SCOTTISH TRADITION
ISSN 0703-1580

Production by Stewart Publishing & Printing
Markham, Ontario, Canada L3P 2X3
www.stewartbooks.com

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The Editor, Scottish Tradition
Canadian Association For Scottish Studies
Dept. of History, University of Guelph
Guelph, Ontario, Canada N1G 2W1

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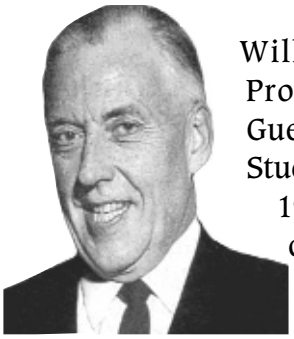
Contents

In Memoriam



William Stanford Reid, Emeritus Professor of History, University of Guelph, and founder of the Scottish Studies Programme, died in December 1996 in Guelph after a long and courageous battle with cancer. A scholar to the end, he was writing until a few days before his death. He is survived by his wife Priscilla (Lee) Reid, life-long partner in his work.

Stanford's life and career reflected his two main interests, history and theology. He received his BA in History and English from McGill University in 1934 and his MA in History in 1935. He then studied at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia where he took Bachelor's and Master's degrees in Theology. He returned to the study of History and completed his PhD at the University of Pennsylvania in 1941. His services to theology were recognised by the award of an honorary LHD from Wheaton College in 1976 and an honorary DD from Presbyterian College in Montreal in 1979. One of the highlights of his life was preaching in St. Giles, Edinburgh, the former church of John Knox.

Stanford joined the faculty of History at McGill University in 1941 and became Professor there in 1962. In 1965 he became the first chair of the Department of History at the newly-established University of Guelph in Guelph, Ontario. He recruited former students from McGill and Philadelphia as well as other young academics and built up a Department strong in both research and teaching.

One of his most important achievements was the early establishment of the History graduate programme. Stanford loved to tell the story of how he outwitted the Ontario Graduate Board which was reluctant to approve any new graduate programmes in History and told him he could only establish one if it was able to offer a unique field. Stanford, whose research and publishing in Scottish history went back to the beginning of his career, saw his chance and seized it, and the Guelph Graduate History Programme with its special emphasis on Scottish History was born.

During his years at Guelph, Stanford was able to build up the Library's Scottish Collection so that it became one of the best outside Great Britain. Today the History Graduate Program and the interdisciplinary Scottish Studies Graduate Programme continue to flourish with three History faculty and three English faculty specialising in Scottish research, faculty from other disciplines contributing to the programme, and a wide variety of Scottish courses offered to undergraduates.

Stanford was also instrumental in establishing a journal, *Proceedings of the Scottish Studies Colloquium,*

the forerunner of today's *Scottish Tradition*. His active involvement in the Department did not cease with his retirement in 1978 and he continued to be actively involved in graduate work and Scottish Studies as Professor Emeritus until the 1990s. During his academic career, he supervised over 40 graduate theses, and many of his students have gone on to academic or theological careers. He was extremely generous with his time and help to newly-arrived faculty, especially those who appreciated atrocious puns!

Among those interested in Scottish History, Stanford Reid will probably be best known for his work on the Scottish Reformation, including his well-known biography of John Knox *Trumpeter of God* (1974). His many other works reveal the breadth of his interests ranging from his *Economic History of Great Britain* (1954) to his biography of a sixteenth-century Scottish merchant, *Skipper from Leith* (1962), the Presbyterian church in Canada in *Called to Witness, Profiles of Canadian Presbyterians* (2 volumes, 1975-80) the Scots in Canada in *The Scottish Tradition in Canada* (1976), and medieval Scottish history.

His articles were published in *The Catholic Historical Review*, *Speculum*, *Medievalia et Humanistica*, *Renaissance and Reformation* and many other historical journals. Stanford had a strong commitment to public education and wrote many articles for such publications as *Christianity Today* and *The Presbyterian Record.*

Shortly after coming to Guelph, Stanford began the semi-annual Scottish Colloquia, conferences which are

designed to appeal to both academics and the general public and which continue to draw large numbers of people interested in Scottish topics to Guelph each year. In the late 1980s he was active in the setting up of the Scottish Studies Foundation which was established to raise funds for Scottish Studies in Canada.

In 1996 his work was honoured by the presentation of the first Stanford Reid Bursary in Scottish Studies. Unfortunately, he was too ill to attend, but he was delighted that the field of study which he had done so much to encourage in the past 30 years was being continued by a new generation of students and scholars. He will be sadly missed, not only by his colleagues, family, and the congregations of his churches, but by many North Americans interested in Scottish heritage. Thanks to his efforts, the study of Scotland continues to flourish in North America.

Elizabeth Ewan
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English Xenophobia in the 18th Century: The Case of Lord Bute

No figure of Hanoverian politics - not even Walpole - was so generally disliked, distrusted and abused by contemporaries as John Stuart, 3rd. Earl of Bute, political adviser to George III, Secretary of State from 1761 to May 1762 and Head of the Treasury from May 1762 to April 1763, the first Scotsman ever to attain this eminent position.[1] Controversy hounded Bute whatever his pursuits: "whether in office or out," to quote one author: "he was attacked by the mob, threatened with assassination, vilified in pamphlets, prints, newspapers, songs, plays, handbills and effectively rejected as a potential ally by all the leading politicians of the day.

The bulk of this criticism was levelled in the 1760s but even after 1770, the so called "Northern Machiavel" was under withering if increasingly sporadic fire and as late as the 1780s, vestigial elements of the old hostility remained."[2] Historians seeking a high level political explanation of Bute's extraordinary unpopularity have commonly cited constitutional factors - issues centred on the belief, nearly universal at the time, that Bute was in the fullest sense the "favourite," a man without true

credentials for office, his position and status solely dependent upon royal support, corruption and the illicit expansion of monarchial power by unconstitutional means. The covert manipulator, in other words, of the political strings chiefly responsible for the difficulties which marked the opening years of George III's reign.[3] Comprising what John Brewer has called the "whig case" against Bute, these allegations no doubt contributed importantly to the latter's rejection by the nation's political leaders and thanks to the influence of opposition writers - polemicists like John Almon, Walpole and Burke - by a whole tradition of Whig Historiography enduring well into the 20th. century.[4]

Such abstract considerations, however, had little if any bearing on Bute's equally marked unpopularity with the nation at large - and with the city of London in particular. In the capital, as Brewer has shown,[5] Bute was a focus of discontent - political, social, economic - by radical and moderate opinion alike, yet what ultimately became perhaps the major ground of attack, enabling the opposition press to mobilize public opinion against him with incredible effectiveness, was his nationality. Indeed, Bute's Scothood was a rallying cry as powerful as that of "favourite" and both epithets worked in tandem: Bute's policies were used to confirm popular conceptions of the Scots while the prevailing view of the Scots was used to malign Bute. The reason for this lies in the intensity of anti-Scottish prejudice pervading English society during most of the 18th. century - what one historian has called the English tendency at this time

"to savage national antipathies":[6] xenophobic animosities directed towards all those manifestly "unEnglish" - the French (prime exponents of autocracy and Catholicism), the Spaniards or Papists, the Irish and especially the Scots. These feelings could easily be manipulated in a partisan cause.

