, without any manure, likewise flax; so that flax seed, is one of the staple Commodities of the Country; The Returns of the indian Corn is from 2 to 300 fold, and every peck of grain will yeild above two of Meall; The other produce of the Country is Tar, Turpentine Tobacco Cotton Pellety and Indigo, likewise some Islands in the River and spots of ground on the Banks of it produce Rice.

I was advising with a Gentleman of Ilay ... whether I shoud see to get a Grant before I left this Country or apply to L[or]d William Campbell the Governor after I went over & he told me there was no difficulty to get lands at any time at the Rent already named, and in any part of the Country I choased if not already engaged, and youll get a lot of Ground of 500 Acres with 20 or 30 of them cleared & some houses built upon it from £60 to £100, but the Numbers that go there yearly has lately

raised the value of cultivated lands ...

[RJC]

*Diverse locality networks, predominantly but not exclusively based on Scottish contacts in Glasgow, London, New York and Philadelphia, sought to break into the post-Union colonial trade to the Caribbean. Profitable dealing in sugar and rum, in return for Madeira and French wines, often served as the precursor to the acquisition of a Caribbean plantation, particularly in Jamaica following the act of the island's colonial government in 1736, to subsidise the immigration of white families with slaves on to settlements of up to 300 acres. However, such transatlantic trade was a high-risk business, as revealed by Alan Macpherson, sent to Philadelphia as agent for a trading company at Fort William in Lochaber. This company, whose ship the Charming Molly sailed regularly to the West Indies in the 1730s, had considerable commercial backing from the clan élite of the Camerons of Lochiel. Their Jacobitism notwithstanding, the Cameron chiefs and leading gentry had a continuous involvement in colonial ventures from their initial investment in East New Jersey in 1685. The Mr Cameron referred to as the provisioner in Jamaica was almost certainly Evan, the brother of Donald Cameron of Lochiel who led out his clan in the 'Forty-Five.'*¹

B3 Allan Mckpherson, Philadelphia to Messrs John Cameron, John Macklachlan & Company.

20 January, 1734

AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1734/01

... concerning the misfortunes that attended ship and Cargo. Upon resolving to send the ship to North America Mr Cameron was advised to send some of the sour wines along and that p[er] chance the cold might recover them upon which he sent above 50 doz Claret and a Hogshead of Languidock. He likeways sent me over here to dispose of them ... and make returns to him in provisions. We sailed from Jamaica Oct[o]be[r] the 15th and after a tedious passage of 7 weeks arrived in Philadelphia December the 4th. In the windward passage our topmast broke ... in weighing we lost our best Anchor the Cable & Boy rope having given way, this was all the damage we

¹ In this triangular trade, ships carrying corn, herrings and French wines (often smuggled by Jacobite traders) to Jamaica, stocked up with Madeira wine as well as sugar and rum before proceeding to the North American colonies where they offloaded and either returned to the British Isles with provisions or continued to Madeira where they stocked up with wine and returned to Jamaica and thence returned to the British Isles with sugar and rum. While the shipping of Madeira wines was frequently used to raise capital to finance participation in the slave trade, there is no evidence from correspondence or bills of lading that the *Charming Molly* was involved in this disreputable but lucrative activity: AUDH, Brodrick Haldane, H1734/02, H1735/01, H1736/01.

received on the passage for which the Master entered a Protest how soon we came to Philadelphia to recover Insurances. I'm sorry to inform you the Cold had a contrary effect upon the wine than we expected for instead of recovering it the Cold killed it entirely, and made it so bade that I cannot get anything for it. For Gentlemen here would not drink it if I made them a present of it. I proposed to distill it but was advised I would lose three fourths and pay 12d per Gall[on] for the Distilling of it, so I know not what to make of it or how to dispose of it. I wish to God I had never come here to dispose of it. The Captaine freights the ship with on James Gardner. I had nothing adoe with the ship because Mr Cameron gave power to the Captaine to load her to the best advantage for you. The Captaine paid all the charges here for loading which he charges to you. *I'm heartily sorry your first adventure to America will come to so little accompt & such a bade Mercat but its owing to your selves not corkering your Wines Well.*

In corresponding with their families, many young Scots described the practical networking through which they hoped to make a quick fortune in the Caribbean. Archibald Cameron details to his father, John Cameron of Fassifern, the type of work and expected progress of a young man hoping to become an overseer, if not a plantation owner.

B4 Archie Cameron, Clarendon, Jamaica to his father John Cameron of Fassifern.

11 December, 1768

AUDH, Brodrick Haldane Papers, H1768/01

... I left Mr Forbes about a year ago. I had £30 Currancy p[er] Annum Bed Board and Washing as Book-keeper. Mr Forbes is only Overseeor. What ise mint by Overseeor ise a man that has the Charge of a Gentilemans Whole property, there is Generally two or three Bookkeepers upon every plantation. Every young Lade must serve for three or four years before he gets the Charge of a Plantation. Collector Colin Campbells Brother Archd. Campbell with whom I am at present as Bookkeeper Shoed me a letter he had from his Brother Colin wherein he said that you told him that you had a sone in this Country and Wished that he wase acquaint with him, and if it wase in hise pour to be of service to him. He sent for me here about t[w]o Months ago he ise extremely Kind to me. Wase he my Brother he could not sho me any more friendship.

I would be extremely obleiged to you would you send me p[er] the first Ship that Sailse from Cleide [River Clyde] one p[air] Heiland pistels at £5 of Campbells at Downs Making a Dirk silver mounted with a black Hefted Knife and fork and belt one 1/2 doz good Strong shirts plaine, one dozen

pairs of Thread stockings, 1/2 dozen pairs of Brogs, they must measure in the Inside 10 Inches and proportionable wide which please direct to me at Keays's Estate in Clarendon to the care of Mr Robert Renny Postmaster at Old Harbour Market. This gose Inclosed in a letter of Archd Campbells to his Brother Colin. Please offer my kind compliments to Lochiel when you write him please remember me to may Uncle & Ants & make may Compliments to all those that Inquire after me. I shall be guided and directed by your advice.

The notoriously unhealthy reputation of the Caribbean was a persistent theme in many emigrant letters that were, inevitably, concerned with morbidity and mortality. Alasdair Cameron remained convinced that the island was not as hazardous to health as was reputed in Britain, but that it was the white settlers' 'unmoderate way of living that makes most of peaple unhealthy'.¹ An acquaintance of Dr Alexander Johnston in St. Ann's parish in Jamaica seems to have been his own worst enemy and his downward spiral into alcoholism and debt in Jamaica was duly conveyed to the north-east of Scotland.²

B5 Alexander Johnston (to James Johnston?).

4 July, 1783

HSP, Alexander Johnston Letters,
Powel Family Collection,³ no. 1582

You will be so good to go over to Mr White at Tyrwathie, near Techmuirrie, and also to Rattray, near Rosehartie, near Fraserburgh, to Mr Wm Pyper the Father. And speak to them all, in a very kind manner—& inform them that his son William Pyper, poor man, died here; he was a good man—but had unfortunately fallen into a most blameable habit of drinking, which no persuasion, or care, or caution, on my part, could get the better of. I took care of him often when he was sick, took him to my own house, & hoped that my own presence, & the presence of my wife, would have been some check upon him—that would not do—I boarded him in a widow woman's house—but this wicked habit had laid fast hold on him, & he at last, poor man, fell a sacrifice to his own folly & indiscretion. Owing to this habit, he

¹ AUDH, Brodrick Haldane, H1766/01 (see also, above, 35, **B3**). Further instances of the ultimate penalty suffered by unfortunate sojourners afflicted by bad advice as well as the ravages of fever can be found in the Powel Family Collection: HSP, James Johnston Letters, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Robert Grant, Spanish Town, to James Johnston of Hillhead, Crimond, near Peterhead, North Britain, 11 Aug. 1798; James Johnston Letters, Powel Family Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. William Robertson, St Ann's, Jamaica to James Johnston, Hillhead of Crimond, 25 Nov. 1799, no. 1582.

² See also below, 268, **B4**.

³ Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

was not fit for business—consequently neglected his own affairs,—spent a great deal of money idly,—suffered himself to be imposed upon,—yes, & by his own Country-men, too,—and a man out of business here, must spend a great deal—a Dinner 15sh.—bed 6/8d.—breakfast 20d.—& so on. I believe after the Debts are paid, his matters may come to between 3 & 4 hundred pounds this money. 140 of this money, makes £100 Sterling. He desired every thing to be sold, and given to his father & mother, while they are living—but, if they be dead, to be equally divided, between John, Alexander & Christian [his siblings?] ... [RMcD]

As his journal entry for 30 July 1789 bears out, Dr Jonathan Troup was, not surprisingly, interested in the physical as well as the economic risks of the Caribbean, where he practised medicine from 1788-91. The profitability of colonial plantations was affected adversely by the economic blockade of Britain during the Napoleonic Wars and the gradual abolition of slavery. The recurring message of press obituary lists was the susceptibility, especially of young settlers, to malignant fevers. Notwithstanding a flurry of agency activity in Aberdeenshire in the 1830s and early 1840s, Scottish interest in the Caribbean clearly waned in the nineteenth century.¹

B6 Journal of Jonathan Troup.

30 July 1789

AU, SLA, MS 2070, fo.33

One man only makes a fortune in W Indies out of 500—It is long before he gets into business & when he is in business he risques much by bad pay[men]ts, loss of Negroes—that in space of 20 years he will not be able wt. great frugality to make more than £3,-4,000. In Britain when one gets into business he will make a vast deal more—Drs. & Managers of Estates die more than any set of people from the greater exposure on all occasions.

[RMcD]

C BRITISH NORTH AMERICA FROM REVOLUTION TO CONFEDERATION

*Not surprisingly in the wake of the American Revolution, much of the information circulating in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Scotland concerned settlement in the Maritimes and Upper and Lower Canada. Prior to Confederation in 1867, Canada remained the favourite and best-publicised destination of Scottish emigrants despite the challenge from the Antipodes in the 1840s and 1850s. Although apparently never intending to emigrate himself, Adam Smith took a keen interest in transatlantic events, devoting a large section of *The Wealth of Nations* to the*

¹ Cf. *Aberdeen Journal*, 28 Jan. 1846.

American question, and maintaining his interest in Britain's remaining possessions after the American Revolution. Robert Reid, born around 1740, was for 10 years Smith's amanuensis in Kirkcaldy. Having secured an appointment as coroner and an estate of several hundred acres upon the banks of the Miramichi River in the County of Northumberland, Reid gave details of life and work in New Brunswick, including his exacting entrepreneurial travels, his encounters with Native people and the importance of bi-employments in developing economies.¹

C1 Robert Reid, Miramichi, Canada, to Adam Smith.

11 September 1785

GUL, Sp.Coll., MS Gen 1035/167

... Every tree that I cut down ... serves two purposes; first, it affords firewood; and, secondly, it clears so much land which with a little culture will produce tolerable good grain, Potatoes & cabbages &c. The woods abound with game of different sorts, particularly with what the savages call Moose; and animal about the size of a Bullock and its flesh eats tolerably well. The maple tree in spring affords a juice which in my opinion makes sugar of a much more wholesome quality than that imported from the West Indies. We have also several herbs, particularly what is called Maiden-hair, which serves as an excellent substitute for tea. The river is amply stored with various sorts of fish, particularly salmon. I am now therefore become both a farmer and a fisherman, and by exerting my industry can live comfortably. Our co-partners have two vessels one of which goes to the foreign Market with the produce of our Industry in fish and returns with such British goods as suits the market here. In short, Sir, I have at present the prospect of becoming what I call Rich.

I shall now ... give you some account of my peregrinations last winter. One of my partners and self went to Quebec where we purchased a schooner and being detained at that place too long could not reach this place before the frost set in. We were therefore under the necessity of putting into a place called Pabo in the Bay of Chaleur where the vessel wintered; and I undertook the arduous task of traversing about five hundred miles thro' the wild woods of America in order to transact some necessary business at Halifax. I accordingly set out about the middle of Decem[be]r thro' an almost un-inhabited country and entirely covered with snow. I was, however, equipt with a pair of good snow shoes; a very happy invention which in winter greatly facilitates the Business of the country and without the use of which scarce any out-door business can be carried on. I had not travelled many miles when I fell in with three savages one of whom I soon understood

¹ Robert Reid died in Chatham, North America in 1825. We would like to thank David Dobson for information on Robert Reid's career.

bore the rank of Captain, who seeing my blue cloaths immediately anonced me Brother. I entered chearfully into conversation with them, and as I was going the same road they proposed to conduct me to their Wigwams which were only a few leagues distance. We travelled on till evening approached and my companions then proposed to encamp for the night: but think what were my ideas to lye down to sleep in a wild lonesome wood, surrounded by savages, in so very cold a climate, in the depth of winter and during a very heavy fall of snow! There was, however, no alternative. My companions went to work with their tomahawks and cut down some trees for firewood, and with the larger branches made our wigwam, while the smaller ones were allotted for our Beds. Fire serves two purposes; first, it prevents any attack from wild Beasts who never approach it; and, secondly, by turning our feet towards it prevents their being frost-bit; an accident very common in cold climates. We lay down and my companions slept very comfortably after regaling themselves with a bumper or two of my Rum. The only inconveniency I felt was the necessity of rising frequently to shake my Blanket clear of the snow which continued to fall incessantly thro' the night. Morning approach'd and we resumed our journey after treating my friends with another bumper which had such an effect on my Brother that for one single bottle he proposed I should have his squaw (or wife) for my Bed fellow upon our arrival at his Wigwam. I was introduced as a brother captain; but the appearance of the lady was not a motive sufficient to excite me to part, either with my Rum, or accept of the honour of such a Bed-fellow. I remained among them a few days which gave me an opportunity of observing their manners ... I have since that time Navigated rivers some hundreds of miles with other savages in their canoes made of the bark of the birch tree ...

Passing reference to everyday life on the land was sometimes made by Catholic priests who corresponded so assiduously with their superiors about the spiritual needs of Scottish settlers in the Maritimes. The following account of pioneer farming in Prince Edward Island in 1790 was included in a letter by the Rev. Angus MacEacharn which began with an account of the spiritual state of Scottish and French settlers in the island, and also made reference to his habit of preaching in Gaelic in order to remind highlanders of the 'old country'.¹

C2 Rev. Angus MacEacharn, Savage Harbour, to Bishop Geddes.

14 October 1790

SCA, Blairs Letters, BL4/33/11

¹ See above, 198-9, B6-B7.

The affairs of this Island are hitherto very unsettled, proprietors are not of one mind, and property is very uncertain, so that some of those who have come out with Cap[tai]n John [MacDonald of Glenaladale] have never as yet paid any rents, which, in the main, is rather hurtful to them, as they never wish to improve upon lands not their own. But this year I believe matters will be more settled when Cap[tai]n, John will arrive, in company of 8 other proprietors, belonging to this Island. There are good roads in some parts of this Island and every farmer is obliged to work 6 days yearly, and single people 4 days, which considering the flatness of the country will soon make good roads. The swamps are the most difficult, where they place a bridge of logs as close as they can rest, and nothing to cover them. They make their houses dove tailed with beams, and then cover them without, like the side of a clinch built boat.... The cleared lands require manure, and the wood returns are very good. The New England men who flock here pretty thick rear very good crops in the woods without ever cutting down the large trees, i.e. where they are of the distance of 15 or 20 feet asunder, but take off the bark below and let them wither of their own accord ... My Father bought 100 acres and paid £100 sterling for them. They are mostly cleared, and he has the value of £50 of hay this year, and wheat. My oldest brother, who has been unfortunately killed by the stroke of the wing of a windmill, bought other 100 acres also at the same rate, and was in a very good way. My father has shorn the 9th crop this year of some of his lands ...

[C]

The pastoral presence of clergymen notwithstanding, over-enthusiastic or fraudulent agents were the source of much emigrant hardship and the butt of much criticism. The Glasgow Chronicle, which carried letters in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars extolling the opportunities for tradesmen, especially in Quebec and Montreal,¹ copied the following cautionary tale from the Dumfries papers in the summer of 1817. After referring briefly to the 'injudicious' policy of the British government in granting financial aid to establish civilian settlements near the vulnerable Canadian frontier in the Rideau valley, the anonymous correspondent turned to a disillusioning venture which had lured unsuspecting emigrants from south-west Scotland to Nova Scotia.

C3 *Glasgow Chronicle*, 15 June 1817.¹

... Some respectable people from Lockerby, and, among others, the dissenting clergymen there, to whom offers had been made of a meeting-house in America, went from this in the spring of 1815. What they conceived

¹ Cf. *Glasgow Chronicle*, 15 Feb. 1816, 'Emigration' (an extract of a letter from a Gentleman in Montreal to his friend in Kilmarnock).

² Taken from the Dumfries Papers.

advantageous to themselves, they naturally and justly recommended to their friends and neighbours. A man of the name Campbell, from Norwood, also went, and they all arrived safe at Pictou in June or July last year. This man Campbell returned to purchase articles for trading with in the new colony, brought flaming accounts of this northern land of Canada flowing with milk and honey. His representations had the desired effect. Many of the deluded people from his old neighbourhood agreed to accompany him, and two vessels were literally loaded with them from Maryport. Upon hearing that Campbell was carrying with him a great quantity of oatmeal, salt bars, and pork, I in vain represented to some of them that that could not be a plentiful country where oatmeal was an article of importation:—Many went. One of the vessels was seized, because Mr. Campbell, who had followed the trade in Scotland, had smuggled some salt on board of her; she was detained a week, but afterwards released and arrived at the delightful settlement in Miramichi, on the 3rd of June. On board of one of these vessels was a very respectable young man of this neighbourhood, about 21 years of age, and accompanied by a sister, a year or two younger. He was bred a tailor, which has always been supposed a good trade in Nova Scotia, was steady and industrious, and for his rank in life, remarkably well educated. He was in vain dissuaded from going, and it was with difficulty even that his father, who lives in a pleasant slated house of his own, worth at least £80 with a good garden, and to which is attached some ground that keeps two cows, at a low rent, could be prevailed upon to stay, with his numerous family, till at last he heard his son and daughter's report of the country.

The report at last arrived; it lies before me: ... His first letter is dated Merigonish, (this is a place 18 miles from Pictou), July 9th, 1816. It states his arrival at Miramichi, but 'we could not hear of a room or house to let; no, there is no such thing there.' High wages, compared to those [of] this country, were, however, offered, but we would not accept them, 'especially as the people had mostly all broken noses, and the Sabbath-day is spent generally in drinking, fighting and swearing'. He therefore resolves to go to Pictou, 200 miles distant, in a schooner, where time is spent by the crew and passengers like the Sunday at Miramichi. At Pictou, however, he arrives, and at last in Merigonish, where he is more kindly received by those whose flattering accounts had induced him to take the voyage. He also gets into a house, but adds ... 'At Miramichi no house here; no money, which is bad; wheat, barley, and oats, last year, were all destroyed by mice, which come out of the woods in summer.' Many of their cattle died of hunger: 'Had flour not come from the States, many of the people must have shared the same fate. No King's lands on this shore; plenty inland for clearing,—but o' dismal retreat!' He dare not advise his parents to come out, however much he might wish to see them. [MV]

In happier vein, the following letter recounts the experiences of a Paisley family at the end of their first year as farmers in the Sherbrooke area, having settled in a community seemingly dominated by emigrants from the west of Scotland. Mary Stocks was clearly a midwife. As well as offering detailed information on seed types, cultivation methods, yields, livestock, wild animals and pests, it shows something of the process of rolling emigration, one acquaintance having moved from his original settlement in Nova Scotia to resettle in Sherbrooke, and others having moved to the States.

C4 Mary and Arthur Stocks, Brightons, to John Colquhon, care of Betty Boyd, Well Meadow Street, Paisley, [Postmarked 1823 Paisley] 10th Dec. North Shearbrook, Upper Canada.

Paisley,
10 December, 1823[?]

NAS, Colquhoun and MacArthur Family Papers,
GD1/814/5

... It is now more than a twelve months since we came on our land: We have Reaped a pretty fair crop ...

Our clearance Rises Gradually to the north and therefore it lies to the Mid-Day sun—we as well as the generality of our Neightbours are well pleased with our situations. We are very well off for Neightbours Robert Twidel, from Parkhead is our nearest it is not a quarter of a mile from us their clearence and ours is already mett against the Spring of the year our two families will have a clearence of 22 acres.

Ebenezer Wilson is about a quarter of a mile from us and his clearence and Robert Tuadels are mett all to a few yards; these two lies North West of us. Ebenezer has 7 or 8 accres already clean and about 2 months ago his son David, came here from Nova Scotia and is handy at cutting down the trees: he has a large Meadow by itself Distant from the Clearance—Duncan McDugal and Daniel Ritche: Arch'd McDugal, Josiah Davies James Nisbet, John Porter, Alexander Young, Robert Simm, David Wilie, James and Robert Smith, Thomas Hall, Antony Mcbrid: James Eson: James Gilmour and son, Captan Elliot and George Watson are all around us and within two mile distance of us: and a little farther lies: 3: Brown Lee Lads; and a Crawford. Duncan and Arch'd Campbell, Ouen Creiley, William Cristilaw and many more too tideous to mention. So you see we have maney neightbours and they are all agreeable and very helpful to each other: David Wilson ... sayes that the land here is much Better and easier cleared than when he was in Nova Scotia—It is about a month since the winter commenced here.... Tradesmen and some labourers during the summer went down the country to work as their is no money to be win here: and some of them wrought for a Cow: and some for Cash or grain and most of the young girls are gone away to service and gets from it 2: to 4: dolars a Month: our Daughter Betty

has been away too for about 4 months: she is about 60 miles down the country: Twidals, Gilmours and Wilies Daughters are further away: I fill the want of Betty in the family when I am from home: when we were in the ship Earel of Buckinghamshire I was caled along with the Doctor that came along with the ship to assist Women in child labour [and] delivered [a] sone ... and I delivered severals before we landed: and some as we came up the river with the Boatuoos [bateux]—and ever since we came to Shearbrook there is no other sought and I have been with a good maney: about 6 weeks ago a man came 16: miles for me on foot: and got the loan of a Boat and we sailed bout 9 miles to his place and all was well: and I got home again the same way next day—I was with Mrs Eliot about 3 weeks ago. She wanted a few days of 16 when she was delivered of a Daughter. The mother is quite well but the child is weakly it was born in the 7th month and is not likely to live long—... some that was to have been our Neighbourns ... went away from their land: and it was said that they were gone home particlarly Andrew Edward we heard since that he is note gone home yet: William Dunlop his Father in law and him are in the States: and ... they wish their land to be kept for them—let David Baldknave kno that William Taylors land is near us a keeping for him too. He is down the country at work somewhere. [MV]

While most correspondence from British North America was concerned with farm settlement, the commercial activities of Scots, particularly in the Maritime lumber trade, also formed the subject of much transatlantic correspondence—albeit the main purpose of William Loch's letter was to introduce himself, during a temporary visit to Scotland, to the unnamed man he believed to be his father. Having first worked for Inverness-shire born James Fraser, who ran one of the biggest timber trading operations in the Maritimes, Loch subsequently went into partnership with the Leith-born merchant Archibald Duncan, taking over the firm on Duncan's death in 1832, and managing it until his own death in 1856.

C5 William Loch (draft) to an unnamed individual, recounting details of his education and commencement of his career.

[1824]

NAC, William Loch Papers, Finding Aid 828,
MG 24 D 82, pages 15-18

... I am now twenty seven and a half years of age; in one thousand eight hundred and eight I was bound for five years as an apprentice to a merchant of Edinburgh where I served in that capacity and as a clerk until the year one thousand and eight hundred and sixteen, at which period seeing no prospect of advancing myself in the profession I had chosen in Scotland,

without money or interest and having like many others of my young countrymen a desire of seeing the world I determined on going to America and accordingly embarked in May of that year for Halifax Nova Scotia, where I arrived soon after and immediately got a situation as clerk in the country house of Messrs James Fraser and Co. one of the most respectable mercantile concerns in that place where I remained until May 1817 when they sent me to Miramichi a port in the Province of New Brunswick at which place a branch of their concern is extensively engaged in the timber trade and where I continued employed as their principal clerk at a good salary until this summer. I have only further to add on this subject that I have lately entered into partnership with a gentleman of Leith who is brother and partner of a very respectable merchant there who is largely engaged in the American trade. That we have commenced business as timber merchants at Miramichi and that I have just arrived in this country on business relative to our establishment at that place. [LC]

Despite the economic opportunities in British North America, restrictive practices within Scotland attracted many immigrants to Upper Canada, some of whom had been influenced by the writings and practical example of the Perthshire landowner and emigrant, Adam Fergusson. In 1833, along with James Webster from Angus, he bought 7,367 acres in Nichol Township in Southern Ontario, and began selling off lots to Scottish settlers. In recalling an encounter with a young settler on the road between Galt and Brantford, Fergusson made reference to the grievances over game laws which remained a significant source of discontent for most of the nineteenth century and a catalyst for emigration from rural communities.

C6 Adam Fergusson, *Practical Notes Made During a Tour in Canada* (Edinburgh, 1833), 131-2.

Adjoining to this spot lived a young Scotch settler, who had recently purchased a lot of 100 acres ... He had already got a very snug shanty erected, and was labouring away with his oxen, blythe and cheerful, at a good hazel-coloured sandy loam. Recognizing at once, by his dialect, from what part of Scotland he had come, I inquired if he knew a particular friend of my own on the Borders, and the poor fellow's ecstasy was most amusing when he exclaimed that his own father was a tenant upon my friend's estate. 'I'm sure,' says he, 'he'll no hae forgot Walter Smith but tell him you met the poacher, and he'll be sure to mind me.' I of course hinted a suspicion that some mishap attending that lawless character had accelerated his movements across the Atlantic, which, however, proved not to be the case. 'At all events,' I remarked, 'you neither need certificate nor qualification here: what do you principally shoot?' 'Indeed,' says he, 'if you'll believe me Sir, I scarce ever think about it, for there's naebody here seeks to hinder us;'

a remarkable answer, and not without its use in forming a clew to the fascinations and excitement of a smuggler's or poacher's life. A herd of deer only two days before, had wandered past him, yet Walter felt no inclination to leave the plough, although his rifle stood in the shanty. He will have thirty acres ready for wheat, to sow in autumn, which, if he continues steady and industrious, will make his way to independence clear enough, as he paid down at entry the full price of his land. 'You want only a wife now,' I observed, 'to make you complete.' 'Yes, Sir; but I'll have her from Auld Scotland, for these Yankee lasses are good for nought; they'll blow the horn and tak a man from the plough to fetch them a skeel o' water.' Ungallant as this speech may appear, it is nevertheless true, that American females almost exclusively confine their attention to duties within doors. [MV]

Although readers were not necessarily spared the unpalatable side of migrant settlement in the more discriminating guidebooks,¹ the negative experiences of some settlers were undoubtedly affected by the background of failure, disgrace or discontent which had provoked their emigration in the first place. In 1834 William Aitchison, an Edinburgh brewer, laid out more than £200 to send his spendthrift son James to Canada in the hope that emigration would reform his habits. James, then aged 24, was to be lodged for 2 years with a farmer, Peter Walker, at Hinchinbrook, Lower Canada, in order to learn agriculture with the prospect of his father purchasing him a small farm as a reward for his sobriety, industry and clean living. These hopes were not realised, however, and the family letters trace James' fall, from initial enthusiasm for pioneer farming through his faltering attempts in Upper Canada to establish his own farm at Tilbury followed by a store, a stage coach business and then a distillery at London. Although he had received further assistance of £150 from his family following the death of his father in 1835, he made repeated requests for more funding from Scotland. His downward spiral into speculation and debt was described graphically from London by a distant relative, the Rev. William Proudfoot, into whose care James had been initially entrusted when he first arrived in Canada. Proudfoot, who had again taken in the unfortunate James, wrote at the close of 1837 to his mother asking for £350 to help clear her son's debts. No financial assistance was forthcoming and 6 months later James fled to the United States to escape imprisonment for debt. His fate is unknown.²

C7 Rev. William Proudfoot to Mrs Aitchison.

[?] December, 1837

NAS, Aitchison Letters, GD1/92/18

While he stayed in Lower Canada he speculated very injudiciously in cattle

¹ Cf. J. Howison, *Sketches of Upper Canada* (Edinburgh, 1822), 238-9.

² NAS, Aitchison Letters, GD1/92/1/9/12.

sheep and horses, and in every bargain was a loser. He had contracted heavy tavern bills in Montreal and had become surety for a man not worth a cent besides lending him money, for which sums he was capiased [apprised?] in London, and had I not become bail for him he must have gone to jail, and I ain nobody knows how long. After he came to London, he drew an excellent lot of land in Tilbury and after chopping rather more than 10 acres, he abandoned it and it lies to this day with the timber cut down but not burnt ... I understand that you blame me for allowing him to take up that land in Tilbury. Now, I beg leave to say that his taking that lot, had he stuck to it, was in my opinion the only wise thing he has done since he came to the country ...

After he left Tilbury and came to London with the design of making a business for himself he acted in a very strange way, and soon fell into the hands of a set of sharpers who knowing that he had money or the prospect of it got him to embark on running an opposition stage from London to Detroit. They got him to buy horses and harness and waggon and sleigh. The speculation turned out a bad one, he lost upwards of £100. His horses instead of selling them he lent them to a man who was [a] known sharper, who sold the horses and cleared out to the States. He lost his sleigh in the same manner. He bought a waggon for \$95 and sold it to a man who gave him some notes of hand which were not worth one farthing ...

On one occasion he broke away and acted so strangely that I thought I should never be able to get him back. He took up his lodging in a low beer shop not more than a mile and a half from my house and for nearly 6 months obstinately refused to return. He spent much money in that house and indulged in almost habitual drinking being encouraged thereto. All my efforts to bring him back were unavailing till the tavern keeper discovered that his money was done, consented to let him come home. It was during the time that he staid in that house that he bought the land on which the distillery is built, but the bargain was so foolishly made that the man can at this moment take back the lot, and the distillery and a new dwelling house and leave James nothing ...

He has got the distillery ready for working (it is not all paid) and has been most anxious to begin. I always entertained a hope that when he should have something to do that he might confine himself to his business and be steady. In this my hopes have not been realised. I gave him 90 bushels of wheat to begin with, and this might have set the thing a-going but he has so many debts, that one and another came and got whisky in payment and now it is all off and he has not a shilling to buy another bushel with ...

A distillery is a sure way of making a living in this country. The place which James has bought is exceedingly well fitted for driving a first rate business but in order to set him a-going £350 will be absolutely necessary, that he may begin without debt and lay in a stock of 300 bushels. If the

above sum could be furnished a business could be raised that would bring in very handsome returns from which in two years at the farthest he might very easily repay the money with interest. [RMG]

The affluent expectations of emigrants, though often disappointed for the generation that instigated removal to British North America, were not irretrievable, particularly if their children contracted propitious marriages. Although her parents had found limited prospects for economic betterment since settling in Pictou from Dundee, they evidently moved in relatively prosperous business circles in Nova Scotia, into which both Helen Crichton and her sister had married.

C8 Mrs Helen Crichton, Pictou, Nova Scotia, to her aunt and uncle, Aaron Lithgow, merchant in Dundee.

18 December 1837.

NLS, Lithgow Papers, MS. 2543, fos 37-8

... There are a great many changes takes place in a few years, after residing in Halifax about two years, I was married to Mr. James Crichton a merchant from Pictou, where I have now taken up my abode. I have two little boys the one 2 _ years and the other 9 months, and my husband has two more by a former marriage a boy and a girl. So you see I have got a large family about me in a short time and I am as happy and comfortable as I could desire. Isabella and I were married within a fortnight of each other and both to brothers she got the youngest (Peter Crichton) and I the eldest. She has two little girls, about the same age as my boys, they went to Canada shortly after they were married, with the intention of settling in some part of the country, but not having their health well, they returned home, and are now living about 12 miles from Pictou ...

My Father and Mother are still in Halifax they are both quite well. My Father's business has been very dull ever since he came to Halifax, but there is very little doing any where. I believe Father never wrote you since his arrival in Nova Scotia, he was a good deal disappointed at every thing being so dull as it was so different from what he was led to believe but he told me to be sure and write but I always put off. My eldest brother is at a store in Halifax from two or three years, but he always seemed incline for a seafaring life, so Father thought it was best to let him go. He has been a voyage to India, and is now in South America, he is very attentive in writing home which is a great satisfaction, Johnie is in a store in Halifax, and Jamie is still at school, my sister Anne is stopping with me just now. I think I have told you all the particulars relating to myself and family ... [MV]

While economic betterment was not always immediately obtainable, British North America offered the opportunity for families from urban districts of Scotland to return to the land. Members of the Good family who had left Paisley during the crisis in the weaving industry in the early 1840s continued to follow their trade in Southern Ontario. But their ultimate intention, as evident from John Good's recapping of their adventures since their arrival to an unnamed sibling, was to take up farming in order to encourage more members of their family to join them in Newhope.

C9 James S. Good, Newhope, to his father.

23 November, 1842

Sp. Coll., UGL, McLaughlin Archives,
Good Family Correspondence, XSI MS A200

According to promise I now write to give you an account of my travels and trials in America. When we landed in Quebec I went to the steamboat office and took passage for the family and sailed that night so that we scarcely saw the place. In Montreal we were only one night and never stopped till we were in Hamilton which took 8 days when my change grew scarce and I thought it was time to think of stopping so I left the family and came up here and took a house and John Drue and Robert Campbell came with there waggons and brought up. I had only one dollar when I landed in Newhope and 25 pound of oatmeal, that was all I had in the world so that you see I had but small beginning, no loom, only one reed that would answer but my spirits was always up. I always let on that I had plenty of money so that I was always looked upon as a rich man. Offers of land and houses for sale was given me everyday but I managed so that they never found out that I was poor and they pronounced me a cautious Scotch man. I went to the sawmil and bought about half a dollars worth of wood for a loom expecting that he would not have change for the rest of my dollar and it just answered so that he credited me so that I went to the mill and bought flour for the family, 25 pound and two pound of butter, one bushel of potatoes so that we had something to eat the next day. I went and bought as much wood as I wanted without paying anything and commenced making my loom, lay, pirn, wheel, shuttles and shafts which surprised my neighbours very much and they pronounced [me] a first rate weaver and carpenter. Square Feain a Scotch man gave me the first web and paid me the price of it and another web the price to be paid in trade, that is flour, beef or pork, sugar, or butter or anything but money, likewise he told me that I could not do without a cow so we went to a vandoo or roup and bought one at 15 months credit. He was my cashier. Work I had plenty so that Magdalene thought this was the America that she wanted not the one she expected. The next thing was the cold winter. I could not weave without a stove. I went and bought one with an oven in it at eleven dollars,

four months credit, so that we can keep our house very warm in the coldest days in winter and Magdalene fires her loaves and pies for it is very different here. My family would look very blue to be set down to a Paisley table now for every meal here is like a wedding supper for variety. Magdalene had to learn the cooking for she knew nothing of making pies, puddings, sauces, cakes and I have got my cow and stove paid. It is very different here. In Paisley I was owing everybody, nobody owing me but here it is everybody me. You want to know how farr we are from Hamilton. It is 25 miles or rather 30 miles. We are four miles from Galt, a fine village all Scotch about 500 inhabitants, three miles from Preston about 300 inhabitants mostly Germans, 12 miles from Guelph about 600 inhabitants mostly Irish. The inhabitants is all Dutch but seven, two English, two Paisley bodys, their names is McKarcie, three Irish. There is a sawmill and whisky distillery, four weavers and a blacksmith. The village is on the banks of the river Speed. My place is one mile west of the village. I have one acre of land with the house and 18 acres more for Magdalene's washing the proprietors shirts. We are on the road between Newhope and Preston so that we get too many visitors in summer for drinks and in winter to get warmed. Instead of being dull we have more visitors that ever we had. The two Johns and I was up at our land and built a shanty to sleep and cook in. It is 13 by 16, just in the shape of peastraws buildings. We have 10 acres underbrushed, that is all the small trees cut and piled for burning and we go up in January to cut the large ones and clear it for spring crop. Mary will like to know if there is any wild beasts. Serpents is very plenty, the garter snake is very pretty, yellow and black striped, the milk snake is rather ugly, it is a fawn colour with blotches, the black snake is all black with a yellow ring around the neck. We killed them every day in summer but we never knew any person bit altho' I have seen a man catch one with his hand. Wolves is not very plenty altho' we have seen them. Little John met one and thought it was a large dog. We never [met] bears yet.

[MV]

However encouraging, the experiences and prospects of North American settlers had to be set against the pain caused by the disruption of family ties, the unreliable nature of transatlantic communications, and even the emigrant's dream of returning eventually to Scotland. Despite writing home frequently from Cape Breton, Captain Donald MacNeil had received no news of his Hebridean family for many years.

C10 Captain Donald McNeil, Mira River, Cape Breton, to his brother Captain William McNeil, Newton, North Uist.

Having written so many letters without receiving an answer to either of them, induced me with painful reluctance to Keep silent for some time back, fearing you had no desire to hear from your poor exiled brother. That impression has been happily removed by meeting with Captain Henderson of Aberdeen, who came to Sydney with a Cargo for the firm of Anderson. Hearing from some of the people that went in from this Settlement that he was inquiring for me, and that he was intimately acquainted with you, I immediately rode to see him, and was by no means disappointed, either in the person or in the information I received. From this Captain I got more of your history than I did for the last twenty years and was highly gratified to learn in respect of situation and circumstances they are both pleasant, happy and profitable; of which I would naturally wish you the enjoyment together with all the comforts and affluence this world is capable of affording, yet what gave me the greatest Pleasure was to learn that you were in the enjoyment of health, that you appeared as young as Dr John and that in the midst of prosperity you did not forget your few relatives in this island, and that you mentioned me with Brotherly regard ...

I need not say that I feel the pressure of these times in Common with others. My Farm and Half Pay are the only means I have of supporting my Family and when the one fails, the other is by far too limited to be an equivalency for every demand. I have laid out a very large crop this season and Providence may become favourable, if otherwise I know not what be the result. I have a Grant of Five hundred acres & could I get for it as much money as would bring us up to Canada and purchase a small Farm there, I would not hesitate to try the change, but under present circumstances that is entirely out of the question. I have had to contend with greater difficulties and Kind Providence carried me through and his word directs me to trust him still and not despair.

I have Nine of a Family, four Sons & five Daughters (enough you say in hard times). My oldest Son Ewen I suppose will follow the Farming if better does not cast up to suit his inclination, but the second, Rory, of a different turn of mind, gives me great concern not having it in my power to procure a situation for him.... Before the change of times I had every prospect before me, that my undertaking would be ultimately crowned with success and I did not in the least envy even your larger possession at home, as my property was improving apace, all my own, and to pass to my heirs & successors for ever. Such was my Consolation, with a living in comfort, tho' not in luxury. The wheel may turn ...

Captain Henderson undertakes to bring this letter to Scotland & forward it to you. I trust it may speed, and reach you safe, when I hope you will sit down and write me a long letter giving me an account of all Friends near and far. My ambition does not aspire to wealthy possessions, or wordly

endowments, but my heart would rechoice in having it once in my power to visit thon happy Isle while they were the sociable and hospitable abodes of our ancestors and ramble in meditation through the Scenes of my youth
[RMG]

Nostalgia notwithstanding, most Scottish migrants to British North America were intent on becoming permanent settlers, bettering themselves and their families through adaptability, perseverance and industry as indicated by the replies of James McQueen, from Perthshire, to an agricultural questionnaire issued in Upper Canada during the 1850s.¹

C11 Undated agricultural questionnaire.

[1850s]

WCM, MU 45 A 981.85

SERIES OF QUESTIONS FROM THE MINISTER OF
AGRICULTURE TO AN EMIGRANT FARMER

What is your Name?	James McQueen
To what Church do you belong?	United Presbyterian
From what country do you come?	Scotland
What County?	Perthshire
What Parish?	Kilmadock
What was your Post Town?	Doun, by Stirling
What was your Occupation there?	Blacksmith
When did you come to this Country?	1822
Were you Married or Not?	Married
If you had any family, state their sexes and ages?	No family
Under what circumstances did you Emigrate?	Necessity drove me out
What age were you then?	24
What means had you on arrival in Canada?	Not a Brock Copper
Where and when did you settle?	Esquesing, in 1824, but moved to Pilkington in 1846.
How did you acquire your Land, by purchase, free grant, credit or cash?	Purchase—5 years credit.
What was the price of Land in the Township in which you reside, when you came here?	\$4
What is it worth now?	\$7
How much Land do you now own, cleared and uncleared?	500 acres 140 acres cleared

¹ McQueen was one of several Scottish emigrants who settled subsequently in the area publicised and recommended by Adam Fergusson (though not on land purchased from him) during the 1830s.

What is it now worth in cash?	£2000
What is the price of Labor by the year, month and day, with and without board?	With board £30 per year, £2 10s per month 3/9 per day—without board.
How many head of Cattle have you, horses, oxen, cows, sheep and pigs?	16 head of Cattle, 2 horses, 6 oxen, 12 sheep, 13 pigs.
What are the prices of Produce?	Cattle \$70 per yolk; Cows \$30 each; sheep \$2; horses \$80 to \$100; pigs \$3 _ per 100 lb live; wheat 3/9 bushel; Oats _ do.; Barley 2/- do.; Peas 2/6 do.
What is your average yield, per acre, of Wheat, Oats, Potatoes &c.?	25 to 30 of Wheat; 30 to 40 Oats; 150 Potatoes.
Name a leading or influential name in your native Parish?	Henry Hume Drummond, MP.

GENERAL REMARKS

Since I came to Canada I have seen many 'ups' and 'downs'; but my whole experience has proved to me that steady perseverance and untiring industry are the two great essentials to success. This is the poor man's country: and the settler has only to work to insure prosperity. Money is worth having, but a man can get along without it if he will labor in a cash article; and a good strong arm is worth more than a long purse, in nine cases out of ten, if a man knows how to use it. I did very well as a Blacksmith at the building of Brock's monument, so well, that although it does not become me to boast of it, I am now Reeve of the Township of Pilkington—but plodding, go ahead, never-give-in, hand labor has been my principal capital. I have raised a large family, and I found that the olive branches are the best timber to put spokes in the wheel.

By 1872, five years after Confederation, when most emigrants were bypassing the Maritimes as well as Upper and Lower Canada in favour of the prairies, the New Brunswick government welcomed the proposal of Anchor Line captain and maverick emigration agent, William Brown, to establish a Scottish colony from Aberdeenshire

and Kincardineshire in the heart of the province. His choice of a 50,000-acre tract in Victoria County, 168 miles up the St John River, was dictated partly by precedent, for the thriving Aberdonian settlement of Glassville had been established about 20 miles away 30 years earlier. When the colonists found that promises of cleared land, completed houses and ready-made roads had not been honoured, their anger turned on Captain Brown. Complaints from disillusioned emigrants soon began to filter back into the Scottish press—albeit the colony's teething troubles were largely overcome within a year and most of the colonists who remained settled down without further complaint.

C12 *The Montrose Review*, quoted in *The Stonehaven Journal*, 26 June 1873.

The place that they had planned out for us is very bad ... They said that there was about 40 trees on the acre; but 400 on the acre is like the thing. I never saw such a miserable looking place in all my life. About half of the colonists have left, and others are leaving every day. We came here three days ago, and have rented a house by the month, and will start work tomorrow. We have been taken the advantage of and too bad I think. I, for one, could take Brown the manager, and drown him. Drowning is not bad enough for him. It makes my blood boil in my veins to think of it. The free men are not so very bad; but those who have a wife and family are very bad ... Mostly all of them have left good places and come to this abominable place. Everything is very high in price, and not much work going on. If things do not change in a month or two, I will not stop here such a long winter and nothing to do. I could not think of stopping here. The land of the colony is awful bad; some places all gravel, others all large stones, and in some places about 2 ft. 6 in. of snow ... There was no ground cleared and ready for cropping as was promised to be.

D WESTERN FRONTIERS

Although the Scottish cultural legacy remained firmly embedded in Atlantic Canada,¹ the focus of migrant attention had undoubtedly shifted west by the later nineteenth century. Moreover, the pushing back of settlement frontiers paid scant regard to political boundaries between the United States and British North America. Constitutional considerations of federation and confederation, which certainly affected the territorial delineation of the frontier, had little bearing on the decision of putative settlers to push westwards. While most Canadian reports and letters were concerned with farming, settlement literature from the United States offered a more varied perspective on the emigrant experience, with a considerable emphasis on commercial and business opportunities. In the immediate aftermath of the American Revolution, however, the

¹ Cf. Charles H. Farnham, 'Cape Breton Folk', *Harpers' New Monthly Magazine* (New York, 1886), 609-25.