Though the Act of Union, passed in 1707, not as the culmination of crowning friendship between the two nations but through political expediency - as an alternative to war - merged the two kingdoms of England and Scotland into that larger entity - the new kingdom of Great Britain - mutual antagonism engendered by centuries of conflict lingered on.

To people who gloried in their distinctive English nationality and achievements, the Scot was an alien entity, an outsider - at best only a "North Briton", at worst a creature of contempt renowned for tenacity, penury, unintelligibility and greed - all of which made him intensely disliked. Scottish Presbyterians were regarded as enemies to the English church, Scottish Episcopalians as enemies of the State, while two rebellions had confirmed the sympathy of both with the Stuart cause. According to Junius, every Scotsman was by nature a traitor and Shelburne reflected a wide body of opinion within English society when he wrote in 1756 "that all Scotland was enthusiastically devoted to the exiled family with very few exceptions"[7] (although only a minority of Scots rebelled for the Stuarts in 1715 and 1745). Other current notions inciting hostility to the Scots were that they supported standing armies,

were pro-Catholic and hence pro-Jacobite, and advocated connexions with France - were, in short, a subversive element, a danger to "Liberty and the Constitution". In the words of one contemporary, "Scotch tenets and doctrines … are diametrically opposed to the spirit of our constitution."[8] Such beliefs explain why the Militia Act of 1757 applied to England only: ministers, as Carlyle's editor Hill Burton put it "were afraid to arm the people among whom the insurrection of 1745 had occurred."[9] This stigma on Scottish loyalty subsequently prompted the founding of the Poker Club in Edinburgh (so called because it was to poke up feeling) which had Carlyle, Hume and Adam Ferguson among its members: "zealous friends to a Scotch militia and warm in their resentment on its being refused to us and an individious line drawn between Scotland and England."[10]

But what more than anything fanned the flames of anti-Scottish prejudice, radiating from government circles outwards, was the post-union influx of needy Scots in search of fortune and promotion. While their remarkable success in securing posts of profit and prestige, particularly in the army and the diplomatic corps,[11] was due to factors not necessarily related to patronage or favouritism (the Scottish phalanx was in fact established well before Bute's advent to power nor was there a marked reduction after his retreat from office), contemporaries preferred another explanation. They saw it as part of a clandestine conspiracy organized by Bute - and minions - to exclude honest Englishmen from lucrative appointments and replace them with greedy place hunters from

the North.[12] This naturally led to much hostile comment - as for instance, Dr. Johnson's facetious remark "that the noblest prospect a Scotsman ever sees is the high road that leads him to England"[13] - and later provided much useful ammunition for Wilkes and the opposition press who "hammered away week after week at the interchangeable depravity of the Scots nation and the King's favourite."[14]

Bitter satire at the expense of Scottish characteristics and institutions abounded also in English poems, songs, pamphlets, journals and even dramatic literature. When in 1759, Charles Macklin, a now forgotten playwright produced his *Love a la Mode* at Drury Lane Theatre, London society flocked to laugh at his derisive portrait of the cantankerous Sir Archy McSarcasm. So popular was the play - George II is said to have had the play's manuscript read to him privately - that several years later, Macklin authored another piece entitled *The Man of the World* in which "the born Scotsman" as symbolized by the hero, Sir Pertinax MacSycophant, was a model of meanness, hypocrisy and pertinacity.[15] According to Walpole, there was little merit in the play, except the resemblance of Sir Pertinax to 20,000 Scotsmen - which undoubtedly accounts for the fact that it was a huge success. To an equal degree, Scotsmen, particularly writers and intellectuals imbued with fierce pride in the distinctive features of Scottish life, returned the hostility of "these factious barbarians" as Hume frequently referred to the English, with literary reprisals - prose and verse - explicitly designed to intensify

patriotism by highlighting Scotland's substantial contributions to intellectual and cultural life. As Hume boasted to Gilbert Elliot: "is it not strange … that we should really be the People most distinguished for literature in Europe."[16]

Because chauvinism - or hostility to foreigners - was especially prominent in the capital, if properly manipulated, it frequently provoked what Rudé has characterized as "political convergence"[17] - an instance where certain political leaders (either at the national or local level) would ally themselves with extra parliamentary groups to form a temporary alliance with a common objective.[18] What made this possible was London's peculiar municipal organization. At this time Europe's largest urban community - about 1/6 of the population spent their working lives there - the "city"[19] had its own distinctive political tradition as well as its own political representation in the House of Commons, with 4 M.P.'s elected by the Liveried freemen in Common Hall. It possessed, moreover, a remarkably democratic municipal government composed of smaller merchants, shopkeepers and tradesmen who, as freemen of the Livery Companies, made up the Court of Common Hall and enjoyed substantial representation in the Court of the Common Council.[20] One result of this system, comparatively democratic by contemporary standards, was that for the greater part of the 18th century, the "city", as represented by its corporate officials, waged an almost constant opposition to the governments of the day and would frequently, in order to endow this opposition with

added numerical and vocal weight, appeal to opinion "without doors", to the political public beyond parliament, the great majority who had no vote.

Independent of court and the dominant aristocratic factions in power, the "City of London" was a "natural rallying point" for broader appeals to the populace and a nucleus in and around which dissident elements could congregate, identify and organize. In this way, radicalism as it emerged in the 1760s "acquired a popular base, for the unenfranchized elements, vulgarly known as the mob, were drawn into political activity as the junior partners of the city and its leaders."[21] So it was during the Excise crisis in 1733, and again in 1757, when the Common Council, using both the press and the mob, engineered Pitt's return to power despite the opposition of George II and his advisors.[22] And it was the same militant chauvinism which had procured the repeal of the Jew Bill in 1755 and was again active during the Gordon riots of 1780[23] which fired popular hostility to Bute (and his countrymen) during the turbulent weeks following Pitt's resignation in October 1761.[24]

Initially, after his acceptance of a pension became known, Pitt found himself exposed to a torrent of literary and popular disapprobation, sinecures and pensions being considered incompatible with the "patriot" image, the basis of Pitt's political credit and appeal. But this was only temporary. As the tide of invective increased, Pitt decided to clarify matters and defend himself by means of a letter to his longtime city supporter, Alderman William Beckford, explaining the reasons for

his resignation and emphasizing that the pension was "unmerited" and "unsolicited". A copy of this letter was given to W. Bristow of the *Public Ledger* and its subsequent publication - there and in other papers - readily restored Pitt's alliance with the city and brought back his "mad, noisy city friends", as Newcastle put it.[25]