United States was arguably a post-colonial nation in terms of its mentality as well as its constitutional situation as was evident from its continuing cultural and material dependence on Britain. There was no guarantee that the United States would succeed as a political entity even at the end of the Napoleonic Wars.¹ The push westwards that commenced in the early nineteenth century has long been recognised as a seminal, if not the decisive influence in the forging of a nation²—not least because frontier settlement served as the cultural antidote to post-colonial insecurities. The frontier spirit which made expansion west possible was particularly evident in the artisan experience of James McCowan, a smith from Perthshire, who emigrated in 1817 to Richmond, Virginia and maintained an irregular correspondence with James McGregor, smith at Monzievaird. In addition to his climatic descriptions, his listing of prices for his trade and the difficulties for himself and other emigrants in sending money home, the dominant impression he gives of migrant life is that of restlessness in a country that was large and awaiting discovery to the west.³

D1 James McCowan to James McGregor.

[?] July 1819

NAS, McGregor Collection,
GD50/186/125/3/3

I Have been always in good helth yet Since I Came here. I have been quit hearty Since I Came away that is 2 years when the 26 August 1817. This Summer is very hot but a fine crop. The whet harvest begin here in the middle of June, we had apples in the Same time, Cherrys and Potatous. I am still in the same place, I have the same wadges 2D and Some Chance of a little more. I pay 4 Dols a week for Bourd which it is too much but I cant help it but it is a good a house as there is in Richmond, Plenty of every thing that you Can Mention and fether Beds. My Employer has about 150 Dollars of mine but I expect that it is Safe enough.

All trades is very Dul in this Place just Now and all the People Braking worse than they with you. You know David Imrie wright from Methven he was at the Wood of Trowen. He Came here about the 10 of July and Cant get no work here at his trade. He told me all the news about the Place but had no word about you as I expect that you did not no that he was Coming to it. And there was one from Perth by the Name of Buchen after som Maney and I wished to Send home some to My Father and Mother but he told Some of them that He did not no what time he wold get his Busnes

¹ K. Yokota, 'A Culture of Insecurity: The Early American Republic as a Post-Colonial Nation' (UCLA, PhD Thesis, 2000).

² FJ. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920).

³ James McCowan to James McGregor, 1818: NAS, McGregor Collection, GD 50/186/125/3/1-2.

settled, but I must try and get some opportunity of Sending Some to Them this fall. I rec[eive]d a letter from Duncan McCansh ... he Menchend that you was all well and That I might expect a letter from you Soon ... Duncan was well and Plenty of work and he wished to Send home money but it is hard to get it Sent home at this time for you Do not know who to trust here for they are all Roges here

[RMG]

While Scots certainly featured among the rogues as well as the respectable artisans, businessmen and farmers that comprised settler communities,¹ they played a formative rôle in expanding the emigrants' horizons westwards. Scottish explorers and naturalists led the way in the botanical classification and conservation of the American frontier. Numerous cities—St Louis, San Francisco, and Salt Lake City among them—actively sought out Scottish gardeners for their public parks. Although President Thomas Jefferson asked Merriwether Lewis and William Clark to gather plants on their 1804-6 journey of exploration to the Pacific Northwest, the United States government did not begin the official botanical survey of the region until the expedition of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes landed there in 1841. The chief botanist for the Wilkes Expedition was William Dunlop Brackenridge of Ayrshire, now recognised as the first official horticulturist of Washington Territory. Brackenridge kept a journal of this 3-month, summer expedition through the Rocky Mountains which actually concluded in Vancouver in gardens and orchards 'under the keeping of Mr Bruce, a Scotch Highlander by birth'.²

D2 Brackenridge's manuscript diary and official reports.

June, 1841 *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXI (July 1930), 218-305; XXII (January 1931), 42-58; XXII, (March 1931), 129-229

June 4, 1841

At three in the afternoon we struck the north branch of the Columbia, and by keeping up along its banks, shortly arrived at the Piscouas River, which takes its rise in the range of snowy Mts. Which lay in a N. West direction from us. About _ mile from its junction with the Columbia its breadth was about 250 yards. At this place we camped for the night. Tending from this down towards the Columbia was a beautiful patch of meadow land of about 100 acres in extent. The Indians had enclosed small squares by turf walls within which the[y] cultivated Potatoes (Irish) in a very systematic manner.

¹ Cf. *Carolina Centinel*, 24 Apr. 1819.

² Brackenridge later moved to Baltimore, where he founded a florist and nursery business. He also served as horticulture editor of *The American Farmer* and became the mainstay of the Maryland Horticultural Society until his death in 1893.

On this flat were abundance of Grouse and Carlew, a number of which we shot.

Plants: two species of Calochortus was found today. A shrubby Pholox, a Marrubium, & four or five Compositae; the first Birch observed since leaving Nesqually was found on the banks of a small run overrun by a Clematis of which we found two species perhaps the smallest one Atragene.

June 8, 1841.

... Fort [Okanagan] we found under the Charge of a Canadian Frenchman [by] the name of La Pratt, who rendered us all the assistance in his power. Provisions was the principal thing we wanted, and tis a fact as singular as tis true, that the party after starving for 10 days, should bring into this place not less than 25 lbs of Pork, 3 whole Cheeses, 3 cases of Sardinias, with some Butter—(the Sardinias & 2 of the Cheeses were afterwards made presents off to individuals). Had I then had the least idea that such conduct would have been approved off by the commander, or that he had direct orders to act as he did, I would certainly have taken the shortest way for the U. States, via: across the Rocky Mountains.

[June]9th.

The Collection of Plants made, by being carried in a bag on horseback, were moist and a good deal bruised, so that this day was pretty much occupied in overhauling them—towards sundown walked down to the junction of the Okanagan with the Columbia, about two miles below the Fort, the latter forming a solitary Palisaded square, destitute of Basteons about 60 yards removed back from the Columbia, on a poor Sandy neck of Peninsula formed by the approach of the two rivers.

Inside of said Fort is a large House for the reception of the Companys Officers, consisting of several apartments; from the end of this house runs two rows of low mud ones towards the entrance, which serves as Offices, & dwellings for the trappers & Families, leaving the centre an open oblong square.

This Station or Fort is more for the convenience of the Companies Fur business in New Caledonia, used as it is as a kind of depot, than for any Furs which are found in its vicinity. While we were there a troop of horses arrived with Flour from Colvile for the N. Caledonia Station. Out of which we recd a supply along with several necessaries. The soil is to[o] poor to admit of anything being done in the Farming way at Okanagan, but I must say that I never beheld finer Cattle in my life that I did there.

[FMS]

The American West held a particular fascination for Scottish immigrants in the nineteenth century. In telling his mother of his journey to St Louis and beyond, William Wilson, from a prominent family of Glasgow industrialists, touches on his

*uncertainty about whether to sojourn or settle in the United States.*¹

D3 William Wilson to his mother.²

7 September, 1843

NAS, Fotheringham of Pourie Papers,
GD121/101/22/73

... I mentioned in my last letter that I was going to the Mountains by Yellow Stone River ... but I was disappointed. I had to stop at little Missouri 1400 miles above St. Louis. I stop[pe]d there one month, when I was sent to the plat Country 400 Miles this we traveled in 26 Days over nothing but Prairies and barren land, Some times Acres of these praireys are Covered with Buffalo, but all the way comeing we only saw 2 or 3 stragglng Bulls, which caused us to live on one cup of corn a day for 6 days. We lie down at night with a bufflo Robe under us and the canopy of Heaven above, with nothing to disturb but the Howling of the wolves. Antelope abound but it is Hard to gett within gun shot of them, they stand and gase at us for about a minute then they bound away on the prairey swifter than any horse ever I saw. Sometimes we kill a few prairey dogs but they are so small that they are only a meal for one man, they are curious little animals, they colect themselves in villages which sometimes cover 50 or 60 acres. Rattle snakes abound. Sometimes they live in the same hole with the prairey dog. We saw a few White bears on the way. When I left St. Louis on the SteamBoat Omega there was on Board the larger portion Canadian French, French, Du[t]ch, Germans, Italians, Jews, 2 differnt families of 2 different Tribes of Indians, 2 Irishmen, One Englishman, & 2 Scotchmen, though last not least for among 110 men very few knew more than how to handle the Chopping Axe. Now I am amongst [a] race of men whose glory is in the chase and the Battle. they desire nothing to satisfy there desires but flesh and Blood. Last week I went up to the mountains to hunt. We killed 6 fatt Cows. We ride on Horses and pack the meat on Mules. Here I work carpenter Painter Brick Molder etc. etc. they promise me \$20. Pr Month next year if I will stay, but they can't come it. There is no pleasure here whatever. Bufflo meat 3 times a day, it is good eating but a man wants a little change sometimes, for a small cup of flour we pay 1/- a Cup of Coffee 4/- a cup of sugar 4/- and clothing in the same proportion. I am out on the world hunting for

¹ Wilson actually sent this letter with a countryman, Sir William Stewart, whom he met in St. Louis when hiring about 60 men for an itinerant hunting party in the Rockies.

² Docketed 'Mrs William Wilson, care of Mr Robert Wilson Manager of Corbett Alexander & Co., Power Loom Factory, Burnside Lane, Glasgow, Scotland'.

a good place, and I believe the game is before me. I intend going into the Spanish Country along with a first rate gun and Blacksmith. We will take a mill saw with us, there is a good place for water Power at Touce and first rate timber, And I can very soon fix up a mill on the Yankee fashon which I believe will do good Busines. As there is 2 or 3 of my acquaintances going to that Country to make money by sawing with the Hand. There are no mechanics in that Country, they bring there guns all the way to the Plat to have them fixed a distance of nearly 500 miles. There houses are built of Dobbies or very large Brick made of mud and dried in the sun. If I see I can't gett along well in that Country, I will either come home or Comence farming in the States if I can rase as much money, which I believe will be better than comeing home that was my intention when I cam up to this wild country but I would like to try and do better ...

I send these few lines by Sir William Stewart who has been on a toure amongst the rocky Mountains and is now on his return. He has about 60 men with him whom he hired in St. Louis. [FMS]

The Macarthur brothers from Cawdor in Nairnshire, who had carved out managerial careers with the Hudson's Bay Company from the 1860s,¹ were also active in western expansion of farming in the later nineteenth century. Peter Macarthur having gone initially to Iowa, took up 1200 acres of land at Red River, following which—after being held as a political prisoner during the Riel Rebellion in 1885—he operated a tug boat in Winnipeg and settled on the outskirts of the city. Writing to his sister Bella following the death of their eldest brother Alexander, Peter reprised his continuing career as a frontier entrepreneur on the Red River and that of their brother James as a sheep-farmer in an unidentified location.

D4 Peter Macarthur to his sister Bella, Westbourne.

8 December, 1887

NLS, Macarthur Correspondence,
Acc 10623, Folder 3

... I am thankful to say that I did very well in that Saskatchewan affair but there were large risks, and difficult work in one of the most out of the way places on the whole course of the river. I have had a good many different kinds of work to do since I first came to America and have had many hard trips, but this was the worst I ever had by a long way. To tell you all about it would take too long. But I will just give you an instance of the uncertainties connected with the undertaking. Last March when I had all my material

¹ See, above, 152-4, C6.

teamed to the South Branch I did not dream that I would have trouble getting from there down to the steamer on the bed of the river as the ice, I was told did not go out till the middle of April at the earliest. I found however that freighters would not go as they said the water came down on top of the ice about 20th of March and had to engage La Appelle teamsters at a heavy cost to go down getting only four teams from Prince Albert, there were 17 teams in all, after much delay we started, first there were six men on snow shoes to break the snow a little, then came a four horse team with a light load and after them the teams took their turn on the lead, at first we made good headway but the last three days nearly used the teams up however we got everything down to the steamer and I paid the men off there allowing them time to go back. Of course they had not thought much of the water that was expected on the ice, but when they had got back about thirty miles they met the water and had to leave everything except the bare horses and travel up under the river bank without hay or oats over the large stones and other obstructions. They all got back however except three horses that were lost. This water comes all the way from the Rocky Mountains as there is warmer weather there than down below.

James is becoming quite a large sheep farmer. So far he has been very successful and the country is well adapted for his purpose, but I fear it is not to be a great wheat raising country on account of summer frosts. I think it is colder in the winter than with us here. I noticed the Northern Lights are very common and they come down lower than I ever saw them elsewhere. Some of the natives have told me they have seen them so low that they could hear the noise they made as something like the rustling of silk, but of this I cannot speak from experience ... [MV]

The success enjoyed by the MacArthurs eluded James Mouat Garriock. Born in Lerwick on 5 September 1856, his home life as one of eight children was middle-class and prosperous. He seems to have had some training in medicine, but headed for Vancouver in the summer of 1890 in search of work. He hit bad luck immediately. On a Tuesday night in June 1891 he wrote what may have been his only letter to his mother from British Columbia, describing his travails in Canada, and hinting that a remittance from home would be most welcome.¹

¹ James's mother, Mary Robertson, was the daughter of a well-known merchant, while Peter Garriock, his father, had begun as an employee of James Mouat, a local commission agent. When Mouat died, Garriock took over the business and bestowed his erstwhile employer's name on his son. Garriock, according to his obituarist (*Shetland Times*, 11 July 1885) 'had a great capacity and pleasure in business' and made a good deal of money. He was a promoter of a fishing company, a director of the Lerwick Gas Light Company, and at various times Inspector of Poor for Lerwick, a town councillor and a pillar of the United Presbyterian Church. He and his large family lived at Greenfield Cottage, in a pleasant part of the town. This solitary letter was the last his family heard of James Mouat

D5 James Mouat Garriock, Vancouver, B.C., to his mother Mary Garriock, Lerwick.

9 June, 1891

SA, SC.12/6/1915

... After my arrival in Vancouver I tried hard for work & James Sharp, who has now left ... did his utmost in every respect in looking up people &c. to get me a job, but without success. I tried the medical men for an assistancy, but such a thing is quite unknown here. Two or more doctors enter into partnership & thus an assistant is quite unnecessary. The medical profession being a failure, I tramped the town in all directions searching for work of any kind. A month passed but nothing came of it. I applied to the C.P. Ry [Canadian Pacific Railway] for a situation & received a reply stating that my application had been received, & that it should be kept in mind, but tho' I have several times applied at the different departments I have had no success.

At last, after being about six weeks here, I struck a job for two days with the City Engineer in surveying & measuring the foreshores of the harbour & bay. After this I had an attack of fever induced by gases given off from the sewage & other decomposing matter lying about the shore. A week or two after recovering from the fever I managed to get out with a surveyor for a fortnight, but for this I only received my 'keep', but for this I was thankful, altho' the travelling through the woods & underbrush was frightfully tiring in my not very strong state, & the felling of trees no joke. It rained almost the entire time we were out ...

I have had a little work (but it is very uncertain—there being so many applicants) in checking & trucking goods, on the wharf, on the arrival of the China steamer, but as this occurs only once a month & is only 2 or 3 days work at a time @ the rate of 10d. per hour, you will see that this does

Garriock. Shetlanders in Canada and the U.S. occasionally spotted him, latterly south of the border in Seattle. But by 1908, the trail had gone cold: M. Robertson, *Sons and Daughters of Shetland*, (Lerwick, 1991) 5. James's mother died in 1913, and there was property worth £2,750 to distribute among her large family. In 1915, following another search in Canada, Andrew and his siblings invoked the Presumption of Life Limitation (Scotland) Act 1891 in Lerwick Sheriff Court: Shetland Archives, SC 12/34/13/15. The title of the Act describes its scope. The sheriff substitute sympathised with their plea, and instructed them to place advertisements in local, Canadian and U.S. newspapers. Notices duly appeared in the *Shetland Times* and *Shetland News*, and in the *Daily News-Advertiser* of Vancouver and the *Post-Intelligencer* of Seattle. James Mouat Garriock did not come forward, and the sheriff court presumed that he had died on 31 Mar. 1915. No-one at home ever heard how he fared or died. This information is based on personal communication (19 July 1997) by Drew Cromarty, Lochend, North Roe, Shetland, grand-nephew of Andrew B. Garrick, brother of James.

not amount to much. The work of unloading the China steamer is the principal dependence of hundreds of willing & able workers, & when I tell that there is between 1400 & 1500 men going idle in Vancouver today you can imagine one is extremely lucky if he manages to get a job at this, even every alternate voyage. It is shameful the way people are induced out here to starve—for that is what it really means. Vancouver is being flooded as Queensland [Australia] has been in the past, just for the purpose of cheapening labor, & this must soon be known. Many who have been here for some time & who have the means—would to God I had—are leaving as fast as they can & proceeding to the States. You will see that this is different from what is published at home, but it is the truth.

I am aware that it is an extra dull year, but it will be worse before it is better. For those who have been lucky enough to get a situation Vancouver is perhaps right enough in a way, altho' provisions, clothing &c. is about 2_ times the price at home. That those with a trade such as a mason, carpenter, plasterer &c. can make good money in the summer time I am aware, but what he saves in summer will almost be swallowed up in winter when, as in the past winter, it rained or snowed almost continuously for between 3 & 4 months; the rain—& such rain I never beheld before—coming down in bucketfuls day after day for weeks on end, without a glimpse of sunlight.

You will ask how I have been able to exist—I can't say live—well, with the work mentioned above, I was able to make in a quiet way about 30 dollars medically, & the 2nd boarding house I struck did not press me hard as I was able to cure the landlady of a bad leg & breast after she had been treated in vain by several medical men—& what a set of muffs they are—& after expending about 180 dollars they unfortunately—& they had only been a year in town—after losing most of their money, have now cleared out for the States.

Since then I have, with 2 young English fellows, one of whom boarded at the above house, & the other the son of a medical man in Dover, been 'shacking', i.e. living in a wooden shanty & 'doing' for ourselves. This we have been able to do in a way, sharing alike, but work being at a standstill here, they have taken an opportunity afforded them to go on a sealing voyage to Alaska. I would have gone too, but my eye-sight was against me. They leave to-morrow, & I am left alone. My last dollar has gone towards the payment of the rent of our 'shack'—to-day—& my last cent goes towards posting this letter.

I did not when I started intend to confess so much, but I *am* down hearted to-night; no near prospect of work of any kind, but I suppose I must 'dree my weird' ...

I have little more to say. You need not mention to outsiders that you have received a letter from me. Had I had better news to convey it would

have been different, but the outlook is so dark that it is better to keep it to yourselves ... [BS]

Western Canada continued to exert its pull over Scottish emigrants well into the twentieth century. The tradition of equating emigration with exile may have predisposed some to disillusionment and melancholic perceptions of failure, even if they had lived to a ripe old age in the 'Golden West'. Others certainly met with patently depressing experiences. Andrew MacDonell's Clandonald community in northern Alberta fell apart under the combined onslaught of managerial incompetence, settler inexperience, and—overwhelmingly—international depression. By 1930 progress reports had become increasingly pessimistic.¹

D6 Memorandum for Father MacDonell re Clandonald Colony & Extension: from Neville Robertson, Manager of Scottish Immigrant Aid Society, Edmonton Branch.

[?] September 1930 SCA, Diocese of St Andrew's and Edinburgh,
DE132/5/3

On account of the non-functioning of the Wheat Pool and the poor crops, it was nearly impossible to get any placements and considerable distress had to be attended to.

The clothing situation at Clandonald, as well as some in the Old Colony was very serious. We obtained new and second-hand clothing whenever possible and distributed it among the needy.

During the above period \$605.00 was spent in relief in the Old Colony among those who were up against it.

The Clandonald Extension was well provided with subsistence from the funds available through the original agreement and supplementary agreement.

In regard to the unemployment prevailing during the last six months. This can be attributed to the fact of the farmers not getting further payments from the Wheat Pool Coupons, leaving them in a position where they were unable to get labor and making it very difficult to find placements for single men and families.

Father MacIntyre and myself have had the greatest difficulty in getting settlers employment, and it has been necessary to assist people while waiting to get them work. On account of the single men and domestics in the Colony not having enough money to take themselves to jobs, we had to take them by car many miles and also care for them during the journey.

It was found necessary to give seed amounting to \$1300.00 to the (1929)

¹ See also, above, 208-9, C5.

Clandonald Extension of 20 families. It was also necessary to supply a portion of the seed to 40 of the settlers in the original Clandonald Colony amounting also to 1300.00. These men did not have sufficient seed left over from the previous year to seed their land for 1930.

The development in the Colony still continues and there is every prospect of a bumper crop.

We have five families who are not prospering and it will be necessary to remove them from their farms.

There are wonderful gardens and a splendid potato crop in sight, this year will relieve the subsistence situation for the coming year.

The general health of the settlers in the Colony is good. One settler (Dalton) had the misfortune to run over and kill his wife with a wagon. We had to guarantee all burial expenses as the family did not have sufficient money to pay for the burial. [C]

E SOUTH AMERICA

While Scottish settlers can claim to have played a substantial part in opening up the western frontiers of North America, their rôle in South America was peripheral but not insignificant. The paucity of reports and correspondence relating to such settlement makes surviving documents all the more notable in revealing how Scots sought to adapt to frontier life in no less hazardous or inhospitable an environment. South America seems to have been a particularly trying experience for those Scottish women brave enough to venture there. Among the passengers on the Symmetry destined for the Monte Grande colony were four-year-old Jane Rodger and her parents. On arrival in Argentina, the Rodgers broke away from the Monte Grande party to follow their own path. In 1908 Jane, who around 1840 had married another of the original settlers, Hugh Robson, narrated the story of her long and arduous life to an interested acquaintance. This memoir was recorded on paper under the appropriate title 'Faith Hard Tried'. Jane's account contains many details of the early Scottish community in Argentina, casting light on the settlers' characteristic perseverance in the face of hostile natural conditions, as well as on the disruption they had to endure as a result of regular civil disturbances and political turmoil. Marauding bands of the economically displaced as well as the socially undesirable posed a persistent threat of violence which, in turn, both preyed upon migrant settlements and contributed to migrant inclinations to resettle in more protected areas.

E1 'Faith Hard Tried', the memoir of Jane Robson (née Rodger), unpublished family document.

I was a little girl of four years old when I came to South America, and can only very faintly remember the voyage, which to my young mind seemed endless. My father, soon after he arrived, finding that things were not as had been represented to him, decided to strike out for himself and went to

Cañuelas. At that time, Rivadavia [Bernardino Rivadavia, a liberal politician] was President and the country was in a most unsettled state. I remember, when we had settled in our new quarters, Father started by buying a milk cow which promptly returned to its previous owner some distance across the camp. Father got it back, but the same thing happened again and on each occasion he had to buy it over again or at any rate pay something, such was the dishonesty of those amongst whom we lived ... It was a common thing for the men (those wandering ruffians) to come to the house and insist on searching it, pretending that they were looking for firearms, and would then steal anything they could lay their hands on ... In 1841 we moved north. We had to cross the Maldonado River on our journey. We had with us some cows and 1,800 sheep, but when we arrived at the banks of the river the sheep would not pass, try as we would; the cows and three carts of luggage went on. I was on horseback helping to drive the sheep; it took us five hours to get those sheep over. This delayed us so much that night came on. We went on our way until ten o'clock when the moon went down, so there was nothing to do but wait till daybreak. It was the end of May, and very cold with sharp frost. We unsaddled, after having been riding for 18 hours, and I lay down with my saddle for a pillow. My brother covered me with his recado [the typical sheepskin saddle of the gaucho]—for I had no wrap of any kind—as I had imagined we should reach our destination well before nightfall. I was so weary that, in spite of my hard bed, I slept. The next morning we started at daybreak. I was not well at the time and felt quite ill and unfit to face the heavy work before me.

In August my first child was born, a son. We remained two years at this place, and a terrible two years it was. Our stock was attacked by leech and we lost everything. One of the most awful storms that I ever remember having seen in my long experience of this country's severe storms, occurred in January 1842. The wind took everything before it; our sheep travelled many leagues, literally carried by the storm. Of course, we lost the greater part of them. One man estimated that his sheep had been carried by the wind for about 30 leagues. As he was returning from following them his horse fell dead under him from fatigue and cold. My husband, seeing the man, brought him into our house. He was almost frozen and it was some time before he could get warm, and this was during the hottest part of the year; it was a very curious and unusual storm. I have often experienced intense cold in the early morning before the sun gains power, but as it rises higher the heat is always very great. It is lovely in the camp in the spring when the sun rises and all is fresh and green. [IADS]

The desire to open up South American markets to British manufactures and the corresponding desire to supply cheap sources of meat for Britain led, particularly after

the advent of cargo refrigeration, to planned settlement of colonies intended to serve as a model for further immigration. In 1897, James Dodds provided a promotional sketch of the Scottish community at Monte Grande on the River Plate 3 years after its establishment by the entrepreneurial Robertson family from Dundee.¹

E2 J. Dodds, *Records of the Scottish Settlers in the River Plate and their Churches* (Buenos Aires, 1897), 34-6.

... In truth, only those who have lived in South America, and who have consequently experienced practically all the innumerable though intangible sort of petty obstacles which present themselves to regular or rapid operations, can well appreciate the state of forwardness in which the Scotch colony is now to be found.

That this advancement may be at once perceptible to our readers we extract the following particulars from a statistical account made up about three months since and presented to the Government, and which may be relied on as perfectly accurate:

Inhabitants—	Scotch adults	241
“	Scotch children	85
“	Native adults	158
“	Native children	30
		<hr/>
		514 souls
Brick houses—	31 containing in all about 145 apartments.	
Ranchos—	47	“ “ “ “ 70 “
Land—	under peach and other plantations	1,040 acres
“	fenced in and cultivated	2,148
“	in pasture and arable, not fenced in, about	12,812
		<hr/>
		16,000 acres
Cattle, consisting chiefly of tame cows and oxen		2,757 head
Sheep, pampa and English breed		990 head
Crop, this year's (chiefly maize)		11,600 fanegas

In addition to these leading particulars we may add a few others. All the bricks and most of the lime used in building the houses now erected on the colony have been made in the colony itself. The farmers' houses are generally

¹ See also above, 65-6, F1.

neat and substantial, of from six to seven apartments each, and the situation of each house is well chosen, commanding a fine, too uninterrupted a prospect over the surrounding pampa; and it would, perhaps, be difficult to find any part in the country so well adapted for the colony as the very estates on which it is happily settled.

The industry and activity which prevail all over the colony are truly praiseworthy, and it cannot but be gratifying to see at this distance from home the members of a little community like this, preserving all the sober and moral habits acquired in their own country...

One produce of the industry of our Monte Grande friends is well known in town, in the shape of butter and cheese; in fact, the colony almost exclusively supplies the market with articles of our daily use, and in consequence of the great crops of Indian corn raised there, that article has remained stationary and low in price while nearly everything else has risen to three or four fold what they used to cost.

Among the great improvements introduced by the farmers of Monte Grande, that of the 'tala' hedge is perhaps the greatest; nothing beyond a simple ditch was ever even thought of before in farming operations, and it would be difficult to say whether its expense or insecurity were the greatest. The 'tala' is a thorny tree which no animal destroys, and which in three years makes a permanent enclosure, thus uniting permanency, cheapness, utility, and beauty in its favour as a fence.

For clearing the land of thistles, an ingenious machine has been invented by Mr Tweedie, the head gardener of Sta. Catalina; and so persecuted has the emblem of Scotland been at Monte Grande that there is every prospect of it soon only being known there in its typical character. The mill erected in the incipient village promises immense advantages to the colony, since it produces in abundance, from the Indian corn, a flour which many of our town readers could not distinguish from flour made from wheat.

We have already alluded to the moral excellence of the colonists, and we shall only add that they have lived here in uninterrupted harmony among themselves, and on the best terms generally with their surrounding neighbours, natives of the country. The proprietors of the colony have invariably found all the members of it reasonable, cheerful, and contented, and the heads of the establishment, or farmers, express their increasing confidence of their ultimate and entire success.

On the whole, we cannot but feel the greatest satisfaction in contemplating the actual results produced from the trial which Messrs. Robertson made in colonising here; we think it proves beyond contradiction that with good management and support from this Government, emigration from our own country to this might be carried on, with manifold advantages to both, to a great extent; and in this feeling we give our best wishes for the

successful realisation of the colony projected by the proprietors of Monte Grande.

FAMERICAN MODERNITY

South America was essentially an economic adjunct to the process of modernity that was transforming North America from the later nineteenth century. This was marked by extensive industrialisation through the application of advanced technology to agricultural processing in the country as well as to urban manufacturing. Modernity was further enhanced by the rapid expansion to communications from the Atlantic to the Pacific in the wake of innovative mechanical and electrical engineering. At the same time, North America was fulfilling its potential to create the world's largest, if not most sophisticated, consumer market. The rôle of the Scots in this process ranged from the high-profile entrepreneur like Andrew Carnegie¹ to the unsung mass providers of labour that ranged distinctively from skilled artisans to domestic servants. While the experiences of most Scottish participants in this process of modernity reflect modest ambition and modest success, for some, the American adventure quickly turned to tragedy, as in the following report.

F1 *Aberdeen Journal*, 30 October 1872.

MYSTERIOUS MURDER OF AN ABERDONIAN IN AMERICA

On the 17th September (says the *New York Herald*) Peter Adam, a Scotsman, twenty-four years of age, started from Fox Island, Maine, for his home at Aberdeen, Scotland, where his parents reside, and where he expected to be married on his arrival. He was a skilled stone-cutter, and in the two years he had been in the United States had earned about five hundred dollars. He was temperate, industrious, and a member of the Protestant church in Aberdeen. Taking the evening boat at Rockland for Boston, he arrived at the latter place the next day too late to take the steamer for Liverpool. He changed his bank bills for gold, then buying a ticket for New York, he started on the night express train, intending to take a steamer at New York. This was the last seen of Peter Adam till his dead body was found in the Quaboag river, seven days later, eighty miles west of Boston, in the town of Palmer, Mass. There were two stabs in the neck, one of which had severed the jugular vein. It is supposed that he was followed by the murderers to the broker's office, and from there to the train; that he had put his gold in his boots, and, as he was passing from one car to another, he was seized and murdered, his boots cut open, the gold secured, and his body thrown into the river while passing over one of the numerous

¹ See above, 89, E4.

open bridges between Brookfield and Palmer. A friend of his, Peter Murray, who came from Scotland with Adam, went to Palmer and identified the remains. He stated that Mr Adam had left his affairs with him, and that he had already collected and sent to John Adam, father of Peter, Aberdeen, one hundred and fifty dollars by draft. The murder is a great mystery, as there is no clue by which it can be solved, and the perpetrators are likely to go unpunished.

For many Scots their American perceptions were coloured very much by the motives and actions of the employers who took them on. Those sent out at a young age as 'Home children' often went through several resettlement processes as they outgrew each successive placement. The journal of the Aberlour Orphanage in Banffshire reveals the stoicism of an anonymous young correspondent.

F2 The Orphanage and Home, Aberlour, Craigellachie, *Journal*, vol. IX, no. 110 (May 1891), 24.

If people patiently bore at home the hardships they have to bear here, and if they worked half as hard at home as they have to do now, they would be far better off than they are here. Clothing is very dear, and very poor stuff too. There is plenty of food, but it is very rough altogether. Everybody seems to be trying to save money, and they don't seem to care how they do it. However, here I am, and I mean to make the best of it. But if I ever set my foot on the soil of the old country, I shall say no more Canada for me.

Other young emigrants, such as Patrick Peak, who emigrated from Glasgow to Hartford, Connecticut, at the age of nine in 1921, soon discovered the reality of the American Dream.

F3 Patrick Peak, interview by Nancy Dallett in Manchester, Connecticut.

15 November 1985

EIIM, Ellis Island Oral History Project,
Interview No. AKRF-84

Oh, I remember in schools, yeah, all the kids were, 'Ooh, he's going to America, going to America.' You know, all that. And back then, of course, when you came to America you could dig, you could pick up gold practically on the backyard lots, you know. This is what the kids thought. And you could pick bananas and fruit off the tree. You know, ... life of plenty and ease, which you find that isn't quite so. When you get over here you still have to work for a living.

Factual sources on the emigration experiences of Scottish women are relatively rare. Agents' reports and correspondence relating to the burgeoning trade in domestic servants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were usually either promotional or related to controversial cases. Among interviews conducted by the Idaho State Historical Society in 1977 is the following account of pioneer farm life in the Boise basin recalled by Banffshire emigrant Nellie Allan, who came back to Scotland for a spell before returning to Boise to settle as a farmer's wife.

F4 Nellie Ettles Allan, interviewed by Jackie Day-Ames.

7 February 1977

ISHS, OH555

When I came from Scotland in 1913, I just had seven dollars when I landed here. When I landed in Boise it was black as night. They'd had an electrical storm, and I said, 'Oh, my word, what a place to come to!' Then when I woke up, my two cousins had an apartment, and when I woke up next morning and the sun was shining, I thought, I never saw a more beautiful place in my life. They call it the City of Trees, and it really is the City of Trees. But then, as I said, all I had was seven dollars. Can't go very far. Not now anyway, but those days, yes. This ad was in the paper of the Regan family; because I have to go to work; that's what I came out to do. And I went up and interviewed Mrs. Regan, and I had hired to go there. And one of the things she asked me was, 'Can you make mayonnaise?' I was going to cook when I came there. I had never heard of mayonnaise because they didn't have it in Scotland, I don't remember what they had, I don't remember. I said, 'Well, no, I have never made mayonnaise, but I can read.' I could fix [it] if I could read. I was just there six months and then I went to work for an aunt. Which was, oh, very hard; she was so clean. You know I scrubbed the kitchen floor twice every day on my hands and knees in the morning, and after dinner it was scrubbed again. No wonder I've got bad knees, as of today. And then from there I went to work in a dairy where they kept about twenty cows. Had to get up at four o'clock in the morning and then I'd go out to the barn. There was a manager and another boy there besides me; three of us. I milked nearly ten cows every morning.

Q: How old were you? You were still quite a young girl.

NA: Let's see, I'd a been fifteen, I think. Just fifteen. And I packed water. They didn't have water or conveniences there. I packed the water from, oh, probably about a fourth of a mile. Like the Chinamen do; with the yokes around their necks. And packed all that water to wash. They took the milk downtown in big urns, and then they served it out in small little half gallons and quarts, or whatever it was, to people down town. Those cans then all had to be washed in soda water when it came home. And imagine using

your hands—it was in the wintertime and 'twas by the ocean. The salt water from the ocean would just almost come up to your door. It was such a cold winter. Well, then from there, I only stayed there six months. I told Mother; one time I had a weekend off, I wasn't going back because it was too hard, but anyway I went back. Then from there I came back to my own hometown of Keith, Scotland, where my parents lived ...

Q: Was it a real hard change to go from working at Regans to [your own farm]?

NA: Well, yes, it was indeed, because, I didn't know much about farm life. And everything was so different. And when I did go, it wasn't only having a husband; he had a farm with sheep and hired men. A farm. I forget how many acres, but a lot of acres there and a lot of hired help, men of all kinds, and I boarded the schoolteacher. There were many schoolteachers I had there all the time. But to cook for a bunch of men after being where I didn't cook very much—I can always remember one time when my brother came over I had cooked a pot of beans and poured the juice off the beans—can you imagine that! He asked me, 'Where is the juice of the beans?' I said, 'What for? Don't you pour them like potatoes?' We had never had beans, you know at Regans. I had never known what beans were. But I did, I worked hard, because I raised chickens and I raised bum lambs. We were just talking about them today about raising so many bum lambs, because we had about 2,000 head of sheep. And we had the day herders and the night herders that come all times, you know, for meals. And then besides that I had the telephone company—came out there and stopped and a lot of them—oh, sometimes we got two or three to stay in the house and the others would stay around in small cottages that we had there and I had to cook for all those. And I had sometimes two breakfasts, you see. Then maybe fix a lunch for them to go out someplace and then maybe two dinners ... I've had a good life in this country. Much better than I ever had at home, because I worked as a child. You had to work then, because people didn't have the money, you had to get out and work whenever you were able to. [FMS]

Although many adult emigrants were also rolling stones by economic necessity, they were usually able to build upon labouring skills acquired in Scotland, where the process of stage migration had often begun. For some workers, such as Alexander Mackenzie from Aberfeldy in Perthshire, their skilled training in Scotland was the basis of their relative prosperity as emigrants.

F5 A. McKenzie, Scottish immigrant, to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, Dept of the Interior, Ottawa.

Foley Bros Camp, no. 176, Dunwich, Ontario,
n.d.

NAC, MG 30 C 62

I take the pleasure of writing you this short letter of my experience for my short time in Canada, I may say that I have found it very succesful. In the first place I Immigrated for Canada last Feb for to work on the Grand Trunk Railway which I landed in here on the 14th March 1904 then started to work on the pick & shovel which I thought it was not hard work not even so hard as what I used to work in Scotland & the payment was When I started \$2 per day Which is now rising to \$2.25 for the shovel & rock drillers \$2½ per day Which I thought I would be a long time in Scotland to make money like that, I may say that I have been working horses which is a very nice job for any man they are paid by the month from 30 to \$50 per month I think that is a good life for any one that wants to make money. I may say that I am a native of a small town in Perth Shire namely Aberfeldy which I was employed as a ploughman for a good few years, then I served 16 month as Barman in Aberfeldy then to better myself I went to Glasgow to find work, I succeeded in getting a job on the Calledonian Railway as Brakesman on Polmadie, South Side Glasgow, the mony was so small when I paid bourd and lodging, I had very little over in the end of the week then when I seen the Immigration for the Railway work in Canada I immigrated as soon as possible to try my luck in a new Country which I found very succesful which I would advice any young man to come to this Country to make money & times in Canada is still getting better.

However, James Teit, a Lerwick-born ethnologist and socialist in British Columbia, was markedly less impressed by American modernity and the seemingly relentless subordination of the frontier spirit to the march of capitalism. His prediction of a capitalist apocalypse remains premature.¹

F6 James Teit, Spences Bridge, British Columbia, to Andrew B. Garriock.

31 March 1908

SA, SC.12/6/1915

... Re. emigrating to this country things took a turn for the worse all over

¹ This letter was elicited by Andrew B. Garrick, then a bullion broker in Shanghai, China, in the course of his fruitless enquiries about his peripatetic elder brother James from his old schoolfriend James Teit.

America last year, and although B[ritish].C[olumbia]. has fared probably better than all other parts, and there is considerable development going on, yet I would not advise any one to emigrate to this country except they had considerable money. The state of this country at the present time for the working or wage earning class is simply rotten, the country is swarming with idle men, and war has set in to the teeth between labor, and capital. Wages are going down, and the price of commodities such as food &c. are going up steadily. To make matters worse the Salvation Army and emigration & other agents of the capitalist class are bringing out poor people from England and other European countries on false information, and dumping them wholesale in this country, with what result you may imagine.

This great America is certainly a wonderful country, and has undergone a wonderful development, but what is the result? All the wealth of the United States & Canada, with nearly 90 millions of people, is in the hand of a very few men representing the giant trusts and corporations. 7/8 of the wealth is owned by 1 per cent of the people, whilst 99 per cent own 1/8, and these conditions are rapidly becoming worse. Things cannot continue this way, and there will be a great revolution in this country within a decade. It must come as sure as day follows night.

... There are a goodly number of Shetlanders scattered around through B[ritish] C[olumbia]. Many of them have ability and none of them are in the lowest strata, but as is usually the case with our people, none of them have made fortunes. They are not selfish enough, grasping & aggressive enough to make *great* men of the *business* world, & I for one am glad of this

[BS]

Chapter Seven

ANCHORS AND ASSIMILATION

For many emigrants, the process of settlement and assimilation was eased by cultivating a variety of ethnic anchors, both religious and secular, which bridged the old life and the new and integrated memories of home into an unfamiliar environment. These anchors were not necessarily inclusive, however. Given the consolidated but minority presence of Roman Catholicism since the Reformation in the mid sixteenth century, given the denominational fractiousness between Presbyterians and Episcopalians—which was only resolved in favour of the former from the Revolution of 1689—and given the schismatic tendencies within and beyond the established Kirk in the eighteenth century, religious anchors tended to be supportive but sectarian. Moreover, migrants changed their denomination as well as their domicile on crossing the Atlantic, particularly if the church to which they had been affiliated in Scotland could no longer meet their spiritual needs. The principle of voluntary subscription in the Americas applied to charitable societies as well as churches. These societies were more embracing, offering friendly support across communities primarily on ethnic rather than denominational grounds. Their pattern of operation was effectively set from 1657, with the establishment of the Scottish Charitable Society in Boston by relatively affluent Scots who had migrated to Massachusetts from the Caribbean since the 1630s. This inaugural charitable society for Scots in America was founded primarily to support fellow countrymen coming to the end of 7 years' penal indentures incurred as political prisoners, following successive defeats for the Scottish Covenanting forces at Dunbar (1650) and Worcester (1651) that had opposed the English occupation of Scotland under Oliver Cromwell.¹

The supportive principle of assistance offered from the relatively affluent to the needy and deserving poor continued throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, being enhanced by St. Andrews and other emblematic, territorial and kin-based societies as well as freemasonry. The formation of these supportive societies in the Americas mirrored similar developments not only within Scotland but also throughout the United Kingdom as skilled and unskilled labour was attracted to industrial towns

¹ *Passengers to America*, ed. M. Tepping (Baltimore, 1978), 147-9; New England Historical Genealogical Society, MSS B 536/V, 12.

and cities. A further offshoot of American immigration was the transmission of distinctive sports such as shinty, highland games, football and golf. Although shinty barely survived beyond the first generation of migrants, it did contribute to the development of ice hockey from the mid nineteenth century. At the same time, highland games became the basis of the professional athletics circuit. Although football continued primarily through competition with other migrant groups, golf took off in the United States, becoming wholly assimilated as a major American sport from the turn of the twentieth century. In the interim, the promotion of Burns' Suppers and St. Andrews Society Balls on 25 January and 30 November respectively, were occasional demonstrations of distinctive ethnicity for a migrant group remarkable for its facility to assimilate throughout the Americas. This facility, which generally avoided the creation of Scottish or even highland ghettos, was also accompanied by a notable degree of creolisation despite a propensity to racial intolerance in the Caribbean, the American South and the Western territories.

A PRE-UNION

A determination to put down religious roots and follow their own faith was a crucial way in which pioneering emigrants kept their ties with their homeland. The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, realising the need for divine guidance in a foreign and hostile land, sent four ministers to Darien. One of these was Archibald Stobo, a graduate (in 1697) of the University of Edinburgh, still in his teens when he was recruited to accompany the second expedition to New Caledonia in the autumn of 1699. The belief of the directors of the Company of Scotland that clerical influence would prevent the rancour and disharmony that had bedevilled the first group of colonists the previous year was unfounded. A disillusioned Stobo spent less than 6 months in Darien, departing with his wife and young daughter for Jamaica early in 1700. Two months later the ship set sail for Scotland, but when storm damage forced it to put into Charles Town, capital of the South Carolina colony, Stobo was asked, first to preach in the Independent Church founded in the 1680s by English and Scottish dissenters, and subsequently to become its pastor. He resigned the charge after only 4 years, when Presbyterians in Kinhigh, a rural community north of Charles Town, wrote directly to Scotland appealing for funds to recruit a pastor they could not support by themselves, an action which offended Stobo's uncompromising stance on matters of church government. Two years after his initial request for assistance had remained unanswered, Stobo again wrote to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. His petition reflected the contentious nature of Stobo's charge of the Independent Meeting House and served notice of his intent, delivered to his congregation 4 months later, to return to Scotland, having become disgusted with the colonists' tendency to 'be taken up with every winde of doctrine' and their continuing determination to ignore his advice. The colonial government's endeavour to treat

dissenters as second class citizens was a further discouragement. Yet, he was to remain a colonist. Despite his isolation from the heartland of early American Presbyterianism and his failure to participate in the formation of either the first presbytery or the first synod in the Southern Colonies, Stobo was largely responsible for the survival of Presbyterianism in coastal South Carolina. He organised 4 churches, wrote repeatedly to Scotland for recruits, supported them despite frequent factionalism among parishioners, formed a short-lived independent presbytery in 1722, and—in the most dramatic event of his life—led his Wiltown congregation in defeating a slave insurrection in 1739.¹

A1 Archibald Stobo to the Moderator of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, from Charleston, South Carolina.