The Common Council of London took the lead by presenting Pitt with an address of thanks, a measure soon imitated by other cities, notably Dublin, Bath, York and Exeter, while within days, different pamphlets and prints appeared, justifying Pitt's acceptance of the pension and approving his resignation, Pitt was obviously regaining his popularity but the "city" by now in ferment, swiftly redirected its attention to the man to whose machinations they attributed their idol's fall from power - the haughty favourite Lord Bute.[26]

On November 9, 1761, on his way to the Lord Mayor's banquet, he nearly lost his life. Amidst shouts of "no Scotch rogues", "no Bute's" and "Pitt forever", the mob, evidently recruited by the pro-Pittite faction in the Common Council, rushed his coach; his guard of "butchers and bruisers" whom Bute had hired in anticipation of an attack, fought back vigorously, but were soon driven back and only the last minute intervention of a party of constables and peace officers saved him from annihilation.[27] Even once inside the Guildhall, Bute and the Royal Family were coldly ignored while Pitt and Temple, having ridden triumphantly through the London streets, remained the centre of attention and popular acclaim.[28] Where the mob could not vent its wrath

against Bute in person, it obtained vicarious satisfaction by burning or insulting his effigy and from this time lasting intermittently for many years, the popular emblems of Bute and the Queen Mother, Princess Augusta (between whom an adulterous connexion was supposed to exist) "a jackboot and pettycoat" could be seen paraded about the streets followed by hooting crowds who eventually burned them amid ribald jokes and other vociferous obscenities.

As late as 1771, effigies of Bute and the Princess Dowager were taken with pomp and ceremony to Tower Hill and there decapitated and burned by a London chimney sweep dressed in clerical garb. Such displays were as common in the counties as in London and evidenced even across the Atlantic - Bute's effigy replete with Jackboot and thistle - being hissed, pelted, burned or put on a gibbet in New York, in Philadelphia in 1763, Boston in 1766 and Plymouth in 1769.

Given the increasing importance of propaganda - both literary and visual - as potent forces in political life, it was inevitable that antipathy to Bute would also find expression in the media. Indeed, in the months following Pitt's resignation, there appeared an incessant stream of hostile political pamphlets, seditious newspaper articles, satirical prints and cartoons, all hitting out at the "insolent despotic Scot", the "Thane at court" and his equally despised countrymen.[29] Aversion to "pettycoat government" and the Scots is clearly expressed, for instance, in a contemporary print entitled "the Loyal Beast or Visionary addresses: A Dream.[30]

George III is a "youthful lion" receiving homage. To his right is "a most dreadful Scottish bison" and behind that, a tigress - a clear reference to the King's mother, also a favourite target of the gutter press.

The famous road to England is the scene of another interesting print, "We are all a coming or Scotch coal forever."[31] Ragged Scottish immigrants are piled into a public coach, driven by Bute, while others are on horseback or plod on foot, each suffering from that characteristically "Scottish disease", the scabies or itch. In "The Jack-Boot exalted", a further popular cartoon of the day, Bute stands in a giant jack-boot "with glittering Star and Garter grac'd", casting coins to an eager mob of Scots, while Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle retire in disgust. So numerous and popular were these prints, songs and poems devoted to the vilification of Bute and Scotland, that enterprising editors soon published entire collections, such as the *Political and Satirical History* which, in 1762, took the new subtitle *Displaying the Unhappy Influence of Scotch Prevalency* followed later by the *British Antidote to Caledonian Poison* and a supplement called the *Butiad*.[32] Although less numerous than prints, the pamphlets too made notable contributions to the literature critical of Bute with attacks on him as Scotsman, monopolizing royal favourite and alleged defender of Jacobite interests - contributions which proved widely influential: pirated by printers and publishers, summarized in newspapers and magazines, they were read by high and low alike.[33] As this press activity increased in intensity if not scurrility, Bute at

length decided to retaliate in kind, engaging a number of political writers to mobilize and manipulate national opinion on his behalf. Dr. John Campbell, an old friend, defended his polices in the *London Chronicle* with articles designed to counteract "the factious dialect in the city",[34] while William Guthrie, Hugh Baillie and James Ralph wrote for him in the *Gazetteer*.[35] There were others such as E. Richardson (who wrote under the nom-de-plume of inquisitor), Roger Flaxman (clergyman and historian) and Dr. Francis (Fox's protege)[36] with the result that by 1762, Bute had assembled a modest but vigorous force of publicists, determined to promote their patron's cause.

However, all these efforts were of little avail against the unrelenting press attacks unleashed by Wilkes and the opposition throughout the summer of 1762 - attacks which increased in vehemence after Bute became 1st. Lord of the Treasury, Newcastle having resigned on May 26. "The new administration begins tempestuously" wrote Horace Walpole on June 20, 1762; "my father was not more abused after 20 years than Lord Bute after 20 days. Weekly papers swarm and like other swarms of insects, sting. By September, he had seen "satiric prints enough to tapestry Westminster Hall".[37] Nearly every paper, with the exception of the *London Chronicle*, and most of the pamphlet literature, was dominated by opposition to the "Scottish upstart", "le parvenu Montagnard", as one pamphleteer called him, while the caricatures and cartoons - tireless in reiterating the linked themes of conspiracy, subversion and

corruption - reinforced Bute's villainous image in the public eye; being easily and widely circulated. In fact, within two months, as M.D. George has estimated, Bute was lampooned in over 400 prints, many with anti-Scottish themes and some, like B. Wilson's "The Repeal or Funereal Procession of Miss America-Stamp", selling 16,000 copies alone.[38] Against this pictorial satire, Bute was largely helpless because, other than Hogarth - engaged in 1762 to justify the government's peace negotiations with France - he was unable to recruit additional etchers prepared to act in his administration's defense.[39]

He did, however, after some delay, establish a ministerial paper, with Tobias Smollett, the novelist, as editor - a devoted writer, but one, as has been noted, "who was fundamentally apolitical."[40] The first *Briton*, as the weekly was called, appeared on May 29, 1762, promising to "oppose and expose" the *Monitor,* then the leading opposition paper, backed by the powerful West Indian interests in the City.[41] Attracting immediate attention, the *Briton* was promptly countered by another paper - the *North Briton*[42] - planned and executed by John Wilkes, while on June 12, 1762, Arthur Murphy the playwright brought out the *Auditor*, to reinforce the efforts of Smollett.[43] Wilkes also continued to write for the *Monitor*, providing in an ongoing series on favourites and Scotsmen, its distinctive contribution to the attacks on Bute.

The result was an unprecedently bitter literary strife, the so-called "battle of the weeklies" which pushed

political tensions to new heights, becoming the focal point and incendiary of anti-Bute feelings in London and outside. Both Smollett and Murphy worked with energy and dedication, but proved no match for the journalistic skills, wit and daring of Wilkes (or his co-author, the profligate poet Charles Churchill) who, like all accomplished propagandists, understood crowd psychology and so with great effect, played upon those prejudices to which the nation would respond: hatred of Scots in general, "the Scottish Favourite" in particular.[44] With total absence of scruple and good taste, they exploited the current gossip about Bute's supposed relationship with the Dowager Princess, they produced scathing essays on past favourites, comparing Bute to Mortimer, the Earl of Marr, Wolsey and other notorious figures of history,[45] but most important, in virtually every article, emphasizing the apparent similarities between Bute and the popular conception of the Scots. His surname, Stuart, was used to imply his support for the Jacobite cause and by association, "Popery" or Catholicism, as well as empathy with the political interests of France.