3 May 1705

NAS, Church of Scotland General Assembly Papers
CH1/2/24/2/224-25

... their was a Body of people in a corner of this provin[ce] cal'd Kinhigh very desirous of having a Presbyterian minister rather from Scotland then any where else tha[t] they may be under the inspection of that Church, but that a fund for his transportation and a soled way for his menteinance here was not then concluded upon, those people hath been calculating amongst themself's and the annum they propose to give a minister is L50 p^r annum and a plantation which I suppose they have made known unto you; The peoples zeall for the caring on soe good a work is very commendable if it were not blinde without consideration, for if they did as well consider the standing of my Sossiety to which they are now Joyned, as they do their own conveniencie by having a minister among them they would not without my knowledge written to you fo[r] one, their is in distance from the Setlements of some of my Sossiety to others above 100 myles, And Charlestown the only town in this Province the place of my residence, being almost the center is the properist and most convenient place not only for the Country people, but likewise both for the people in Town and Seafaring men, dayly coming in, whereas if their were a minister amongst those Kinhigh people in abycorner of the countrey must of necessity not only be the meens of breaking the Church intown as hereafter follows, but also deprive both those of my congregation in town and those liveing in the countrey to the Sutherd parts of the meens when they come to town, and so expose them to be given up to the erroneous principles of Anebaptism which hath been endeavoured too much to take footing in this place. The

¹ Archibald Stobo, from Charleston, South Carolina, to the Moderator of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 10 Sept. 1705: NAS, Church of Scotland, General Assembly Papers, CH1/2/24/2/226-27. We would like to thank Professor Michael Montgomery for this information.

subscriptions made for my yearly mentenance amongst my congregation amounts to above L80 this country money which is equall to L730 Scots, but being it is a freewill offering and noe legislative power for forsing payment conforme to their subscriptions comes short yearly very considerably of the forsaid annum, The proposition that I did make to those people to the norderd cal'd Kinhigh and to the rest of my Sossiety, both in town and to the Sutherd that if they would double their subscriptions, I would use my best indeavours for supplying them with ane other minister, which minister, I was likewise for his liveing in town that when one preached in town the other minister should goe to the country some tyme to the norderd and sometime to the Sutherd, which would not only supply them in great a respect of[t]ner then formerly, but likewise supply them alwise in town, who were often deluded to hear the Anebaptists when I was in the countrey. This proposition did not seem to take neither with the Kinhigh people nor the rest of my Sossiety, for a great many that had subscribed to my mentenance alrady were not able to make any furder addition, however they still insist to have a minister amongst them, w^{ch} if they gett must needs tend to the ruine ... of my Church in town and make void and null all the pains & labour that I have taken to gett the Presbyterian congregation setled upon a solled good foundation ... I believe their is effectuall methods taken to prevent the further settling of Presbyterian ministers in this Countrey for the reasons following. The Assembly of this Province, commonly cal'd the Parliament being mett at Charlestoun in Dec: last did make ane Act against the Decenters to the Church of England w^{ch} proves, and I'm affray'd will continew to prove of fatall consequence to my indeavours, Viz: that non shall sitt in the commons house of Assembly except those who partakes of the Sacrament with the Church of England established by Law, or make oath that they look upon the Church of England to be the true Church & their manner of worship to be according to Gods institution, As also by setling the Country in Parishes & sending for ministers from England to setle them, which is realy & truly contr[ary] to Charter granted by K. Charles y^e 2^d for incouraging the setling of this countrey (The Justices of which I live you to consider upon) which act hath soe coold y^e peoples affections, lending soe much ag^t their worldly interest that they seem in ane exterordinary manner to be discouraged liveing one by one my Sossiety, w^{ch} gives me great ground to suspect I shall not be very long from seeing you (unless God in his wise providenc[e]) shall soe rule the hearts of our rulers as to make void & null the forsaid Act against the Decenters, I shall insist noe furder this being my present circumstance & the trouble under which I labour, but recommend you to the Divine protection & benediction of Almighty God.

[MM]

A few Scottish Episcopal clergy had served in the American colonies before the Revolution of 1689, but it was the ecclesiastical settlement in favour of the Presbyterians which prompted many Episcopalians to pursue clerical careers outside Scotland, establishing a trend which continued throughout the eighteenth century. Links between the Scottish Episcopal establishment and the Church of England, including the presence of many expatriate Scots in the English parishes, helped displaced Scots clergy to acquire parishes and chaplaincies. From the early 1690s, Henry Compton, Bishop of London, acted as a sympathetic patron to the Scottish Episcopalians, recognising in them a fruitful source of educated men to serve his own diocese, the naval chaplaincies which lay in his gift, and above all in the American colonies, over which he had pastoral authority. Bishop Compton's patronage attracted not only ordained ministers, but also laymen, who sought both preferment and holy orders. Compton relied on letters of recommendation from Scottish Episcopalian clergy and lay patrons, and testimonials from the universities and even from Presbyterian kirk sessions and presbyteries. The candidates were often endorsed by the Episcopalians' agent in London, James Chalmers, who vetted them for their theological and biblical knowledge. Good family standing in Scotland was further enhanced by existing colonial connections. Some candidates expressed a wish for a naval chaplaincy rather than a colonial parish, but the more positively stated preferences, like those of George Ross, were for the colonies.¹

A2 Mr James Chalmers to the Bishop of London.

22 February 1704/5

Gl., Bishop of London's Ordination Papers,
MS 10326/Box 35.

He is now very willing to go over as a Minister to any of the plantations in America your Lo/ [Lordship] shal think fitt to appoint; only he tells me that his freinds dissuade him from settleing in the Leeward Islands because of the unhealthiness of the Climate, and therefore inclines rather to receive your Lo/s commands to some part of the Continent especially Pensylvania. But still with entire submission to your Lo/s good pleasure, [TC]

B CARIBBEAN

The Bishop of London's influence extended to the Caribbean. One attraction of the region to Scots Episcopalian was that although its climate took a fearful toll on the health of migrant Europeans, the standard of living to which they could aspire was in some ways superior to their prospects in Scotland, and even compared favourably

¹ Cf. Jas Chalmers to Bishop Compton, 3 Feb. 1703/4, Guildhall Library, London, Bishop of London's Ordination Papers, MS 10326/Box 34; Rev. Gilbert Crockatt to Rev. Dr Millington, rector of Kensington, 13 Dec. 1707: MS 10326/Box 35; James Chalmers to Bishop Compton, 17 Oct 1709: MS 10326/Box 39.

with English parishes. For example, from 1681 10 of the 15 Jamaican parishes offered annual incomes of £80, three others £100, and the two wealthiest £140 and £250. To assist the passage of prospective ministers and schoolmasters a bounty of £20 was paid from 1683 until 1714.¹ One beneficiary was William Johnstone, who had been recommended to the Bishop of London in 1704 as the son of a dispossessed Scottish Episcopalian clergyman who had died in Ireland 3 years earlier. His parish of Vere was noted as a prosperous living, but he soon moved to St Andrews parish, where he sought to improve its large glebe, being the land given for his support. By 1714, having been in Jamaica for more than a decade, he requested that a suitable relief clergyman be sent out for a year. It is not clear whether Johnstone's friend, Rev. James Gray, a London-based Scot, arranged for a curate and his visit occurred as he had hoped. He did make at least one later visit home, in 1723. He also visited New England in 1739 in an effort to escape from a 'melancholy madness', but his death was reported later that year. In seeking to find a curate Johnstone was notably revealing about his social and financial circumstances, and candid about his longing to see his friends in Europe after a lengthy sojourn in his parish. He observed that some fellow-Scots arrived ill-prepared to conduct prayer book services and to adapt their speech and preaching style to suit Anglican taste. However, new clergy were in such demand for vacant parishes that accent and language did not debar the many Scots who filled posts in the Caribbean. Johnstone's concern that a curate might be tempted away to another parish highlights the prevalent power of the laity, especially the Governor, in appointments to colonial parishes. The Bishop of London's powers extended only to conferring orders and enforcing ecclesiastical discipline. In addition to its comparative comforts, Johnstone alludes to another advantage which Jamaica possessed for men escaping Scotland's church strife. Its essentially Anglican complexion contrasted with American colonies where the Scots Episcopalians could find themselves competing ecclesiastically with Presbyterian and other denominations.²

B1 Rev. William Johnstone to Rev James Gray, Vere in Jamaica.

18 July 1714.

GL., Bishop of London's Ordination Papers,
MS 10326/Box 44

... I have been here in Jamaica almost eleven years, and very well provided for both in the Church, and in a pretty good estate by marriage. Now I

¹ J. B. Ellis, *The Diocese of Jamaica* (London, 1913), 33, 44; E. Long, *History of Jamaica* (1774), II, 67-9.

² James Chalmers to Bishop Compton, 28 Mar. 1710, Guildhall Library, MS 10326/ Box 40; W. W. Manross, *The Fulham Papers in Lambeth Palace* (Oxford, 1965), 232-40, 249, 251, 258; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London, S.P.G. Journal, vol. 3, 1714-1718, 21, 35, cited in K. E. Ingram, *Sources for Jamaican History, 1655-1838. A Bibliographical Survey with Particular Reference to Manuscript Sources* (Inter Documentation Co., 1976), 500; E. H. Davidson, *The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies* (Durham, NC, 1936), 44.

begin to grow weary of Jamaica, and would fain see my friends again in Europe. And, Dear Sir, would desire the favour of you, to provide for me one, that may supply my room for ten or twelve months. I'll give him at the rate of a hundred a year, a horse and a boy, and a chamber well furnisht, till my return. And if he inclines then to go for England again, I will pay his passage, and furnish him with all necessarys. He shall likewise have all my perquisites, which seldom come short of 80 pounds per annum.

He will have the Queens bounty to fit him out. And if that will not serve, have orderd the bearer Mr Robert Allen to advance him a little money.

I wish the Gentleman may order it so, as to be here, by the beginning of March nixt. If he chance to be one of our countrey men, I wish he may be at some pains to study the English language, so as to pray and preach with a due pronounciation. It is a concern to me, to find some of our young ministry come over here, tho'roly unacquainted with the prayers of the Church of England, and so full of their own whine and cant. The people here, that are of any religion, are thoro'ly in the interest of the Church and love no other sort of clergy, but what are so. Please order it so, that the Gentleman come over with letters from My Lord Bishop of London to My Lord Hamilton, the Governour, signifying on what designs he comes here, (viz) as Curate to me, in the parish of Vere, lest by the sollicitation of some, he alter his resolution, and take up, in some of our vacant parishes. I leave the whole of the matter to your own wisdom and discretion, and hope you will not neglect it, for I am very desirous to see you at London....

[TC]

Given the English dominance of religious and secular affairs and given an entrepreneurial preference for sojourning rather than settlement, Scots who broke into the political and social élite of the colonial establishment operated primarily through imperial British networks. Thus, freemasonry did not develop a distinctive Scottish identity in the Caribbean for much of the eighteenth century, as is evident from the complementary installation of Robert Melville as provincial grand master of the Windward Islands over which he exercised colonial governorship since their acquisition by Britain on the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763.¹

B2 Masonic certificate of Robert Melvill, Captain General and Governor-in-chief of His Majesty's Southern Charibbee Islands of Granada, &c.

NAS, Balfour-Melville Papers, GD 126/28/27

To all and Every our Right Worshipful and Loving Brethren We Washington

¹ See, above, 109, n.1.

Shirley, Earl Ferrers, Viscount Tamworth, Grand Master of the most ancient and honorable Society of free and accepted masons send Greeting.

Know Ye that we of the great trust and confidence reposed in Our Right Worshipful & well beloved Brother His Excellency, Robert Melvill, Cap't General & Governor in chief in & over all His Majesty's Southern Charibbee Islands of Granada, the Greater & Lesser Granadines, Saint Vincent, Dominico, Tobago &c. And Brigadier General of His Majesty's Forces in America &c ... Do hereby constitute & appoint the said Robert Melvill Provincial Grand Master of all & every the said Islands, with full Power & Authority in due form to make MASONS & constitute & regulate Lodges as occasion may require ...

Given at London under our Hand & Seal of Masonry this 26th of March AD 1764

A.L.5764

By the Grand Master's Command

John Salter D.G.M.

In the same way that Scots in the Caribbean were not always favourably disposed towards the church and the missionary endeavours of its representatives, they were not especially noted for their charitable networking. Nonetheless, as indicated by the list of subscribers to the Northern Infirmary, many Caribbean exiles repatriated capital for charitable purposes, perhaps on behalf of their families still resident in the area or perhaps because they themselves intended one day to return to Inverness and were concerned to ensure access to medical provision. Whatever the duration of their sojourn, they all seemed to retain an emotional attachment and sense of duty to their home area.

B3 Northern Infirmary, Inverness. *Extract from List of Subscribers, 1799-1825.* From a plaque in the hospital's entrance hall.

HCA

James Fraser Esq. Of Belladrum for himself, W. Munro and other colonists of Berbice and Demerara	£920 12s 11d
Alex Fraser Esq. Of Grenada for himself, and other inhabitants of the Island of Grenada	£436 00 09
Alex Fraser Esq. Of St. Kitts for himself and other inhabitants of that island	£450 00 00
John Baillie Esq. of Bristol	£105 00 00
C. Chisholm Esq. of Demerara	£105 00 00
Thomas Chisholm Esq. of Jamaica	£108 15 08
Thomas Coutts Esq. of London	£100 00 00
Thomas Cumming Esq., Demerara	£105 00 00

Simon Fraser Esq., Dominica	£ 52 10 00
George Cruden Esq., Martinico	£ 21 00 00
David Fraser Esq., Martinico	£ 21 00 00
John Fraser Esq., Nevis	£ 21 00 00
John Fraser Esq., Dominica	£ 21 00 00
John Glesford Esq., Martinico	£ 21 00 00
David Gordon Esq., Martinico	£ 21 00 00
Thomas Kerr Esq., Leewards	£ 21 00 00
C. Munro Esq., late of Grenada	£ 20 00 00
Kenneth MacLay Esq., Martinico	£ 21 00 00
John MacPherson Esq., Martinico	£ 21 00 00
Thomas Smith Esq., Trinidad	£ 21 00 00
Hon. Robert Thomson, Leeward Islands	£ 21 00 00
J. Wade Esq., Martinico	£ 21 00 00

[DH]

Notwithstanding attestations that Scots had transferred to the islands the stereotypical national characteristics of frugality and hard work, some Caribbean commentators claimed that Scottish migrants, whose passion for oatmeal as well as their reputed meanness attracted native derision, were characterised more by dissipation than godliness or philanthropy.¹ The reprehensible behaviour of the emigrants, which the Aberdeen doctor, Jonathan Troup, encountered and participated in, demonstrates that a carnal lifestyle had also been imported from the homeland.

B4 Journal of Jonathan Troup.

AU, SLA, MS 2070 fo. 40

9 August 1789

Dined wt Mr. Andrew Smith, got Drunk wt Mr Edwards Lawry & Walker, make Love to a number of Girls in my Drunken fit ...

9 November 1789

... Mr. Baie was dead—he was at Culloden obliged to fly after it to West Indies where he has ever lived in the employt. of a Baker & made a fortune but his own strong constitution torn to pieces by Debauchery & Med [icines] & a Drunken wife. God grant that my fate may not be as such people who cling too much to Worldly part & neglect every thing else—

...

19-21 December 1789

Set sail in a small sloop for Prince Ruperts a fellow passenger one John

¹ Cf. Rev. H.M. Waddell, *Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A Review of Missionary Work and Adventure, 1829-1858* (London, 1863), 21-2, 131-2; Mrs A. C. Carmichael, *Domestic Manners and Social Condition of the White, Coloured and Negro Population of the West Indies*, 2 vols. (London, 1833), i, 321-2.

Bisset MA educated at Aberdeen his Father Minister of Brechin when he studied at Abdn the Women ruined him and at Brechin he got a Girl wt. child when he had been licensed to preach & this made him enter into the Army as Cadett embarked at Portsmouth for Gibraltar 3 weeks after the sinking of the Royal George—at Spithead

When he left Gibraltar he went to St. Vincents in West Indies got to be manager of some estates he had an avaricious appetite for the Women of all Denominations at last an Irish Capt. Daughter who was married to another man formed an attachment to him & now is wt. him—A young woman on the Estate became jealous of this woman & insinuated wt. the Proprietor to have her discarded off the Estate sooner than allow this Bisset left his management & wt. a few negroes of his own purchased a small cotton plantation—All his prospects were blasted the Caterpillar got amongst the Bushes & he sold off every thing he possessed cleared his Debts came to Dominica to Cpt. Urquhart Colonel Maxwell would not enlist him—and he was now going along wt. me to Prince Ruperts to Capt. Ecuyer Commanding officer—to enlist—... [RMcD]

The image of debauchery combined with clannishness and business acumen is cogently revealed by a Scottish lady who travelled to the West Indies at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Lady Maria Nugent, who accompanied her husband Lieutenant-General George Nugent to Jamaica in 1801, when he assumed the post of Lieutenant-Governor of the island¹ spent 4 years there during which time she compiled a remarkably rich and detailed chronicle of Jamaican life and society.

B5 *Lady Nugent's Journal of her Residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805*, ed. Philip Wright (Kingston, 1966), 29.

The overseer, a civil, vulgar, Scotch officer, on half-pay ... The overseer's chere amie, and no man here is without one, is a tall black woman, well made, with a very flat nose, thick lips, and a skin of ebony, highly polished and shining. She shewed me her three yellow children, and said, with some ostentation, she should soon have another. The marked attention of the other women, plainly proved her to be the favourite Sultana of this vulgar, ugly, Scotch Sultan, who is about fifty, clumsy, ill made, and dirty. He had a dingy, sallow-brown complexion, and only two yellow discoloured tusks, by way of teeth. However, they say he is a good overseer; so at least his brother Scotchmen told me, and there is no one here to contradict him, as

¹ See also, above, 120, E1.

almost all agents, attornies, merchants and shopkeepers, are of that country, and really do deserve to thrive in this, they are so industrious. [RMcD]

In 1836, John Anderson, the Special Magistrate on St Vincent, reflected not only on the sexual immorality and general boorishness of many of his fellow Scots, but also recalled an incident of deliberate and callous cruelty to a runaway slave. To Anderson, the Caribbean was a place of desolation, devoid of the accompaniments of civilised living, inhospitable enough for the Scottish career emigrant, but far worse for his wife.

B6 The Journal of John Anderson, St Vincent Special Magistrate, 1836-1839.

AUL, SLA, MS 602, 79

The youths who are sent out as overseers—elsewhere ‘bookkeepers’ in spite of never seeing a book,—are—(though my Countrymen,) with few exceptions,—untutored in manners, and of the most mediocre attainments.... The mesalliances with coloured housekeepers, and the consequences which these entail on a man,—begin in his subordinate capacity, & attach to him as dead weights when he has emerged from it to be a manager, or even a planter.

A Scotsman—(I blush to write it) who resided to Leeward was on another occasion being rowed to Kingstown in his canoe, on board of which was a runaway slave, whose neck for greater security he had encircled with an iron collar, attached to a heavy weight,—which the unfortunate wretch supported in his hands, or on his head, when in motion. As they coasted along, he seized as he conceived, a favourable moment for escape, and leapt into the waves. ‘Hout away mon’ said Sawney, ‘are ye gaen that gait? then tak it a wi you’;—& suiting the action to the word, he threw over the ponderous ball—and as the poor slave was sucked into the vortex the momentary bubble of the water announced that an immortal spirit was struggling to be free. The reins of authority were too loosely held, to bring retributive Justice on the tyrant. The deed—and the perpetrator became known, but the murderer was never called to account. [RMcD]

Notwithstanding allegations that Scots in the Caribbean abandoned their moral standards, while preserving those national traits which were likely to improve their bank balances, their manifest preference for sojourning over settlement and ethnic association over cultural assimilation limited their formative impact in shaping colonial society, even where they formed the bulk of the immigrant population.

B7 Henry G. Dalton, M.D., *The History of British Guiana*, 2 vols. (London, 1855), I, 306-7.

Among the numerous parties emigrating from Europe to this colony a large proportion was from Scotland, for the most part of humble extraction, uneducated, and glad to accept of any opening that presented itself; they exemplified the well-known caution and parsimony of their race, and, from the humblest, gradually rose to fill some of the highest situations. Possessing in a marked manner the shrewdness and tact necessary to personal aggrandisement, they may, as a class, be considered to have been the most successful of all the settlers in the country; and it is only where by mixture and association that their character became somewhat modified or deteriorated that they failed in any instance. Singularly enough, however, there is perhaps no class of European emigrants that has undergone such changes in their natural habits. The reserve, the temperance, the zeal for religion which characterised them in their own country, became gradually obliterated in their translation to this colony. They still associated together, and sustained each other in the true spirit of nationality, carrying this principle of cohesion indeed so far that the shrewd negroes applied the term of Scotchmen to the large shrimps which they were in the habit of hawking about for sale, because of the habits of these creatures in clinging one to the other. But, separated from the austere influence of domestic examples at home, and cast into a community very differently organised, they plunged as readily as others into the vortex of dissipation. In reference to a great many, it may be observed, that much of this change was owing to the fact of their being introduced on their arrival to a footing in society, and to a mode of living to which they had been previously strangers ... Mingling in more pretending and extravagant circles, and living in a style superior to that in which they had been brought up, they soon came to lose that simplicity and sobriety of character which, as a nation, they have so meritoriously maintained. They have been more successful in business notwithstanding than most of the other settlers from England and Ireland, but they have also encountered greater reverses, and although forming a majority of the white population, they have failed to impart their nationality to the colony. [RMcD]

C THIRTEEN COLONIES

In contrast to the preference for sojourning in the Caribbean, migration to the thirteen colonies was marked by frontier settlement prior to the American Revolution. Although securing a minister and establishing a church were the first priorities of many pioneers, they often had to wait some time before their desires were fulfilled. Even before the Argyll Colony on the Cape Fear in North Carolina was fully established, the leading adventurers had requested the provision of a Presbyterian minister from

Scotland in 1739. However, no minister of any denomination had arrived when the colonists fruitlessly renewed their call to the Presbytery of Kintyre in 1748. The first minister to come directly to the colony was the Rev. John MacLeod in 1770. In the interim, spiritual ministrations loosely affiliated to Presbyterianism were provided through the energetic labours of James Campbell, who had emigrated from Campbeltown in Argyllshire to Philadelphia around 1730, but only took up residence among the colonists on Cape Fear in 1757.¹

C1 Minutes of the Presbytery of Kintyre, 1724–1748.