One issue of the *North Briton* consists entirely of an imaginary letter supposedly addressed to Bute by James III, the old Pretender. It begins "Dear Cousin" and ends "given under our sign manual and privy signet of the Thistle, at our court at Rome, the second day of January in the 63rd. of our reign. J.R. countersigned James Murray." It congratulates Bute on his promotion of Jacobite interests.

> Everything, through your benign influence now wears the most pleasing aspect. Where you tread, the Thistle again rises under your feet. The sons of Scotland and the friends of that great line, the Stuarts, no longer mourn.[46]

Bute's much exaggerated patronage of his fellow countrymen produced the celebrated announcement that "John Bull was dead, choked by inadvertently swallowing a thistle", while in "The Prophecy of Famine", Churchill, with withering sarcasm depicted the barren waste whose voracious inhabitants "strong in their pauper pride and native insolence", mostly Jacobite at heart, had emerged to fatten on England's public revenue.[47] Everything associated with Scotland was now mercilessly satirized - the tartan, the kilt, the bagpipes - even haggis - and of course, the famous "itch", while doggerel rhymes about the Scots were chanted in the pubs and coffee houses. Within weeks, anti-Caledonian clubs appeared all over London and the Scots were mocked and jeered at every opportunity - in private, at dinner parties or in public - at the theatre, in taverns, at official functions. Such manifestations of hostility were as keen in the provinces as in London and, as Brewer has shown, were not always confined to the mob. "Gentlemen fought duels over what were known as 'national distinctions', a respectable Anglican parson sent Pitt a draft plan for the dissolution of the Union and many members of the landed classes delighted in making insidious remarks against the Scots nation and its minions."[48]

Anti-Scottish phobia also motivated much of the opposition to the peace negotiations with France, conducted by Bute's administration throughout the summer and fall of 1762. While the Preliminaries (signed on November 3, 1762), according to one historian, "secured the original objects of the war", the terms being equal "to the expectations of moderate men,"[49] the treaty (or rather its author) still came under immediate fire - not in Parliament where it encountered relatively little opposition - but again, in the press. That much, if not most, of this antagonism derived from personal and nationalistic prejudices rather than issues of policy was clearly recognized by Henry Fox who wrote that:

> The press with more vehemence than I ever knew set to work against Lord Bute. And it would be very surprising to see how quickly and fiercely the fire spreads but for the consideration that it is fed with great industry and blown by national prejudice which is inveterate and universal. Every man has at some time or other found a Scotsman in his way and everybody has therefore damned the Scotch: and this hatred their excessive nationality has continually inflamed. A peace is thought necessary to Lord Bute, therefore a peace on any supposed terms is exclaimed against. But the true objections, his being a Scotchman and a Favourite are avowed and on those articles is he most scurrilously accused.[50]

The London mob was again active and on November 25, 1762 while on his way to the House of Lords, Bute was hissed, insulted and pelted, and on his return, despite attempts to conceal himself by taking an ordinary hackney-chair, he was discovered and pursued by the mob, who, to quote one observer "broke the glass of his chair and in short by threats and menaces put him very reasonably in great fear. If they had once overturned the chair he might very soon have been demolished".[51] Indeed, so vicious was the attack this time, that Bute not only talked of resigning but the King actually offered to recall Pitt if it would calm popular clamour.[52] Hence, it is scarcely surprising that by March 1763, Bute, having successfully defended the Peace of Paris in Parliament, sought a return to private life. Walpole's opinion that Bute was driven to resign by popular outcry against the Cider Bill seems incorrect, seeing that the unpopular Earl had been planning his retreat for months. Yet there can be little doubt, that apart from his ill health and his "abhorrence of ministerial office", the major contributory cause of his final decision was the barrage of slander, obscenity and public insult that he had been forced to endure. And so, regardless of the strength or validity of the "whig case" levelled against Bute by the political leaders of the day, what more than anything enabled them "... to adopt the traditional whig posture of guardians of politically responsible government"[53] was the more indiscriminate but nevertheless persistent hostility to Bute, displayed by the nation at large; and though much of this hostility

stemmed from a variety of causes - economic, social as well as political - in the final analysis, it was Bute's nationality with all its contemporary implications and associations, which formed the common denominator.

Karl W. Schweizer
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Endnotes

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Traditional Gaelic Piping and Class in 19th Century Nova Scotia

Throughout the times of the great Highland emigrations to the New World, very much more of Gaelic musical tradition than has been imagined owed its vigour and persistence to the patronage and attitudes of the Gaelic middle-class. The persistence of the idea of the force of patronage of the musically talented, just as with the bardically gifted, is to be found in the New World *Gàidhealtachd,* as in the Old, but the barriers to understanding that force in its modified New World form, and at this distance from the immigrant generations, are not inconsiderable.

Even in the Old World, in the late 18th century, the bonds that united the Gaelic classes permitted public familiarities that outsiders often found remarkable and unbecoming.[1] In the New World the new land tenure system blurred, for a non-Gael, residual social distinctions that were obvious to the traditional Gael.

In Scotland, before the enforcement of the Tenures Abolition Act[2] (which banned the holding of land in return for military service), and the Heritable Jurisdictions Act, in 1746,[3] many chiefs, although already culturally distanced from the ordinary Gael, took

advantage of the old system which promoted inter-class ties. When chiefs fell out of Gaelicness completely,[4] the still Gaelic-speaking middle class often continued it. These are an important force for the persistence of tradition in the Old and New Worlds.

The themes of Gaelic community life were, as they remain, relatedness and social cohesion, and, until differing times from the 1760s until late into the the 19th century in Scotland, what persisted of the Gaelic middle-class promoted this by control of land and water use. By control of any agricultural surplus and the forgiving of rents in climatic and economic hard times, the loyalty of the sub-tenant farmer and his inferiors was guaranteed.

Until long after 1746, while the socio-political and economic system was thus *de facto* independently Gaelic, much of the middle-class was of necessity Gaelic-speaking, and while the middle-class was at least bi-lingual, Gaelic/English, shared social amusement was perceived by all as eminently worthy of attention, of fostering and promotion. Traditional music was shared by middle class and ordinary Gael alike and was an essential bond in Highland society.

As long as unilingual Gaelicness endured,[5] social concepts were Gaelic social concepts and the class system persisted. In places like Raasay, Gairloch and Glenaladale, until long after the Napoleonic Wars there were relatively complete Gaelic sociocultural systems operating within the loose embrace of the outsider's political and legal imposure.