NAS, CH 2/1153/3, p. 244

1748 Jan. 14

There was transmitted to the Presbytery a letter from the Scots Colony in Cape Fear in North Carolina, bearing their destitute condition for want of Gospel ordinances dispensed among them and begging that the Presbytery would look out for a proper person well skilled in the Irish [sic] language & to authorize him to be their minister, with a promise of £50 sterl. yearly stipend, with a manse & 320 acres of land for his encouragement ... [RJC]

*Scottish emigrants in distress most commonly appealed to the St Andrew's societies, which sprang up wherever a Scottish community emerged in the American colonies, and had an important charitable, as well as social, function. That for Philadelphia was constituted in 1751 with a leading rôle both as participant and printer being taken by Benjamin Franklin, the American polemicist, philosopher and diplomat, who not only became a founding father of the United States but was also a beneficiary of the Scots Charitable Society in Boston. The Philadelphia Society was no less pioneering in expanding philanthropic support from native Scots to Americans of Scots descent.*²

C2 *Rules for the St. Andrew's Society in Philadelphia* (Printed by B. Franklin, & D. Hall, Philadelphia, 1751).

The Usefulness of private Societies, to answer particular good Purposes, which either had not been, or could not be so well provided for by the publick Acts of a Community, is well known to be fully justified by the Practice of the best of Men in all Ages, and in all civiliz'd Countries. We,

¹ NAS, Church of Scotland, Minutes of the Presbytery of Inveraray, 1715–1745, CH 2/190/2, p. 350; *Early Presbyterian Settlements in North Carolina*, condensed from Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, in W. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, ed. W. Saunders, 10 vols. (Raleigh, 1886–1890), v, 1194–6.

² New England Historical Genealogical Society, MSS B 536/V, 12.

therefore, the Natives of that Part of Great Britain, called Scotland, Residents in the City of Philadelphia, meeting frequently with our Country People here in Distress, more especially Travellers, and transient Persons, who are not entitled to the publick Charity of the Place, have agreed to form ourselves into a Society, for the Relief of all such; whereby they may be more speedily, more regularly, and more bountifully assisted, than could be done in the Way of making occasional Collections for the Purpose, as had formerly been the Practice.

But as we proposed to restrict the Charities of the Society to our indigent Country Folks alone, so it was our original Intention to admit none but Scotsmen born into it, and to apply to, or receive Contributions from none else. Yet upon considering that, many descended of Scots Parents, might be both able and willing to contribute to a charitable Design of this Nature, we judged on due Deliberation, it would be wrong to exclude such from joining with us. For this Reason, we concluded to leave an Opening for the Admission of those of them, who might be so disposed; and accordingly we have had the Pleasure to find that several have generously embraced the Opportunit ...

Upon the Whole, we hope it will appear on a candid Examination of the Rules by which this Society is conducted, that a fair and impartial Connexion is preserved, betwixt those from whom the Charity is collected, and those to whose Relief it is applied, as far as the primary Design of the Institution would permit.

Rules.

I. The Society shall be called by the Name of the St. Andrew's Society, at Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania ...

XV The Charity of the Society shall be applied in the following Manner, viz. The President, and Vice President, in Conjunction with the other Officers of the Society, or, in their Absence, a like Number of the Members, shall have Power to draw Orders on the Treasurer for the Time being, payable to such poor Persons as they shall judge proper Objects of the Society's Charity, which the Treasurer shall immediately pay. Provided always that none but Natives of Scotland, their Widows and Children, or the Widows and Children of those of Scots Parentage, who are, or may be hereafter Members of this Society, shall ever be entitled to any Part of this Charity. Provided also, that the Sums so drawn for, do not exceed Five Pounds, to any one Person, and Thirty Pounds in the Whole, during one Quarter; and of the said Draughts and Payments, the Treasurer shall make Report at the next Quarterly Meeting. But for any larger Sums, the poor Person qualified as above, shall be obliged to petition the Society, at the Next Quarterly Meeting, where the Members met, shall have Power, by Plurality of Votes, to order what Sum they shall think convenient. Provided the same does not exceed Ten Pounds to any one Person, or Sixty Pounds during one Quarter. The

Consideration of the Payment of any larger Sums than those last mentioned, shall be referred to the Anniversary Assembly of the Society.

[RMcD]

Mutual support for philanthropic purposes served to remedy distress primarily in and around urban areas. On the frontier, however, distress could be prevented by developing amicable rather than exploitative relations with the Native American tribes, a facility particularly evident among the highlanders who arrived in Georgia, at the behest of General James Oglethorpe, as military protectors of the new colony in 1735. The original settlers, mainly from Strathdearn—150 erstwhile clansmen with 50 women and children—embarked from Inverness in October under the leadership of John Mor Mackintosh of the noted Jacobite family of Borlum. After their arrival in December, they proceeded up the Altamaha river to establish settlements in and around New Inverness. From the outset, their relations with the Native Americans were cordial, these relations being consolidated in expeditionary forces against the Spaniards in Florida and Cuba and continued in succeeding generations through the American Revolution.

C3 Mackintosh Genealogies: Farr Manuscript.

NLS, MS. 9854, fos 221-3¹

... The men who were subject to military duty were mustered in the King's service in the Highland Rangers. Command was given to John Mohr [sic] Mackintosh, a second command to captain Hugh McKay, 2nd son of Baron Reay of Scotland. Military posts were established at various points. Forts & cannon—patrols & scouting parties. Kept up constant communication between them & a road, known as Oglethorps Road was made to connect New Inverness with Savannah. The Highlanders of New Inverness kept their national garb & when General Oglethorpe made his first visit on inspection, he was received in the bluff by a force of 50 men with plaid, targe & claymore ... All fears of hostility from the Indian tribes round New

¹ This information was collected from William Mackintosh, the eldest son of John Mor, who was aged 9 when the family left Inverness for Georgia. He subsequently served on the Patriot side, as a Colonel in the 1st Regiment of Cavalry of the 1st Georgia line. His two sons, John and Lachlan, also served as commissioned officers. This collected information was previously published in C.C. Lovell, *The Golden Isles of Georgia* (Boston, c.1932). The New Inverness colony was also reinforced by further emigration after the last Jacobite rising of 1745-6, when Lachlan MacGillivray of the Dumnaglass family married a Creek Indian princess. Their son, John, became a celebrated Creek Chief and adviser to President George Washington on Indian affairs, whose glowing obituary [in *The Scots Magazine*, 55 (1793), 413] attests that it was solely due to his influence that the Creeks allowed the slaves of a deceased master to live.

Inverness soon vanished & the MacKintoshes, McBains & McKays & McGillvrays soon gained their friendship. The feathered caps, swinging kilts, naked knees & barthen [sic] shoes appealed to the Indians & they patronized & traded with New Inverness ... the best of terms existed between the Indian chiefs and the young men of New Inverness. They emulated each other in sports and hunting. [RMcD]

Relations with the black community, particularly in the southern slave states, rarely tended to rise above the exploitative. In North Carolina, slaves to highland settlers were taught Gaelic, which endured as the language of worship in black churches well into the nineteenth century; migrant highland farmers and merchants having instructed their slaves in Gaelic as a means of controlling the market and curtailing runaways in the Cape Fear district.¹ The well travelled Scottish lady, Miss Janet Schaw from Edinburgh, sojourned mainly among lowland Scots between the port of Wilmington and the colonial capital of New Bern at the outbreak of the American Revolution. Loyalists and Patriots were prepared temporarily to set aside their differences, however, when the colonists' dispute with Britain appeared to open the door to a slave insurrection. At the same time, she recognised that the oppressed, black community was more aware of natural resources to supplement its meagre subsistence than the emerging class of 'poor whites'.

C4 Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; being the narrative of a journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the years 1774 to 1776*, eds. E.W. & C.M. Andrews (New Haven, 1921), 176-7.

...The Negroes are the only people that seem to pay any attention to the various uses that the wild vegetables may be put to. For example ... their vegetable pins made from the prickly pear, also molds for buttons made from the calabash, which likewise serves to hold the victuals. The allowance for a Negro is a quart of Indian corn p' day—an infant has the same allowance with its parents as soon as born—and a little piece of land which they cultivate much better than their Master. There they rear hogs and poultry, sow calabashes, etc. and are better provided for in every thing than the poorer white people with us. They steal whatever they can come at, and even intercept the cows and milk them. They are indeed the constant plague of their tyrants, whose severity or mildness is equally regarded by them in these Matters.

¹ We would like to thank William Caudell of St. Andrews Presbyterian University, Laurinburg, North Carolina, for this information.

D CANADA

Scots, though they retained a distinct national identity, probably assimilated more successfully in Canada than in any other migrant destination. The difficult circumstances to which pioneer settlers were required to adapt were outlined by Father James MacDonald, who had been educated and ordained at the Scots College in Rome in 1765, before joining the highland emigration to Prince Edward Island in 1772. Two years later the Quebec Act gave statutory protection to the Roman Catholic Church, and Catholic highlanders continued to build on the Hebridean settlements founded in the early 1770s. At a time when his flock was experiencing economic hardship in the early days of the conflict with the American colonies, Father MacDonald reported on his initially reluctant ministrations to the Native people; the need for pastoral inclusiveness in the Maritimes being replicated elsewhere among pioneer settlements in Upper and Lower Canada.¹

D1 Rev James MacDonald, Tracadie, to 'Rev Dear Sir'.

(Docketed 'St John' Island')

4 November 1776

SCA, Blairs Letters, BL3/288/9

... The King's troops left Halifax in the beginning of last summer, with a view to attack New York, but we got no certain accounts yet what success they have met with. The Americans seem to be very strong by Land, but not a great deal by Sea. Trade and commerce is at a very low ebb just now in this part of the world which renders provision and cloaths extravagantly high. As all the Catholics in this Island are very poor and therefore not able to make me live in a decent way, I was obliged to go last summer among french people that live about half way between this and Halifax at a place called Arishot near Canso, it is about forty leagues from the place I reside in, but I went to it by sea. A few days after my arrival there, a great number of savages were acquainted and came without loss of time to see me with a design to make their confession by an interpreter, tho' I could not speak their language, and tho' I showed some kind of reluctance and aversion to hear their confession by that method. Yet they insisted upon it, alledging that some of the french priests used to confess them by an interpreter which I found out to be true, so I could not refuse them, and therefore I had a hundred and twenty indjans at confession during that time I was at Arishot besides french. I found the indjans to be very sincere and contrite at their confessions, tho' some of them soon forgets the effect of it. The

¹ Cf. Rev. Roderick MacDonell, Culachie, near Quebec, to Bishop Geddes, Edinburgh, 1785, SCA, Blairs Letters, BL3/452/9; Rev. Roderick MacDonell, curate of St Regis, near Cornwall, to Bishop Geddes, Edinburgh (undated but docketed by Geddes as 'Received 1787'), Blairs Letters, BL3/506/14; Capt. John MacDonald, London to Bishop Geddes, Edinburgh, 1 Dec. 1785, Blairs Letters, BL3/451/12.

women are generally speaking more innocent than the men, as the men are more addicted to drinking. A savage brought his old Mother of an 100 years of age and upwards eight leagues to receive the last sacraments, and carried her on a hand barrow from the burge canoe till the little church the french had at Arishot, which distance might be about a quarter of a mile ... [C]

After the American War of Independence, as displaced Loyalists began to swell Canada's Scottish population, Catholic clergy became increasingly concerned that inadequate provision of the ordinances of religion, administered in the emigrants' own language, would encourage apathy. Angus Bernard MacEacharn, who served in the Small Isles for 3 years after his ordination in 1787, emigrated to Prince Edward Island in 1790, joining his parents, who had sailed there on the Alexander with more than 200 Catholic highlanders in 1772. He was consecrated Titular Bishop of Rosen in 1819, and in 1829 became Bishop of Charlottetown, where he died on 22 April 1825. Although he tried to address the highlanders' spiritual needs in their own tongue, he ploughed a solitary furrow, and his recurring complaint over 30 years was of the persistent difficulties under which he laboured in all weathers, not only to Scottish, but also to the French and Irish settlers dispersed throughout every community on the island. In 1819, following a visit to his countryman and colleague, Dr Alexander MacDonell in Glengarry, MacEacharn compared the assets of Upper Canada and Prince Edward Island. Despite the rapid increase of population in the former, the government believed that the province's vulnerability to 'the incursions and deprivations of cunning and jealous neighbours' made it imprudent to spend money on religious institutions or personnel. But although Prince Edward Island was not beset by similar problems, religious provision still lagged badly behind perceived need. In this letter and in subsequent correspondence, MacEacharn appealed for a French- and Gaelic-speaking associate to help him cover his huge parish, which by 1820 had been extended to include New Brunswick.¹

D2 Bishop Angus B MacEacharn, bishop of Rosen, St Andrew's, Prince Edward Island, to Alexander Cameron, vicar apostolic of the Lowland Vicariate.

Edinburgh, 3 December 1819.

SCA, Blairs Letters, BL5/59/7

These Provinces are not exposed to the calamities of wars; and consequently on my return home I went 18 leagues by sea, and 100 miles by land to

¹ Cf. Rev. Angus MacEacharn, St Andrews, Prince Edward Island to Alexander Cameron, Coadjutor Bishop of the Lowland Vicariate, Edinburgh, 14 Dec. 1807, SCA, Preshome Letters, PL3/6/10; Bishop Angus B. MacEacharn of Rosen, PEI, to Bishop Cameron, Edinburgh, 23 June 1820, Blairs Letters, BL5/81/18.

Halifax, in order to get the Rt Revd. Doctor Burke, V[icar] Ap[ostolic] of Nova Scotia, to come to a final determination about his long projected seminary. Unfortunately he applied to the Legislature of Nova Scotia several years ago for establishing by Law, a Catholic College in Halifax. The alarm was rung, and the Project negatived, altho a good house, 80 feet by 40, 2 stories high, had been built for that purpose. Now we are to establish a seminary on the coast of N Scotia opposite to the SE side of this Island ... There are 200 acres of land below the house, and the public road passing near the buildings. The country is fertile, healthy, and contiguous to this Island, and Cape Breton ... We have no funds on this Island. But, as the country is fertile, and produce easily got, we can support some boys with facility in Nova Scotia. I think it would be of infinite service to our young men, after finishing their studies here, to be sent to the Continent of Europe for a year or two, provided the times were peaceable. We stand much in need of some spiritual aid from the mother country. Is it not a distressing thing to say that this Island, 160 miles long, should be depending on all that can be done by a Canadian Priest, who knows no Gaelic, and very little English, together with what can be done by me, at my time of life? [CJ]

Spiritual ministrations to Presbyterian communities were no less problematic. When in 1817 William Bell was sent to the Perth settlement in Upper Canada as a newly-ordained minister of the Secession Church, his first task was to overcome his wife's reluctance to go to Canada. Preaching in the Perth area some time later, he expressed disappointment both at the clannishness of the Scottish settlers, who wanted him to confine his services entirely to them, instead of ministering to all 5 townships in the settlement, and also at evidence of their severe spiritual backsliding, signifying a betrayal of one of the major pillars of their identity. His impressions are recorded in a guidebook, which he compiled for Scottish emigrants.¹

D3 Rev. William Bell, *Hints to Emigrants* (Edinburgh, 1824), 102-4.

I arrived on Tuesday the 24th of June, and on the following Sabbath preached at the inn, that being the only place in the village where there was room enough for the purpose; for most of the settlers were still living in small huts. The morning had been very rainy, the roads were bad, and the congregation was small—at least I thought so then, for I had adverted to the circumstance, that in a thinly peopled country, in which few make a profession of religion, every congregation of necessity [must] be small. The agents of Government, the magistrates, and a number of the half-pay officers, attended ... On looking round me, however, I saw a moral as well as a

¹ Rev. W. Bell to Mary Bell, Ford, Midlothian, 3 Feb. 1817, QUA, Bell Papers, I, 165-7.

natural wilderness requiring my cultivation. With regard to a great majority of the settlers, religion seemed to occupy no part of their attention. The Sabbath was awfully profaned, and drunkenness, swearing, and other vices, were thought matters of course. The number of those inclined to attend public worship was small, and of those possessing real piety still smaller. As soon as I could obtain a little leisure, I paid a pastoral visit to the families of the Scotch settlement, from whom I received a welcome reception. But the task I had undertaken was attended with more difficulty than I was aware. No person, who has never lived in a new settlement, can conceive how fatiguing and unpleasant it is to wade through swamps and bushes, and climb over rocks and fallen timber, under a burning sun, and surrounded by clouds of mosquitoes. Every night when I reached home, I was ready to drop down with corporeal and mental fatigue.

The second Sabbath being a fine day, my congregation was considerably larger than on the first, but still it was small, compared with those to which I had been accustomed ... Many were at work at their ordinary employments, and I began to see that religious instruction, by a great part of the population, so far from being considered a privilege, would be considered a great hindrance to the prosecution of their plans.

Once Presbyterian communities had become established, however, they often launched subscriptions to build a church or recruit a minister. The Scottish church at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, was erected by means of such voluntary efforts, many of the 95 subscribers living in the New Argyle area, which had attracted Colonsay and Mull emigrants from around 1806. The amount targeted in the advertisement, £395 15s. 4d., was surpassed convincingly with £421 4s. 2d. being raised from subscriptions in the £1 to £1 10s. range, the least offered being 10s. and the most £5.

D4 *Prince Edward Island Register*, 15 November 1825.

The Committee appointed to carry into effect the resolutions adopted at a Public Meeting on the 20th June for erecting a Scotch Presbyterian Church in Charlotte-Town have the satisfaction to state, that from the amount of subscriptions already obtained they will be enabled to commence the building of the Church early next Spring; and, as it will be necessary to provide the materials in the course of the Winter, they have to request that those who have subscribed will pay their subscriptions to Messrs. Ewen Cameron, John McGill, Alexr. Brown, or Dr. Mackieson, four of their number, who have been appointed to collect them ...

To their own countrymen who may not yet have subscribed the Committee deem any appeal unnecessary. What Scotchman, worthy of the name, would

refuse to contribute according to the ability with which Providence may have blessed him, to such an undertaking as the erection of a place of worship worthy of being dedicated to the solemn services of religion agreeable to the simple and impressive ritual of the Church of Scotland, that Church, the purity and independence of which stands a proud and lasting monument of the piety of our forefathers, their glory and their sufferings? [LC]

Unlike the missionary support distributed continuously if sparingly to migrant communities by the Catholic Church, the less centralised Presbyterian denominations relied primarily on freewill offerings. While congregations in Canadian towns in which there were considerable numbers of Scots of wealth and influence were largely self-supporting,¹ rural districts relied on support from Scottish congregations to meet the spiritual needs of settlers. From 1825 to 1840, as the Evangelicals became increasingly dominant within the Established Church in Scotland, the Glasgow Colonial Society, formed in 1826, raised funds to send ministers and catechists to Scottish settlers in British North America. However, the Society soon faced competing pressures for its support following pleas for assistance from Lower as well as Upper Canada and the Maritimes.²

D5 Extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr Walter Roach, 1833.

HCA, Glasgow Colonial Society, 8th Annual Report (1835)

No part of the Lower Province is more thickly populated with the Scotch than the banks of the Chateauguay, which taking its rise in the State of New York winds its course through upwards of sixty miles of the most rich and fertile lands of Lower Canada, till it falls into the waters of the St. Lawrence, a little above Montreal. The country is wholly peopled by French Canadians, with the exception of my hearers from the mouth of the river to Georgetown, sixteen miles up. Georgetown, Ormstown Portage, Huntingdon, Hi[n]chinbrook and Trout River are following one another in regular succession upwards unto the boundary line which separated the State of New York from Lower Canada, are all of them wholly peopled with Scotch with a few exceptions of Americans.

To the eastward of Chateauguay are the settlements of Laprairie, La Salle, Beechridge, Russeltown, English River, Hemmingford and Gore, which are more or less peopled with Presbyterians. On the westward again are Beauharnois, St. Louis, the back concessions of Georgetown, Ormstown, Godmanchester, La Guerre and Dundee, settled in the same way except the

¹ Thomas Ross to Rev. Dr Lee, Prince's Street, Edinburgh, Scotland, N.B., 7 July 1832: NLS, MS 3439.

² Cf. Extract of letter from Rev. P. McIntyre, St James', N.B., 7 Mar. 1834, from Glasgow Colonial Society, 8th Annual Report (1835): HCA, D122/129.

former which is chiefly by Canadians. The farther up this beautiful river just so many more as the Scotch families. Could ministers be procured not fewer than three besides myself and Mr. Colquhoun and Mr. Moodie are absolutely required in any measure to mollify the demands of the people for instruction.

Within six miles of Huntingdon also there are not fewer than two hundred families who at present have not suitable instruction. Again in Hemmingford according to the census of 1831 there were 1557 souls, of whom the great majority are Presbyterians. Again in Beechridge and places adjoining there are not fewer than 150 families firmly attached to the Scottish kirk, for whom, however, the majority being Highlanders, a Gaelic preacher is requisite. In Ormstown ther [sic] are not fewer than one hundred and twenty families, Presbyterians who have commenced building a church.

All this I have from observation, the whole of that tract of country, comprising not less than one thousand square miles having been mostly travelled over by myself. [LC]

While strenuous efforts were made to preserve the Scots' religious heritage in Canada, traditional Scottish sport was also a key tool in the cultivation of ethnic links. Shinty was celebrated by exiles both as a means of sustaining and stimulating highland identity. Canadian authorities reacted with displeasure, however, when sporting pursuits came into conflict with religious observances.¹

D6 *The Toronto Globe*, 13 October 1863.

CITY COUNCIL. Communications

Ald[erman] Sterling asked if the police had received any instructions to prevent young profligates from playing at shinty in the outskirts of the city during the Sabbath day.

His Worship the Mayor explained that it was his intention, if he could arrange it with the Police Magistrate, to have the constables patrol the city during the Sabbath day, and arrest all parties breaking the laws.

Ald. Ewart expressed his sorrow for having ordered the release of a young culprit on Sunday, but he was a very small boy and was crying as if his heart would break. The other boys who were playing were older and had run away.

His Worship stated that it was the duty of the constables to arrest all who were breaking the Sabbath. [HDM]

¹ Irish practitioners of hurling fared no better from such Sabbatarian strictures (cf. *The Toronto Globe*, 2 Nov. 1863).

Although the variable Canadian climate meant that shinty, along with other Scottish games and pastimes, had to be adapted to survive beyond the initial generation of migrants, many sporting celebrations in Canada were documented in Scottish periodicals and newspapers.¹

D7 *Celtic Monthly*, July 1893, 166.

Our Canadian letter

HIGHLAND SPORTS

In Summer our Societies take a rest. Meetings are suspended and business is forgotten in the general cessation that prevails. But the warmth of summer sunshine is not sufficient to keep the Canadian Highlander off the field of sport. The arena is changed from the platform and hall to the green sward, where the bagpipes are heard cheering on the shinty players, providing music for the skilled dancer, or in martial strain striving for a prize in keen competition. The Highland games of Canada are noted events. Their fame is well known in Scotland and all over this vast continent. Beginning with the 24th May, the Queen's birthday, which is loyally observed here as a statutory holiday, gatherings take place almost every week until October. They are conducted by societies at suitable points of locality, are extensively advertised, and are as a rule very popular. In connection with them a class of

PROFESSIONAL ATHLETES

has grown up, and the same dancers and pipers follow the circuit of the games, living on the proceeds. This is the one and only regrettable feature of otherwise really good and useful assemblies; but public opinion is gradually bearing an influence against professionalism and in favour of good amateur work, and the result will be a great improvement in the near future. The best piper need not be a professional in the sense of making his living by the money prizes he wins at twenty gatherings in the season. He may be contented to take a medal, or a set of pipes, or some other prize than money, and so maintain a higher ideal than the mercenary one. The same with the dancer, the sprinter, the hammerer, and the competitor in the strength feats generally. The programme at these gatherings varies but little from that of the gatherings in the Highlands. There are entries in Highland dances, bagpiping, Highland costume, putting the stone, tossing the caber, vaulting, jumping, &c. Occasionally there is a game of quoits, bowling on the green, a game of shinty always popular, and the inevitable tug-of-war, a veritable exhibition of skill and muscular strength over which there is usually a fierce contest and much excitement ...

On the whole the result of the Highland gathering is good. The national

¹ Cf. *Oban Times*, 17 July 1869.

sentiment is stimulated, and the best phases of our national character are the more easily reached and cultivated because of the manly exercises and the games of the old home being kept alive. The gatherings, as a rule, are conducted with the utmost respect to orderliness and good taste, and the impression left on the mind is one of pleasure when the evening closes the proceedings.

Sgian Dubh.

[HDM]

As well as sports, Scottish emigrants also cultivated a variety of other secular ethnic anchors, demonstrating their identity not least through Burns' clubs as well as St Andrew's and Caledonian societies and other local territorial associations which served to reinforce the image of a ubiquitous—and successful—Scottish presence across Canada.¹ The nature of some of these territorial associations was very localised, however. Nonetheless, it was noticeable that despite divisions among Presbyterian denominations, particularly in the highlands, these differences did not affect the sociability of migrant Gaelic societies in cities like Winnipeg.² The emigrants who founded a Fraserburgh Society there in January 1911, soon had to extend membership to other Aberdeenshire towns, as well as the counties of Banff and Kincardine.

D8 *Aberdeen Journal*, 27 December 1911.

FRASERBURGH PEOPLE IN WINNIPEG

The first ball of the Aberdeen, Banff and Kincardineshire Association of Winnipeg came off with great success in the Oddfellows' Hall on Thursday evening, 15th ult. The atmosphere of the large ball-room was distinctly Scottish. At 8.30 the Grand March was led off by President George Adam, followed by 150 couples, to the music of one of the finest bands in the city. Added to this were the handsome dresses and toilets of the ladies, which gave the finishing touch to the gathering. Everybody seemed to be out for a night's enjoyment, judging from the happy faces as the large company sat down for supper at midnight. Dancing was afterwards resumed and kept up with spirit till 2.30 a.m. The first annual reunion of the association is to take place in the Oddfellows' Temple, Kennedy Street, on January 5, when it is expected that at least half-a-dozen presidents of other Scottish associations will attend the function. At the next ordinary meeting of the

¹ Charles Mackay, 'The Scots in America', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, iii, (1873-4), 2-3: NLS, MF.SP.Ser.14. It was the forthright opinion of the author that no name was more dear to the Scots exile than that of Robert Burns, not that of William Wallace or King Robert the Bruce or even Sir Walter Scott

² *Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, July 1919, 114. Letter to the editor from M. Brown, Winnipeg, 22 Apr. 1919, 'A Cry from Winnipeg'.

association, the new office-bearers will be elected. There is considerable speculation as to who will get the honours for next year. The membership has now reached 220, a truly marvellous triumph for an association only eight months old. Almost every native of Fraserburgh and district has been enrolled, and three of the leading officials hail from Faithlie.

The oldest Scottish society in the city of Vancouver, which also hosted a Burns' Club and a plethora of territorial associations, was the St. Andrew's & Caledonian Society, established in 1886. Among its charitable functions was 'the relief of truly indigent and distressed natives of Scotland or their descendants', which duly attracted petitions from Scottish settlers who had fallen on hard times. Its broader social and cultural remit can be glimpsed from its minutes.¹

D9 *The St Andrew's and Caledonian Society, Minute Book, ii, 1918-1933.*

CVA, Add MSS 453

Oct 1918: Before announcing the first number on the programme the chairman extended a hearty welcome on behalf of the Society to the visitors and more especially to a large delegation of sailors, direct from Scotland to take charge of some of the vessels being built in Vancouver, and asked the gentlemen to be sure and use these rooms at any time during their sojourn in the city ...

5 June 1925: Sutherland and Scotland ... Songs were sung by Mr Wm Mitchell (Visitor from Aberdeen) Mr Wm Nichol, Mr MacDonald (Gaelic Numbers), Dr Patterson also gave snatches from Border Songs referring to the Ancient Festival known as the Hawick Common Riding, besides giving an outline of this very interesting function. Mr Hugh Urquhart recited a poem which was written in 1892 by one who was closely connected with the Society at that time, the same referring to the sterling qualities of the Scots.

Scottish exiles did not need to form themselves into cultural societies or sports teams to celebrate their Scottishness. Many lone poets, like John MacLean who settled in

¹ Cf. Letter to Secretary of Caledonian Society, 28 Dec. 1912 in *The St Andrew's and Caledonian Society Minute Book 10 Sept 1886 to 1st February 1918*, CVA, Add MSS 453. There were also in Vancouver several other, more narrowly focused, Scottish territorial associations. Those listed in the city's *Scots Directory* in the 1920s included the Daughters of Scotia, the British Columbia Sutherlandshire Association, the Edinburgh and Lothians Association, the Orkney and Shetland Society of Vancouver, the Vancouver Scottish Choir, the Gaelic Society of Vancouver, the Lewis Gaelic Society of Vancouver and the Scottish Govanites Societ.; CVA, Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Association, vol. 28, File 330; *The Scots Directory*, 17, 21; Add. MSS 336.

the Brandon Hills District of Manitoba, recalled their homeland through rose-tinted spectacles. In the following 'Song from Manitoba', MacLean, originally from Tiree, is missing home at New Year, the traditional festival celebrated from the South Atlantic to the Arctic wastes since the commencement of Scottish migration to the Americas.¹

D10 John MacLean, 'Na Bàird Thirisdeach', in *Oran Mhanitoba* (Stirling, 1932), 227-8.

Air allaban tha mi'n drasd 'san ait' ur,
 Nach deachaidh riamh àiteach, no bàrr thoirt a grunnid;
 Ach 's e tha ga m' fhagail-sa 'n drasd air bheag sunnd,
 Nach faic mi mo chairdean air la na Bliadhn' Uir.
 [I am now a wanderer in this new land, Which has never been inhabited,
 nor has it been tilled;
 But what leaves me so dejected is that I shall not see my friends on New
 Year's day.]

Bha mis' ann am' òige car gòrach mar chàch;
 Bha mi gaolach air iomain, is titheach air bail;
 Ach leig mi gach fasan 'bha agam gu làr,
 Nuair dh'fhàg mi mo bheannachd aig 'Baile nam Bard.'
 [I was, in my youth, like many others, carefree; I was keen on shinty, and
 loved a ball;
 But I set all my old customs to one side, When I bade farewell to 'the
 village of bards'.]

An uiridh an Canada bha sinn air dòigh;
 Bha cairdean 's luchd-dùthcha gu dlùth air ar tòir;
 Nis tha sinn air faondradh an taobh nach bu chòir;
 Gun chaomh no gun charaid a rachadh 'nar còir.
 [Last year in Canada we were happy; With relatives and compatriots all
 around us;
 Now we have strayed to a forbidding land; without friend or relative to
 visit us.]

...
 Oidhche na Calluinn bha sinne gun sunnd;
 Ach lean sinn am fasan 'bha againn 'bho thùs;
 Bha mi'n uiridh a gearan air la na Bliadhn' Uir;

¹ Cf. Fort Carlton, *Saskatchewan Journal* by John Stuart, 1 Jan. 1825, PAM, HBCA, B.27/a/14 pp. 58d-59; Sir William Wiseman, *The Falklands and the Dwarf. The Cruise of HMS Dwarf in the Falkland Islands, 1881-1882*, ed. C.H. Layman & J. Cameron (Chippenham, 1995), 68-71.

'S ann agam am bliadhna 'tha riasan co-dhiu.

[On New Year's eve we were without fun; But we followed the customs we had before;

Last year I was complaining on New Year's day; At least this year I have good cause for my state.]

....

Chan fhaic thu ach Innseanaich, milltean gu leòr;

Cneapan mar sgathan 'nam fàin' air am meòir;

A' phlaid' air a filleadh mu 'shlinneein 'na cleòc;

'S a' bhrigeis tha fodha gun ghobhal, gun tòn.

[You cannot see anything but Indians in their thousands; With buttons like mirrors as rings on their hands;

Their blankets are folded on their shoulders like plaids; And the trousers they wear, without crotch or behind.]

Ged tha sinn an dràs fad o'r càirdean gu lèir,

Ma bhios iad a' làthair, thig càch le'n toil fhèin;

'S nuair gheibh sinn an t-àite gu bàrr is gu feum,

Cha bhì cuimhm' air na làithean a dh'fhàg sinn nar deigh.

[Though we are now far from all our friends, If they are still living they will come out of their own will;

And when we have made the land productive, We shall forget the days we left behind.] [HDM]

E USA

The assimilation of Scots in the United States was facilitated by the Republic's melting pot philosophy in respect of immigration. At the same time, the United States was well provided with philanthropic societies, such as the Scots Thistle Society of Philadelphia, dedicated in 1799 to looking after Scots in distress, with recent arrivals being a particular charge on its benevolence.

E1 *Constitution of the Scots Thistle Society of Philadelphia* (Printed by John Bioren, Philadelphia, 1799).

Laws of the Scots Thistle Society of Philadelphia Preamble.

We Being sensibly convinced of the duty of relieving each other when in distress, and of the superior advantages we may enjoy by being united into a Society for the purpose, thereby rendering our Benevolence more Universal, and our title to the mutual benefit of our own institution not as Charity, but a just right, Secured to us when in distress, do for that purpose agree to subscribe the following articles ...

Article II. Qualification of Members.

No person shall be admitted a member except Natives of Scotland, their

sons, and the sons of members, who shall be of a Good Moral character, above the age of Sixteen and under forty-five Years; of a Sound healthy constitution, free from any bodily infirmity, of a settled nature, and able to earn a subsistence by his industry.

Article XIV. Of Sick Members.

When a member is in bodily distress so as to be unable to attend his business, (provided he has not brought it, upon himself by intemperance) he shall send intimation in writing to any member of the Council, one or more of which shall visit him, at least once a week during his distress, and upon any two of the Council having satisfactory proof of his distress, to ascertain which they may take a Physician with them if necessary, they shall when one week is expired, carry him three dollars, provided he has been one year a member, which shall be continued during his sickness, while that sum remains in the funds of the Society ...

Article XV. Of the Widows of Members.

When the widow of a member is in distress, or needful circumstances, and wishes to receive assistance from the Society, she shall present a petition to that effect, upon which a majority of the members present shall decide, specifying the sum to be given her per month, or otherwise, which a majority of the society may at any future period discontinue.

Article XVI. Of Medical Assistance.

The benefit of medical advice, shall extend to sick members, their wives, children, widows, and with the consent of the council, to all sickness that may occur in a member's family ...

Article XVII. Funerals.

When a member is carried off by death, his widow or executor, shall be paid twenty dollars to defray the expences of his funeral. Should a member's wife die, he shall be allowed twelve dollars, and should a member's widow die, there shall be ten dollars allowed for the same purpose. If the relations or friends of the deceased give intimation to any of the Council, they shall send them the money above specified, and without delay report the same to the Vice President, who shall cause notice to be sent to all the members to attend the funeral, and walk in a body before the corpse in the following order, viz. first, the President and Vice President, Council, treasurer and secretary, then the members ...

Article XVIII. Relief of Emigrants.

The Society reflecting upon the situation of many of their friends and countrymen that emigrate from home, who, although endued with Virtue and talents, arrive on an unknown shore, destitute of friends, without the means of support and frequently in circumstances of real distress. That if it is in their power as a Society whose views are directed to relieve distress rather than Accumulate Funds, it is also their peculiar duty, to render to their distressed brothers emigrating from the same Country, so far as in

their power, the necessary assistance which they may require. For which purpose, the council are empowered, while the funds of the Society exceeds the sum of five hundred Dollars to lend or Grant a sum not exceeding ten Dollars, to each Scots emigrant whose circumstances require, and Character is deserving of, the Society's charity—they having made enquiry, and being convinced thereof. The Council shall also use their endeavours, to procure employment and render what information they shall judge necessary, that they may thereby enable the persons recommended to them, to support themselves by their own industry—But the Council shall not have power to draw a sum above Thirty Dollars between any two meetings of the Society for the above purposes.

[RMcD]

The St Andrew's Day celebrations in the port town of Wilmington, North Carolina, demonstrate the inclusive and celebratory ways in which Scots were integrated into American society.

E2 *Wilmington Gazette*, 4 December 1800.

Sunday last being St. Andrew's Day, the same was observed on Monday, when the NATIVE and SONS OF NATIVE BRITONERS, residing in Town, having previously invited all fashionable company within twenty miles, gave a most splendid Ball and Supper. Upwards of two hundred Ladies and Gentlemen were entertained during the evening, to their most perfect satisfaction, not a single cloud hovering near the sun of Festivity. A set supper was given, exhibiting all the luxuries of the season, at which Robert Muter and Henry Urquhart, Esquires, presided, and drank the usual Toasts, viz. 'The Immortal memory of St. Andrew,' 'Land of Cakes,' 'Beggar's Bannison,' 'Land we live in,' etc. etc. Between the set dances, the Ladies and Gentlemen entertained themselves with Scotch Reels in an adjoining room. The whole was so conducted to reflect the highest honor of the managers, Messrs. Barclay, Carson and M'Causlan.

[RJC]

Successful Scottish businessmen were often active philanthropists, whose important contributions to the civic and religious life of their communities were perennially recounted in glowing obituaries in the local press of their adopted State.¹ However, some migrants were far from impressed by the apparent lack of religious observance and business ethics among Americans. Such views, as that expressed in a letter home on 4 December 1833 by a recent settler at Buffalo in upstate New York, made emigrants from Scotland wary.

¹ Cf. *Raleigh Register*, 1 Jan. 1828.

E3 John Mathison, *Counsel for Emigrants* (Aberdeen, 1834), 40.

I like this country very much, but am by no means particular to some of the Yankee habits. Mechanics are here nearly as busy on Sunday as any other day, and many of those who are not employed go to the woods with the rifle. Few of them have any religion whatever, and many of them are never baptized. If a man contrive to cheat his neighbour, he is said to be 'quite a smart man' and instead of being despised, is by many more respected for doing so.

Despite the continuing grumbles of settlers about American irreligion, an ecstatic welcome was accorded in Scotland to Moody and Sankey's evangelical campaign in 1873-4. Although there was some criticism among Calvinist believers in predestination about their Arminian stress on salvation by unqualified free will, their no less controversial use of hymns and a portable organ demonstrated to dour Presbyterians that the joy of the Christian message had been repackaged rather than discarded in the United States.

E4 *The Aberdeen Journal*, 17 June 1874, 5.

For some weeks, the visit of the two strangers has been a leading topic of conversation, and now that they have made their appearance, they have become the subject of much critical comment. The wonderful effects of their labours have not as yet been manifested here; and an impression prevails among the unblest that Mr Moody's preaching and Mr Sankey's singing have been alike overrated ... On Sunday they held three meetings. The first was in the Music Hall, at nine o'clock in the morning. Admission was by ticket, but such was the impatience of a certain class—largely composed of female operatives and domestic servants—that by half past seven the door was besieged, and singing was kept up outside and inside till the hour of meeting ... At three o'clock in the afternoon, a monstre [sic] meeting was held on the Broadhill. It was computed that the number of people present was not under twenty thousand ... A meeting was announced to take place in the Music Hall in the evening at eight o'clock, but long before that hour the hall was crammed, and thousands were turned away, being unable to gain admittance.

In the interim, the Arctic sojourner, Sir John Richardson, writing to his sister from Haslar Hospital, Gosport on his return from his search for Sir John Franklin, incorporated some criticism of Scottish social attitudes into his observations on emigration, education, and the opportunities available in the United States, particularly in Massachusetts. Sectarianism was only one factor that made Scotland a less attractive destination for the Irish migrant.

E5 Sir John Richardson to Elizabeth Wallace.

28 November 1849.

DGA, Crombie Bequest, GGD 109/2658

I have been greatly pleased with what I saw in my late journey through the state of Massachusetts and other parts of North America. Education is greatly cared for throughout the U.S. Union and in New England especially gratuitous education far superior to that which the best schools in Scotland, out of a few of the largest cities, is provided for the children of all the residents in the state. In some of the schools which I visited in Boston, Irish children formed the majority of the scholars and their clear, I may say neat, dress and cheerful healthy countenances shewed how much better these poor outcasts are cared for in a foreign land than in Scotland which is apt to glory in the moral & religious character of its inhabitants. The people of Massachusetts have come to the conclusion that it is cheaper to educate the children of the poor than to keep a large police establishment for the suppression or confinement of criminals. Ignorance and crime are in their opinions associates ...

The emigrants who fail, do so chiefly by intemperance as spirits are easily procured. Drunkenness is however by no means so common as in Scotland and idleness is still more rare. An idle man, named in America 'a loafer', is held in contempt and I must say for the Irish who are so low in the scale in the British Islands they for the most part make good labourers in America. Few of them know anything but the rudest kinds of labour and their chances of advancement in any other way than by persevering industry are few. An intelligent Scotchman succeeds better, though he has to contend with the native inhabitants of New England second to no people for acuteness and general information. The country is however wide enough for all. I visited the prisons, poor houses & other establishments in Boston & found that more than one half of the inmates were emigrants. Great sums have been laid out by the wealthy citizens in building charitable establishments & providing funds for their maintenance. The soil of Canada west is superior to that of New England but the progress of the people is much slower. Last year half a million of emigrants entered the United States & in 30 years the population at the present rate of increase will amount to 70 millions. I mention these particulars respecting this new country as the subject is interesting to all who have large families to provide for ... [MS]

As the United States expanded westwards beyond the Mississippi, the manifest empathy between Scots and Native Americans was noted by a Scottish trader, Angus

McDonald, who had been born at Craig House, Loch Torridon in Ross-shire on 15 October 1816. After a brief career in business he signed up with the Hudson's Bay Company, which in 1840 sent him to Fort Hall, Washington Territory. A skilled linguist, McDonald spoke Gaelic, French and, after a few years, several Indian languages, and was therefore a valuable asset to his employer. After the Company vacated its American posts in 1846, McDonald moved to Montana, where he raised his numerous mixed-blood children and ran cattle until his death in 1889. McDonald Peak, Lake McDonald, and McDonald Pass in Montana all bear his name. When the U.S. Army fought the Nez Perce Indians in 1877, McDonald sympathized with the Natives. Afterwards, he urged his mixed-blood son, Duncan McDonald, to travel to Canada to interview several of the fugitives, including Chief White Bird, to whom he was related on his mother's side. Duncan compiled an extensive set of notes. Working with Angus, Duncan prepared a multiple article series for the newspaper, *The New North-West*, entitled 'The Nez Perce War of 1877', when first published in Deer Lodge, Montana. These impassioned articles provided the first presentation of Native-White warfare from the Indian perspective.¹

E6 *The New North-West*, 10, 17, 21, 31 January; 7, 21 February 1879.

Ordered out of camp.

An incident happened during the time of the encampment near Stevensville that illustrates the indisposition of the Nez Percés to have any conflict with the people of Montana. A citizen wished to visit the Indian camp. He mounted his best riding horse, and, accompanied by a half breed who had presented [Chief] Looking Glass with fifty pounds of flour, rode thereto. It should be remembered that Looking Glass had no lodge nor even cooking utensils. He camped in the open air and received his meals from his warriors. He was so glad to receive as a visitor the half breed who had presented him with the sack of flour, that he invited him to have a smoke. He noticed the actions of the citizen and told him there was a certain portion of the camp which it would be best for him not to visit—that some of their relations had been killed in Idaho, and it was not best for him to go near them. The citizen, however, wanted to trade off his horse for a fortune, and went charging around the camp promiscuously, making his steed prance and caper,

¹ We would like to thank Professor Ferenc Szasz of the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque for this information. Like McDonald, many of the Hudson's Bay Company factors were married to half-breed women who reputedly talked 'very Highland' [W. Stewart, *Days of Lorne: From the Private Papers of the Duke of Argyll at Invenaray Castle, Scotland* (Fredericton, N.B., 1957), 86]. The McDonald involvement with the Nez Perce has been treated extensively in J. Hunter, *Glencoe and the Indians: a real-life family saga which spans two continents, several centuries and more than thirty generations to link Scotland's clans with the native peoples of the American West* (Edinburgh, 1996).

and asking the Nez Percés three of their good horses for his one. He had many good offers to trade, but always refused. In any other camp than the Nez Percés he would have been packed off, and that would been the last of him and his funny horse. In one of his circuits he went to that part of the camp which he had been advised by Looking Glass to avoid. A wounded Nez Percés, some of whose relations had been killed in Idaho, was standing by a log and resting on his gun. On seeing the white man cavorting around in an impudent way, the Indian said in English, 'Me give you three horses; my horses very good one. The white man refused. It seemed that he only wanted to put on style. This made the warrior angry and he exclaimed, 'You go home, you d—n white man; you—' It was a wonder he was not killed. But he left hastily ... There were seventy-eight Indians, all told, killed in the Big Horn battle. Of these only thirty were warriors. The others were women and children. About forty women and children were piled up in one little ravine where they had run for shelter. Many women, with from one to three children in their arms, were found dead in that ravine. Some of the children had their mother's breasts in their mouths when both were found dead. What reason could the soldiers have had to kill them? Had the warriors been with them we might have believed the soldiers could not help it. A daughter of Looking Glass, now north of the line, had hundreds of bullets whiz past her while crawling with a child in her arms to find shelter. The gallant Seventh Infantry: It should be called the Cursed Seventh! They were not satisfied in killing Indians whom they found asleep. They must kill women and children, too. [FMS]

Similar sports and pastimes can partly explain empathy with Native Americans, which certainly dated back to the first Gaelic migrations in the eighteenth century¹ The game of shinty, which was similar to that of lacrosse played by Native Americans, was successfully and successively transported by migrants to the United States as well as Canada.