Music and dance were integral in that world and it

was a world that revealed much of its cultural richness to *Iain Og Ile* in the 1860s. Alexander Smith described the abrasion of the traditional and the modern worlds in Skye in or before 1866.[6] Traditional bagpiping and dancing were still alive and kicking in South Uist at the turn of this century.[7] Unfortunately little interest was paid to dance-music piping and so much to converting tradition to the improver models.

Just what sorts of advantages community pipers had from the setters of the land by the 1850s has been no academic's focus. In some cases there were none. In the 1790s, Invernesshire decreets of removals, for example, mention bagpipers.[8] In other cases pipers were selectively better treated.

What is generally known of the patronage of pipers in Scotland, from writers in English such as James Logan (1831), and later writers, is superficial. It only deals with the chiefly level of Gaelic society. The musician belongs to a select group of pipers devoted to the playing and composition of Gaelic court music, transmitted without written music. This level of Gaelic piper is present in Nova Scotia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries but here he was pathetically adrift from his sponsor and the artificiality of the Highland equivalent of court circumstances.

Nonetheless these pipers saw themselves as members of the Gaelic middle-class, and, in the case of Lt Donald MacCrumen at East side Jordan Bay[9] and John MacKay in forest New Glasgow[10] this was justifiable to some extent. MacCrimmmon went home from Nova Scotia in

1790. John MacKay stayed but is forgotten as a piper.

The crux of the matter is that, in Nova Scotia, any idea of patronage which operated, concerned the community musician, the sort of person who in Scotland had owed, in some degree as yet not adequately defined, his farm and his subsistence, or later a steady job, to his social function as one of the community's musicians. At the time of the clearances in the early 19th century, for example, some pipers, like John Campbell, a dance-music piper in the Great Glen,[11] were given an option by virtue of their social significance to Gaelic society.[12] A large number however emigrated.

This class of piper was common throughout the Scottish *Gàidhealtachd* and his significance in the Gaelic scheme of life there, and in Nova Scotia, is much more important than has been recognised. Scottish writers on piping, in general, could not be bothered to find him, and when they did, often ignored him, denigrated him or just noted his presence without trying to understand his music and why it was important.

Nonetheless, Scottish literature does lead one to conclude that the fiddler and the ordinary piper flourished in Gaelic Scotland all right, but independent of any encouragement and sponsorship by the middle and upper class. This attitude has been encouraged by the tourist writings of people like Penant, Necker de Saussure, MacCulloch and a host of others all of whom were influenced by the Highland Societies' attitudes to piping which centred on the exclusive promotion, by competition, of classical bagpiping only.

The same artificial, repertoire-exclusive attitude, the one of disdain which tells its votary that it was *infra dignitatem* to consider oneself of any musical significance in Gaelic Scotland if one did not play the Gaelic bagpipe's court music, has carried into the present century and is implicit in the attitudes of countless people interested in piping, but not in traditional Gaelic piping. This notion, demonstrably incorrect as it is, has deeply influenced and limited Scottish thought on piping, bringing to it an alien snobbery that is out of place in that segment of Gaelic society.

On the other hand, Rev. Norman MacLeod, (Caraid nan Gàidheal) in the 1830s inadvertently painted a good picture, in Gaelic, of the community piper, *Fionnladn Pìobair',* in Glendessary.[13] Uncounted pipers like *Fionnladh Pìobair'* came to Nova Scotia and elsewhere in the New World. The MacDougall piper in the Margarees from the late 1820s is probably typical of all Gaelic communities here and elsewhere; he is only known to us from MacDougall's *History of Inverness County*. He, however, is remembered in print in Nova Scotia while Donald MacCrimmon and John MacKay are not.

Nova Scotia's importance to the story of traditional bagpiping is all the more emphasized because, in Scotland, modernising forces, which radically changed piping, were at work from about the middle of the 19th century. Regal interest in Highland affairs hastened outside non-comprehending, but influential, interest in Gaelic musical culture at exactly the time when the massive emigrations had rendered the old culture most

introverted and vulnerable.[14] Nova Scotia, and surely also elsewhere in the New World, missed all of this and the old Gaelic community piper survived long into the 20th century. The last exponent of the preliterate art in Cape Breton, Alex Currie (b. 1910), is still alive, and sought as a traditional teacher. Currie's piping satisfied community step-dance requirement but nothing is known of middle-class encouragement of him or his piping forebears.

Nonetheless to come to grips with encouragement of all social levels of pipers and to see Nova Scotia, and its importance, in a sharper perspective, one has to rectify the repertoire-exclusive attitude. In 18th century Scottish Gaelic poetry, piping and fiddling for dancing are time and again mentioned with great pride, often given as praise-worthy talents shared among the classes. Joseph MacDonald, in 1761, made no status distinction between court and dance-music piping.[15] By comparison, Logan's and others' observations are almost always shallow and contrived.

So, from the middle of the 19th century Scotland was in fact not so lucky as rurally isolated Gaelic Nova Scotia. In Scotland new artificialities were created and with the spread of literate learning of piping in the 19th century, ways emerged to ensure continuation of this unGaelic idea. Competition and the idea of improvement stretched tradition thin, finally destroying it through classroom teaching of piping by great literately-trained pipers like John MacDonald and Willie Ross in the Gaelic heartlands of the Outer Hebrides, especially South

Uist.[16] In fact, in 19th century Scotland, the new standards required spread down to all levels of piping and willy-nilly, eventually destroyed the older spontaneity of Gaelic bagpiping. To see further back, into Gaelicness, you have to look to New World Gaeldom.

The involvement of the old Gaelic-speaking middle class in Nova Scotia in traditional piping, fiddling and dancing has never been thoroughly studied either. The group is not known to have had a distinctive accent and was not easily distinguishable by landownership but it and its cultural significance existed and is important for culture's endurance.[17]

The people who came out have often been considered the poor but the truth of the matter, judging by the alarm of people whose livelihoods depended on a good, regular Sabbath collection, is that it was the poor who were left behind.[18] And it was not limited to the Roman Catholic community. The Rev. Norman MacLeod and Stewart of Garth both lamented the disappearance of the solid old Gaelic middle class, and the solid old tenant farmer, and any understanding of the lives and prides of the last Gaelic-speaking generations in Nova Scotia must include very prominently the realisation that there was a typical mixture in Nova Scotia of people who considered themselves middle-class in Gaelic terms, as well as the better-off of their tenantry and their dependents. In most of the emigrations large parts of integrated communities came out and settled together, musicians and all, and attracted others later.

It must be admitted that the importance of the

middle-class Gaelic piper like Donald MacCrimmon, John MacKay and others like them[19] in Nova Scotia is limited to the fact that they are well-known in Scotland. There their "greatness" is still accepted unquestioningly, so that mention of them, almost anywhere, automatically opens the door crack to the more important subject of tradition and the middle-class.

Nova Scotia received many other pipers, like MacDougall from Morar in South West Margaree, Inverness county, Glenaladale's piper in Highfield and the piper Campbells in Pomquet, Antigonish county.