E7 *The Kingussie Record*, 2 May 1903.

The New York Highlanders

We have started a shinty club here named the New York Highlanders Shinty Club and have adopted a red and green jersey. We have very fine grounds and a brilliant lot of players. We have introduced American ideas to our training system. Chief among our players are John Fyfe, of Demerara fame; Gregor Moir, Carr Bridge; Louis Fraser, Laggan; and Angus

¹ See above, 273-4.

MacPherson¹ also a son of Laggan and universally acknowledged not only to be one of the most expert shinty players that left the shores of Scotland, but was also in the very forefront of pipers and dancers. He can easily lay claim to be the greatest piper and most graceful dancer in all America. The aim of the promoters of the new club is to keep alive in the land of their adoption the game which in their youth, afforded them such delight, and which in some measure at least gave them that grit and pluck which are essential in fighting the stern battle of life. [HDM]

Well into the twentieth century, Scots congregated from far and wide for ceilidhs, picnics and sporting events, as is demonstrated by an outing of the Lewis Society of Duluth, Minnesota in 1934.

E8 *Stornoway Gazette*, 28 September 1934.

Lewis Society's Pleasant Outing

The annual picnic of the Lewis Society of Duluth, Minn., was held this year at Dan Mahoney's summer estate on the North Shore Road, about 20 miles from Duluth, a beautiful site overlooking and bordering Lake Superior. A bus was chartered from the Street Railway Co., and those who had no automobiles took advantage of the bus service. There were about 100 people present ...

The Sports

The day was in ideal one for sports; the older folk enjoyed bowling on the beautiful lawn in front of the house, and in the afternoon came the races for the children, and other games for the ladies; to recall memories of bygone school days in Lewis, the men folks played a game of buttons, or as we used to say, 'cluich air na puttanan,' and some of the 'bodachs' were hanging onto their pants before the game was over, much to the amusement of the ladies. But the real titbit of the day was a game of 'Giomman' [shinty] on a field adjacent to the house.

It was first of all arranged that the battle was to be between the 'Uigeachs' and the 'Shiarachs,' but it was decided to pick sides; Donald MacLennan, the noted 'Cherrag,' and Alex. MacRae, of Miavaig, Uig, were chosen captains. Heroes of many a hard fought game on the sands of Reef and Valtos, those two men of Uig faced each other. The ball was placed and covered over with earth in a little hole: they threw their camans up in the air to see who would win the toss, and the 'Cherrag' as usual, was the lucky one. Then came the usual challenge from the 'Cherrag' to Alick Sheumais, his rival captain. 'Bual am port' and the answer 'Leigan Leat' was given as in the days of yore, when we had no 'bròg na bonaid,' ag ioman air traigh

¹ Angus MacPherson was the author of *A Highlander Looks Back* (Oban, 1955).

Valtos. Finally sides were picked, the 'ballaich' lined up, the whistle blew, and the battle was on; and believe you me, mate, it was no child's play: some of those fellows were using golf clubs, walking sticks, barrel staves, and what not, and one was lucky to miss their wild swings, and not get his head knocked off ...

Our best thanks go to the ladies for serving a lovely supper on the lawn. ... Aboard the bus Gaelic songs were sung all the way home, and a hilarious time was had by all. [HDM]

Scottish granite workers who were attracted to Barre, Vermont, found a landscape that reminded them of their homeland and memorials, organisations and events that encouraged them to preserve their national identity. Not only did Barre boast the largest Burns' statue in the world; the local branch of the influential Clan Gordon, the mutual benefit and insurance society to which numerous emigrants belonged nationwide, organised a variety of fund-raising events, as recalled by William Imlach from Aberdeenshire, who had migrated there prior to the Second World War.¹

E9 William Imlach, interviewed by Andrew Sacher.

26 May 1976

APL

Well, you know, it was like being in Aberdeen, back home, because there was so many Scotchmen around at that time—the place was loaded with Scotchmen at that time ... Well, you know, it's just like the city up around where I came from, where I was born.... Camel's Hump reminds me of a little mountain over there, they call it Bennachie, and Camel's Hump's just a dead ringer of it. So, a Scotsman coming here [Barre, Vermont] is at home, around, you know, the countryside and everything, especially from around Aberdeen ...

Well, yes, there was quite a Scottish community at that time, and we used to have the old Scotch dances up at what they called the Clan Gordon Hall ... the Order of Scottish Clans—that was a big organisation back in them days—we used to have eight or nine hundred members. Now it's down to less than a hundred and it's just being phased out. So, you was right at home—you were right at home with your own people ...

Then the Clan Picnic—that was a big deal—Barre practically shut down in the early days with the Clan Picnic—everybody went to the Clan Picnic. They called it Caledonia Park, and they used to go down on the train ... they had the throwing the hammer, putting shot ... regular old timers, you know. [HDM]

¹ See also, above, 163-4.

F SOUTH AMERICA

*Scottish customs and sports were successfully transported to South as well as North America. Shinty was actually played in the unlikely location of Montevideo on the River Plate, in what is now Uruguay, in 1842.*¹

F1 *Inverness Courier*, 13 July 1842.

Shinty Match in Montevideo, South America.

The fourth of April being a holiday, the sons of the mountains, resident in this province, had determined to try a game of shinty for auld lang syne. Though the weather was very threatening in the morning, the players were not to be daunted, but crossed the Bay in boats, and marched to the ground (a plain at the foot of the mount, from which Montevideo derives its name), under the inspiring strains of the bagpipes, to the tune of 'The Campbells are Coming,' where they were greeted by a large concourse of people, assembled to witness the game.

After sides were called, and a few other preliminaries arranged, playing commenced, and was carried on with great spirit till four P.M., when the players sat down on the grass and partook of an asado de carvo con cuero (beef roasted with the hide on,) and plenty of Ferintosh [whisky] (Aldourie and Brackla being scarce.) Dancing then commenced, and the Highland Fling danced by Messrs Maclellan and Macrae; Gille Callum, by Captain MacLellan; Sean Truise, by Mr MacDougall; and several other Scotch reels were greatly admired.

At half-past seven o'clock, the bagpipes struck up the 'Gathering' and the whole, forming two deep, marched from the field to the place of embarkation, to the tune of 'Gillean na Feileadh,' amidst loud cheering, and still louder vivas from the natives.

At nine o'clock, the players sat down to a comfortable supper at the Steamboat Hotel; and, after the cloth was removed, and bumpers quaffed for the Royal family, and the President of the Republic, Don Frutuoso Rivera, the Chairman called for a special glass for the toast of the evening and, in a neat and appropriate speech, interspersed with Gaelic, proposed, 'Tir nam bean, 's nan gleann, 's na gaisgich,' which was drunk with great enthusiasm amidst deafening cheering.²

Several Gaelic and other songs were sung during the evening, and the health of our chairman, Captain Maclellan, of the ship Orpheus, being proposed, and the thanks of the company returned him, for the spirited manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the day, the whole separated at two

¹ See also, above, 67-8.

² The Montevideon toast was to 'the land of the mountains, of the glens and of the heroes'.

in the morning, after drinking 'Deoch an dorus,' highly delighted with the day's amusement. [HDM]

Some Scots retained their ethnic identity not by cultivating oral tradition, joining expatriate sporting or literary societies, or indulging in a cosmetic and sometimes spurious Scottishness, but by keeping their finger firmly on the pulse of Scottish life and politics, even if from a considerable distance. Such an attitude is clearly demonstrated in the correspondence of James Henderson jun. of Messrs Harrop & Henderson, who in the 1830s and 1840s wrote regularly from Paraguay to Henry Flockhart of Annafrech, Kinross. A sojourner rather than an emigrant, he was particularly concerned about the Voluntary controversy in Scotland during the Ten Years' Conflict that preceded the Disruption of 1843.

F2 James Henderson of Harrop & Henderson, Para, to Henry Flockhart, Annafrech.

23 November 1834.

NAS, Henderson Collection, GD 76/454/4

Now I hope you have been collecting all the old magazines for me and all liberal newspapers never mind the date, but just send them per carrier to our folks at Greenock and they will forward them to me. Give my respects to all enquiring friends, and when I return to Scotia I hope to give them a benefit as we say in Para[guay]—bye the bye we have had a kind of civil war here, and 500 men with two small vessels of war & several launches were sent to quell the insurrection which they did effectually and they have the chief of the rebels prisoner but 6 or 8 months imprisonment is all that will be done to him, they have no death penalty in their laws here which is the reason of so many people being stabbed as a few weeks in jail is all that is done—everything is quiet again and business is doing again as usual.

Mr Hay is I presume making all possible exertions in the voluntary cause and I hope by the exertions of such friends to freedom that when I return to the Land of Cakes that Church & State will be divorced [sic] & every person paying their own Minister, such a state would do away in a great measure all hypocrisy, which is a thing scarcely to be found in the United States—Many people say that there are thousands of Unitarians in the States and that it is better to have a state religion, but religion is a thing not to be forced upon one and the Bible informs us that the righteous are few in number and that of course we are to look for worldly men to be more numerous than any other class — ...

When will we be as free a people as the Americans? When the people possess a free representative government, and not till then. America has set an instructive example to the British especially that religion may exist, may prosper & flourish without the aid of a civil establishment, but we do not

require to go as far; ...—I am here nearly alone to argue for liberty, all the rest of the English have conservative principles sown & deeply rooted in the system ...

In 1840—during the period of the Ten Years' Conflict discussed by Henderson—the Glasgow Colonial Society was merged with the General Assembly's Colonial Committee, which was paralleled after 1843 by an eponymous committee of the Free Church of Scotland. The colonial committees of the various Scottish presbyterian churches were conscious of their world-wide responsibilities as well as their mission to expatriates throughout the Americas.

F3 'The Scotch Church at Chascomus, South America'.

1 November 1862

The Church of Scotland Home &
Foreign Missionary Record, 210.

On Tuesday, 30th September, the presbytery of Dunoon met in the parish church there, and after despatch of other business, proceeded to the ordination of the Rev. Martin P. Ferguson to this foreign charge. This young clergyman has been labouring for some years at Inellan with very great acceptance. He was recently selected by a committee of the Church of Scotland to proceed to fill the office of Scotch Presbyterian minister at Chascomus, near Buenos Ayres, where a large and influential Scotch population are resident, and have built a handsome church and manse ... This settlement speaks volumes for the religious liberty enjoyed by our fellow-countrymen who have emigrated to this and the other numerous fertile plains of the district watered by the Rio de la Plat, where a liberal and enlightened government are desirous of promoting all the social and religious institutions which those who may adopt this country have previously enjoyed at home; and we cannot doubt therefore, that a large and respectable class of emigrants will seek this new and splendid field for their capital and labour.

Intermarriage between expatriate Scots was common throughout the Americas. Such celebrations offered an ideal opportunity to keep old Scottish customs alive, not least in the remote Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic.

F4 *Falkland Island Magazine*, August 1892.

On Thursday August 4 [1892], the marriage of Mr Archibald McCall (Superintendent of the North Area Section of the Falkland Island Company's Camp) and Miss Jennings, of Darwin, was celebrated.

... About 150 gathered in from the Camps, some on horseback, others in

cutters and a few, from the near neighbourhood, on foot. As there are but 12 inhabited houses in Darwin, much wonder will be felt as to where they all managed to find room: but the Darwinites were equal to the occasion and opened their doors most hospitably to all friends and acquaintances. The eve of the wedding was devoted to the peculiar Scotch custom of 'washing the bridegroom's feet', namely, giving them a brilliant polish with blacklead brushes &c. The opportunity for carrying out this custom occurs so seldom, that all who have been married within the last ten years had to submit to the ordeal. The evening was closed with a dance which was vigorously kept up from 6 P. M. until broad daylight ... [JC]

G EPILOGUE

However successfully they adapted to the New World, Scottish emigrants rarely forgot their origins. Most retained a profound interest in their homeland—or at least in a certain image of their homeland—and lost no opportunity to reconfirm or celebrate their national identity. An oral history project was held at Viewpark Community Centre, Lanarkshire, in the spring of 1993. The pensioners involved in this project were mainly miners' widows who had lived in and around mining communities all their lives. They had common memories of the hard times through which their mothers had lived—bringing up the family on a shoe string, and constantly trying (without the aid of modern domestic appliances) to dry their husbands', and possibly sons', moleskins before they were back on the next shift at the local pit. However, more often than not, these memories of hard times were swept aside and the discussion repeatedly turned to the happy days spent playing in the street, picking bluebells down by the burn, or the Sunday School picnics. They felt that hardships and poverty created a camaraderie which no longer existed. This delightfully evocative poem, entitled 'The Golden Days', was sent back to Scotland by a mining family which left during the Depression of the late 1920s. They went to Illinois, where in time they opened a fish and chip shop, perhaps one of the most tangible twentieth-century symbols of a Scottish identity.

G1 Bellshill Reminiscence Group, spring 1993. Poem by Scottish miner who emigrated to Illinois and later opened a fish and chip shop.

GU (DACE)

D'ye ever think o' Scotland and the days when we were young,
O' pantomimes and music halls, the songs that we all sung,
O' fish and chips and tuppenny pies, oat-cakes and tattie scones,
The fitba' match on Saturdays, the cheerin' and the groans.

D'ye mind the summer picnics on the bonnie Cathkin Braes
We grumbled 'boot the weather, but that was just oor ways,
Or sailin' doon the bonnie Clyde tae Rothesay or Dunoon,
An' comin' back to Glesca' wi' oor faces burnt an' broon.

Or walkin' doon Argyle Street, each lassie wi' her fella,
 The folks that used to gether 'neath the Hielanman's Umbrella,
 The times we went first fittin' we' oor freens on Hogmanay,
 An' makin' resolutions that were broke on New Year's day.

D' ye mind when we went dancin' the Lancer and Quadrilles,
 Oor feet were light as feathers as we danced the Eightsome Reels,
 We didnae seem to mind at a' it was nae fancy ball,
 For we were quite convinced we were the best set in the hall.

O' happy days, O carefree days, O days of long ago,
 Days that seem more golden now, the candle's burnin' low,
 So drink a cup to Scotland now, and days o' auld lang syne,
 When you and I were young m' dear, an' th' world was yours and mine.

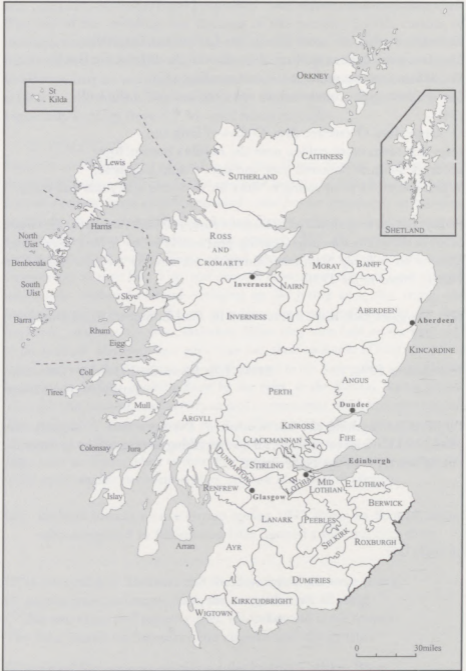
Perhaps the last word should go to Margaret Kirk, a Scottish emigrant to the United States in the 1920s, who, despite having spent most of her life in the United States, affirmed her enduring Scottishness during an interview for the Ellis Island Oral History Project in the 1990s.

G2 Margaret Jack Kirk, interviewed by Paul E. Sigrist, Jr., in Brooklyn, NY.

25 February 1994.

EIIM, Ellis Island Oral History Collection,
 Interview No. EI-440

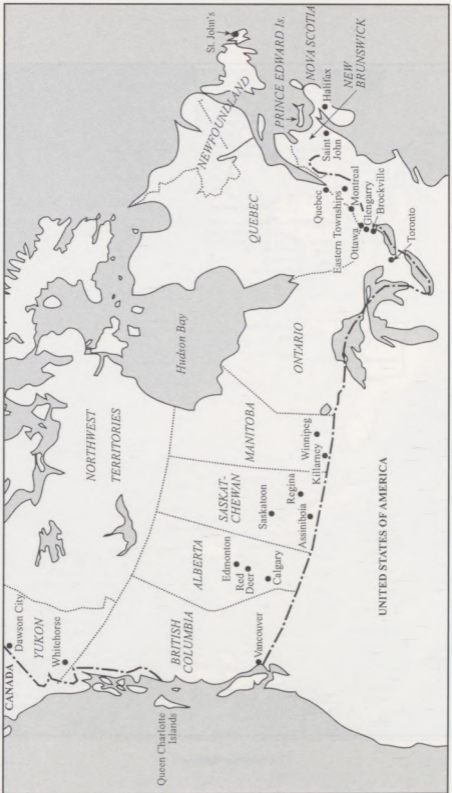
I'll never be anything else but Scottish ... I've been here ... seventy-one years. No, I'll always be Scottish, I'll do everything all proper here in America, but, at heart, I'll always be Scottish. [JL]



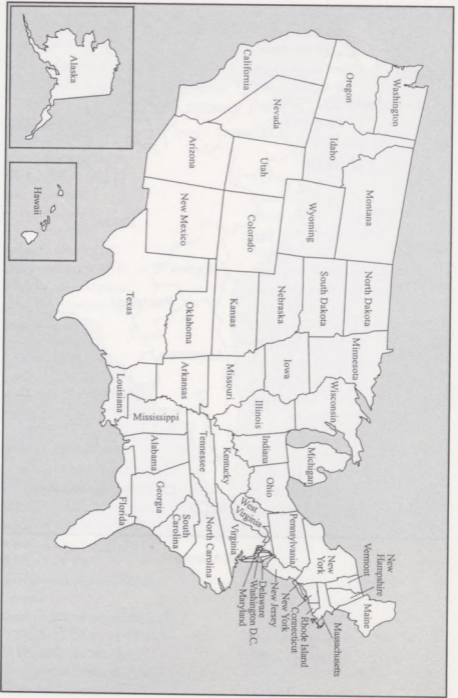
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The Atlantic Seaboard



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SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

REPORT

113th Annual Report

*Presented to the Annual General Meeting
by the Council, 11 December 1999*

A new computerised publishing system has been established to replace the one adopted in 1993. This has delayed the publication of George Buchanan, *The Political Poetry*, edited by Arthur Williamson and Paul McGinnis, and *Clan Campbell, 1550-1583*, edited by Jane Dawson. However, both these volumes have made progress and it is hoped that page proofs of both will be complete by the time of the AGM. Their publication can be expected early in 2000.

The text of *Religious Controversy in Scotland, 1625-1639*, edited by David Mullan, has recently reached the publication secretaries' hands; by January 2000 it should be joined by *Minutes of the Mid and East Lothian Miners' Association, 1894-1918*, edited by Ian MacDougall. Both these volumes should thus be published in 2000 also. These four volumes will become the notional 1995, 1997, 1998 and 1999 volumes (that for 1996 has already been published).

Good prospects are reported for completion of the texts of further volumes during the summer of 2000: *Scotland and the Americas, c.1680-1939*, edited by Allan Macinnes, Linda Fryer and Marjory Harper; *Miscellany XIII*; and *Scottish Planned Villages, 1740-1914*, edited by Douglas Lockhart.

The following volumes are also in preparation: *The Black Book of Coldingham, 1298-1430*, edited by Joseph Donnelly; *The Scots and the French Army, 1548-1559: French Military and Financial Documents Concerning Scotland during the Reign of Henri II*, edited by Elizabeth Bonner; *Letters of Sir Donald MacDonald of Sleat, c. 1665-1718*, edited by Donald William Stewart; *Fifteenth-Century Aberdeen Guild Records*, edited by Elizabeth Gemmill; and *The Diaries of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, 1635-1699*, edited by Paul Dukes and Graeme Herd.

The members of the Council to retire by rotation are Dr David Brown and Dr Richard Oram. To replace them Council recommends the election by the Annual General Meeting of Dr Alastair MacDonald and Dr Louise Yeoman.

The membership of the Society stands at 423 individual and 172 institutional members. The Society's financial position remains satisfactory and it has been possible to hold the subscription at £15 (£18 for joint members) for another year.

WDH Sellar, Chairman
November 1999

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY
REGISTERED SCOTTISH CHARITY NO. 005043

INCOME & EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR TO 30TH SEPTEMBER 1999

1998		1999
£		£
8378.66	Subscriptions	7933.86
400.00	Income Tax on Covenants (estimated)	422.47
219.00	Sales of Past Publications	264.00
-95.00	Less: Insurance	-95.00
-150.00	Honorarium	-150.00
3821.25	Interest on Bank Premier Account	3597.69
330.05	Interest on Bank Current Account	146.49
12903.96	NET INCOME	12119.51
	Costs of Year's Publication	0.00
0.00	Printing	0.00
0.00	Typing & Photocopying	0.00
69.89	Publication Secretaries' Expenses	0.00
0.00	Postage and Packing	0.00
0.00	Publication Secretaries' Honorarium	-600.00
-335.63	AGM Expenses	-499.91
-1064.00	Secretarial Expenses	-250.00
0.00	Other expenses	0.00
11434.44	CURRENT ACCOUNT SURPLUS	10769.60
0.00	Bequests & Donations	20.00
11434.44	NET SURPLUS FOR YEAR	10789.60

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH SEPTEMBER 1999

1998		1999
£		£
1.00	Stocks of Unsold Publications	1.00
1760.00	Income Tax Recoverable (estimate)	1680.00
909.00	Other Debtors (receipts after date)	1083.47
69064.76	Bank—Premier Account	80662.45
2702.72	Bank—Current Account	2050.16
-150.00	Creditors (payments after date)	-400.00
<u>74287.48</u>	NET CURRENT ASSETS	<u>85077.08</u>
	CAPITAL ACCOUNT	
62853.04	Balance at 1st October 1998	74287.48
11434.44	Surplus for Year	10789.60
74287.48	Balance at 30th September 1999	85077.08

BLACKFORD, 17 November 1999

I have audited the above financial statements in accordance with approved Auditing Standards and it is my opinion that the financial statements which have been prepared under the historical cost convention give a true and fair view of the state of the society's funds at 30th September 1999 and of the income and expenditure in the year to that date.

H.B. PEEBLES, CA, ACMA
Auditor