They are remembered mostly by latter-day Nova Scotia Gaels writing in English in the 20th century.[20] Almost every local genealogy of Highlanders settling in Canada gives examples of pipers, although seldom much more than a name is offered. Actually, during the immigrants' years pipers are more often mentioned and named than fiddlers.

In Nova Scotia, in the New World *Gàidhealtachd,* community pipers were a formidable feature of the socio-musical landscape until the Great War, and they were not uncommon during the Second World War, and lingered on into the civilian pipe-band era. Their prime function was to play step-dance music for the *céilidh* (and weddings and other events). In this they were simply continuing practices usual in the Old World *Gàidhealtachd* where reliable written records prove middle-class participation in Reel dancing and other rustic musical pastimes.

There can be no doubt that the people in positions of

sufficient power in Gaelic Scotland to settle tenantry on the land, had a pronounced interest in having popular traditional dance-music musicians among their tenants. In many instances these were the same people who organised and led the emigrations to the New World. The same mix of social strata occurred in Nova Scotia that had existed in Highland Scotland. The same Highland understanding and acceptance of many elements of social stratification continued to live in the minds of immigrant Gaels, for as long as the primary language was Gaelic.

In the New World however, everyone owned land, or looked forward to that. The deference owed by renter to owner was gone and what was left in colonial Canada was the British deference owed by the uneducated class to the educated and more powerful, a deference ingrained in Gaelic society in any case. Captain John MacDonald (Glenaladale) and Conduiligh Rankin[21] enjoyed middle-class status and respect in several ways as community leaders in Prince Edward Island although once in the New World their former tenants and followers were unwilling to accept tenant status when land ownership was possible. The same respect for middle-class Gaels existed in Nova Scotia. Justices of the Peace, merchants, religious and political leaders, teachers, occasional militia leaders and "esquires" who were Gaels all form a strong, well-distributed and (with exceptions) respected class in rural Nova Scotia. Ray MacLean's recent book *The Casket* nicely reveals an occasionally published middle-class testiness at being socially over-

looked by Britain. Official and professional occupations identified the middle class.

Gaelic society's cohesion in Nova Scotia was proverbial. The absence of crime (and any police force) and the widely-accepted restraints on physical violence point to a very strongly respected set of traditional norms which were reinforced by men like Captain Allan MacDonald in the Margarees, the John MacLellan teacher in Mabou Coal Mines, John MacKinnon, MLA and a piper, in William's Point, the Tulloch MacDonalds at West Lake Ainslie and Mabou Coal Mines, the descendants of the Keppoch and Killiechonate MacDonalds (also including one prominent piper), the Retlands and many other descendants of Gaels who had been prominent in the Highlands.

The facet of 19th and early 20th century Nova Scotian Highland history which often is overlooked is that it was resolutely pro-British; and British society, in and before the Victorian era, was a world phenomenon and profoundly class conscious. Gaelic society was linguistically isolated. It was by and large ignored at the empire's epicentre but it was by no means ignorant of British affairs. British military heros like Hector MacDonald were known and admired in the most rural Highland home in Cape Breton long after Confederation in 1867. In the New World, survival's formula contained a large dose of social conservatism. In its musical and dance retentions Gaelic Nova Scotia is uniquely important to Gaelic studies and this reflects a sustaining of tradition by all strata of rural Gaelic society, not just a part.

What happened to that important cultural imprimatur of the middle-class? One segment of Nova Scotian Gaelic society in the 19th century enjoyed, or endured, control that was even more strict than in the Old World and that control was from the Roman Catholic church. Where the landlord had been able to interpose himself between the church and its disciple, in varying degrees, in Scotland, especially when the persecuted Catholic church needed the protection of the powerful, in the New World this balance was absent. It has been argued that as lay Catholic Gaelic leadership moved inevitably into the English-speaking milieu, the vacuum was filled by the clergy and they were kind to culture.

On the other hand, a fair case may be made that indeed the Roman church was implicated in the extinguishing of some of the old shared joys of the Gaelic classes, when the opportunity came to exert pressure. The temperance movement, particularly in the second half of the 19th century, was culturally proscriptive. All indications are that, after the immigrant generation of Gaels (and intemperance) had died away, the native-born Gael was relatively unprotected and subject to certain counter-cultural clerical directives. The disappearances or near disappearances in the last quarter of the 19th century include the old "Wild" Eight-hand reel and the old dancing school. J.L. MacDougall, the Catholic lawyer, was guarded in his anger at the loss of the dancing schools which suggests Roman Catholic responsibility or connivance. Within living memory the old Four-hand reel has disappeared as a spontaneous

céilidh dance. Certainly earlier on, in the immigrant generations when a good dram was seldom turned down, there are examples of Catholic clerical participation in music and dance, notably Fr Allan MacLean (1804-1877) in Judique. MacLean, an Arisaig (Sc) man, was a piper and dancer as well as a *bàrd*.[22]

But to every generalisation an exception, and this one entails an example of clerical patronage of piping by a priest in Mabou from the 1890s. The priest, Dr John MacMaster, bought a set of bagpipes for *Aonghus Dubh* MacDonald (1849-1939) and maintained a life-long warm social contact with his older parishioner. MacMaster, who was a severe enemy of intemperance, used to take the piper a bottle from time to time; he also made sure the old man had his winter wood supply when he grew weak. In terms of ancestry, Black Angus was of the Killiechonate branch of the Keppochs and more prominent by way of ancestry than Dr MacMaster. However casual their relationship, it was one of sophistication.

In the Presbyterian communities also, there are signs that the old Gaelic shared social consciousness survived the Disruption of 1843 and only weakened when the immigrant generations died away. The big Bachelor MacKinnon who lived at or near Cobb Brook on East Lake Ainslie side dictated for himself a traditional Highland funeral which involved pre-determined stops for generous drinks. Having lived well into Free Church and temperance times his last wishes were unpopular with the minister. Old residents of the area reported that this was the last funeral of that sort at

East Lake Ainslie. However the MacKinnon family included pipers until well within living memory.

In summary, Gaelic language and culture survived the 19th century in Nova Scotia but with noticeable signs of cultural change coming in the last quarter. Traditional bagpiping also made it to well within living memory and is not yet quite extinct. The fundamental strength underlying the survival of traditional piping in Nova Scotia owes much to imperial neglect, out-of-the-wayness, the persistence of the ear-learning method used by traditional pipers for centuries, the near absence throughout the century of contact with the imperial military machine, the near absence of competition in piping in Nova Scotia, and to the natural conservativeness of transplanted communities. But added to that is the confidence traditional musicians took from acceptance of their music, in essence traditional step-dance music, by the middle-class Gael. The foundation of that support began to erode after the immigrant generations died and decay has continued fast as unilingual English-speaking Everyman emerges, not into the old Victorian English-speaking world of subtle and unsubtle class distinction but into an English-speaking world enfilladed and dominated by post-revolutionary American ideas in which the notion of class is another matter.

John G. Gibson

Endnotes

1. Ramsay of Ochtertyre remarked upon this. See, Allardyce (ed.), Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th century. (The published MSS of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre).
2. The Tenures Abolition Act, 1746 (An Act for taking away the tenure of Ward Holding in Scotland, and for converting the same into Blanch and Feu Holdings...20 Geo. 2, c. 50).
3. Heritable Jurisdictions (Scotland) Act, 1746.
4. Chiefly fidelity to these ideals, curtailed by the Statutes of Iona (1609), dropped off at varying times, the last after the failure of the second Jacobite rising (1746) and the gradual enforcement of the anti-Jacobite acts.
5. Unilingualness in the general Gaelic population was profoundly counteracted by the Scottish Education Act of 1872 which deliberately aimed to stamp out Gaelic.
6. Smith juxtaposed the Gaelic tradition and the improver societies in Skye. In the former *'McIan'* was content to have a warm and understanding relationship with his tenants while the latter was for cash on the barrel-head and preparing to evict. (See, Smith, A Summer in Skye, 1866.)
7. See, Rae, A School in South Uist.
8. In Keppoch a *Mac a'Ghlasraich* Campbell and in Beauly near Inverness a MacLean were evicted.
9. Donald MacCrimmon had been MacLeod's piper in the early 1770s. Until the American revolutionary war he was an illiterate but raised enough men (on his estates) to earn a lieutenant's commission.
10. John MacKay was the last "hereditary" to the Gairloch MacKenzies. He emigrated in 1805. He was literate and bilingual, Gaelic/English.
11. John Campbell was described as post-carrier and registrar at Invermoriston.
12. See, Piping Times, June 1968. Note also that the Gaelic world contained a number of chiefs, like Glengarry, who

kept pipers but whose motives for Highlandism were based on nostalgia.

13. Glendessary was a Cameron holding on the marches of South Morar. It was cleared in the early 19th century.
14. *Iain Og Ile*'s instructions to his collectors emphasize the underground nature of the tradition in the 1860s very clearly.
15. It was the imminent death of the classical form which MacDonald anticipated which prompted him to dwell on that branch of the subject in his Complete Theory.
16. The cruel irony is that both men were Highlanders.
17. A modern example is the Roman Catholic clergy's promotion of Gaelic song, instrumental music and dance.
18. See, MacDonell Dawson, The Catholics in Scotland. 1890, 520. NB Several relatives of Highland chiefs emigrated. These include: Archibald Campbell, of the Scalpay Campbell family, emigrated in 1830 to Cape Breton; he was married to Matilda MacLeod, grand-daughter of Norman MacLeod, twenty-second chief of the clan MacLeod, and first cousin of Maj-Gen. Norman MacLeod, twenty-third chief, the man whom Lt Donald MacCrumen greeted with *"Fàilte Ruairidh Mhoir"* in 1799, (in the presence of a young Norman MacLeod, later author *Caraid nan Gàidheal*). See, MacKinnon and Morrison, The MacLeods - the Genealogy of a Clan. Section one, "MacLeod chiefs of Harris and Dunvegan."

    In the early years of the nineteenth century, Lord MacDonald (Sleat) sent out Alasdair MacDonald, MD (b. 1782) to PEI with a ship-load of cleared people. Alasdair the doctor (*Alasdair mac Ghilleasbuig 'ic Iain 'ic Dhòmhnuil*) was the patrilineal great-grandson of the 11th baron and 4th Bt of Sleat who had fought at Killiecrankie (1689) and Sheriffmuir (1715). His pedigree and social standing were undeniable. His life in the new world was spent for the most part in Antigonish county, Nova Scotia.

Likewise, people close to the Keppoch MacDonells and the Coll MacLeans settled in Nova Scotia.

19. Other prominent pipers to come out in the early 19th century were: *Iain mac Aindrea Bhàin Mac Gillebhràth* (John son of Fair Andrew MacGillivray) (c 1792-1862), an Arisaig man who had been piper to Alexander MacDonald (*Alasdair Ruadh*) of Glenaladale's in the early nineteenth century. He is remembered a little better than John MacKay but only as a *bàrd*, a maker of songs. Kenneth Chisholm, the last piper to Chisholm, has left no definite piping traces in Pomquet Forks (Heatherton). This may simply mean that locally-made Gaelic songs praising or including mention of these pipers have been lost with the shift from Gaelic to English, but one thing is certain and that is the adulation given to the "hereditary" great piping families by people like James Logan (1831), Angus MacKay (1838), Kilberry and countless repeaters of the line, is absent from Nova Scotia, and the New World.
20. See, MacDougall's History of Inverness County, MacDonald's Mabou Pioneers and *Sagairt Arasaig's* "Local History/Genealogy" in MacLean's History of Antigonish County.
21. Conduiligh Rankin was the last of the "hereditary" pipers in MacLean country. He too considered himself of the Gaelic middle class and his biography proves it so.
22. See, The Clansman, Aug./Sept. 1994, citing *MacTalla*, 5, 13 Mar. 1897.

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SENTIMENT AND COMMUNITY

In contemporary political philosophy, the view that groups, and not just individuals, have rights and that the authenticity of individuals within those groups is directly dependent upon their rootedness in and identification with their culture has been eagerly embraced by many. For the purposes of this article, I will follow David Bromwich in identifying this belief as "culturalism" and those who defend it as "culturalists." According to Bromwich, "[c]ulturalism is the thesis that there is a universal human need to belong to a culture - to belong, that is, to a self-conscious group with a known history, a group that by preserving and transmitting its customs, memories, and common practices confers the primary pigment of individual identity on the persons it comprehends."[1]

Culture, here, is ordinarily understood to have a distinctly ethnic resonance, although the definition of a cultural group need not be limited in this way.[2] In Canada, of course, culturalist arguments have been invoked mainly to advance the cause of Quebec nationalism, aboriginal rights and bureaucratic multiculturalism.[3] Curiously overlooked in these discussions, however, has been the case of the Cape Breton Gael. I propose to focus on this neglected case, but only

in order to try to expose the failings of culturalism.

On Cape Breton Island - and in Highland strongholds on the Nova Scotia mainland, like Antigonish - one can detect intermittent stirrings of the same sort of ethnic triumphalism that pervades Quebec. Though a decidedly runtier mutation, the Cape Breton strain shares many of the attractions of its Quebec counterpart, as well as many of its shortcomings: the ready inclination to distinguish between one's own stereotypically idealized kind and all stereotypically diminished outsiders; a tolerance, even appetite, for the fatuous, hypocritical and the palpably third-rate, as long as it is one's "own"; the habit of construing criticisms from without as "attacks" and criticisms from within as "betrayals."

Culturalists assume that ethnic and other group affiliations constitute an indispensable source of value, that culturally distinct practices and histories are unqualifiedly ennobling. My own, very different view, is that a preoccupation with culture can contribute as much to smugness, apathy, self-romance and stuntedness as to nobility, that it can deflect one from greater, more honest and more challenging purposes. The success of culturalism, I further suspect, is attributable above all to its habit of sentimentalizing groups, their histories and the very notion of cultural belonging. Culturalism represents an effort to psychologize politics. It is indeed a political therapeutic, sparing those whom it presumes to defend from the brute facts of existence and eliding ambiguity in the service of blessed simplicity.

Sentimentality is a concept that begs for clarification. Not only does it account for much that is sloppy and shallow in public debate, but it is symptomatic of current fashions in irrationality that repudiate the critical, in favour of the feeling, mind. To begin our own enquiry, let's consider the following stray remarks. In 1785, one Henry MacKenzie wrote: "In morals as in religion there are not wanting instances of refined sentimentalists who are contented with talking of virtues which they never practice, who pay in words what they owe in actions."[4]

John Galsworthy observed that "[t]he value of a sentiment is the amount of sacrifice you are prepared to make for it," implying that a sentiment, or genuine feeling, is bound to decline into sentimentality if it costs the person who experiences it little or nothing.

In J.D. Salinger's *Raise High the Roofbeam, Carpenters,* the narrator invokes R.H. Blyth's definition of sentimentality. According to Blyth, "we are being sentimental when we give to a thing more tenderness than God gives it."[5] More recently, the Nobel laureate, Seamus Heaney, has written that, though pleased to have come upon an anthology of Irish Gaelic poetry published in 1981, the encounter yet made him aware how much of his "sense of the tradition had remained a sentiment rather than a possession acquired 'by great labour'."[6]

This theme of the *cost* of emotions and the sentimentalist's failure to pay in kind comes up again, and indeed finds its clearest expression, in Oscar Wilde's

frequently cited recrimination of Lord Alfred Douglass. Wilde wrote: "The fact is that you were, and are I suppose still, a typical sentimentalist. For a sentimentalist is simply one who desires to have the luxury of an emotion without paying for it. You think that one can have one's emotions for nothing. One cannot."[7] Commenting on Wilde, Michael Tanner ventures that "a dominant element in sentimentality is that the feelings which constitute it are in some important way unearned, being had on the cheap, come by too easily, ... All these charges are part and parcel of the allegation that to be sentimental is to be shallow in a specially noteworthy way."[8]

Sentimentality, it seems, is not so much a particular *kind*, but rather a particular *mode,* of feeling or thought.[9] One is sentimental, that is, not by experiencing an emotion called "sentimentality," but rather by experiencing any number of emotions or states of mind in a certain way; namely, lazily, conveniently, selectively, self-indulgently. Now, upon what does the culturalist, or cultural sentimentalist, direct his self-aggrandizing gaze? How does his sentimentality manifest itself?

Consider the following remarks by Archibald A. MacKenzie in an appendix to his *History of Christmas Island,* in which he reviews the characteristics of the pioneers of Christmas Island Parish, Cape Breton.

> The pioneers who settled Christmas Island Parish were men who possessed many good qualities which their descendants of the present generation should ponder over and

try to emulate. In the first place, they were men of courage and strong will. This is proved by the fact that though they had their wives and families to provide for, yet they did not hesitate to leave their homes in their bonnie, native glens to go on board crowded, unsanitary, old-fashioned sailing ships to cross the stormy Atlantic, and come to a country where, as they knew, the severity of winter was extreme, where there were no houses to shelter them and but small prospect of food to sustain them; in short, where there was nothing but the forest primeval extending to the water's edge.... The succeeding generation were good representatives of their sturdy ancestors. There were no drones among them.... In short, our forefathers were steady workers. They led frugal, abstemious lives; and their wants were few and easily supplied, hence the good measure of prosperity and comfort which they enjoyed.... Our forefathers were charitable to one another.... They were optimistic by nature. In spite of the many disappointments, trials and tribulations that beset their paths, they always looked on the bright side of life and hoped for the best. They lived near to God and trusted in His goodness to provide for their temporal and spiritual wants. Hence their cheerfulness on all occasions.[10]

Now, I have no wish to dishonour the memory of these settlers, the courage, perseverance and goodness of many of them, nor do I wish to impugn the efforts of MacKenzie himself, who, after all, was intending only to offer a breezy eulogy more than any kind of critical assessment. Still, the picture he presents to us here is an idealization - the Highlander was courageous; the Highlander always worked hard; the Highlander was always cheerful. Thus, he sentimentalizes his subject. But he also encourages a sentimental appreciation of his subject on the part of others. Indeed, the fierce or comforting pride that a Cape Breton Gael might feel upon reading such a passage is a good example of the sort of unearned emotion that Wilde and company abhor. And it is unearned not just because it is prompted by an obviously selective review of the facts, but also because it concerns the labours, qualities and achievements of *others,* without requiring that the person who purports to admire these virtues manifest them in his own life.

Charles W. Dunn's *Highland Settler* is marginally more critical, if only because he deals openly with charges that the Highlander was "ignorant and lazy" and "perfectly indifferent about education."[11] Still, his assessment of Highland vices is glib, his attempted defences of them awkward and evasive. For instance, to the charge of laziness, he half-heartedly and with unintentional comedy, counters: "The Highlander was... more of an artist than a labourer..."[12] Throughout, Dunn's tone is cloyingly elegiac, his sweeping generalizations gaudily sentimental. We learn from him that the Cape Breton

Gael is independent of spirit, fiery of temperament, that he is respectful of inherited wisdom, stern in his piety and warm in his human affections. He proclaims "the true Gael" one who is "devoted to religion, clanship and love."[13] Referring to Jonathan G. MacKinnon, a champion of Gaelic earlier this century, he remarks: "Typically a Gael, he was deeply devoted to the island where he was born."[14] Of the settlers generally, he says, "[t]hey would not have been truly Gaels if they had not felt pangs of separation when they parted from the scenes of their childhood," adding later that "they still retain a feeling of individuality, a love for their own traditions, and a memory of their own unique origin."[15]

What originates in a conception of one's people as noble victims, accelerates to the point where that people is portrayed as unambiguously, almost enchantingly, virtuous. One is reminded here of Robert Fulford's remarks on the subject of what he calls "victim art". In such art, he complains, the response is self-contained. In other words, a work or production is *cute,* it *tells* you that it's cute, and it tells you to *regard* it as cute. It is immensely manipulative, then. Fittingly, where responses are thus pre-determined, one is spared of labour. So the response is in a sense very much unearned.

What goes for art goes for histories and reminiscences. It would be pleasing to regard oneself as, by nature, a bard and a brave warrior, but to accept this self-portrayal would be to fall prey to the bewitchingly simplistic entreaties of the sentimentalist - and, indeed, to become a sentimentalist oneself. Dunn writes as if

the virtues of loyalty and courage, love for one's people and one's land were special possessions of the Highland Scot, a view so sweepingly general and so obviously applicable to so many who are not Highland Scots, as well as inapplicable to many who are, that it is, not so much untrue, as utterly uninterested in the truth.

The realism I am urging does not require that we forsake all sentiments and ideals. One can indeed express realistic sentiments and embrace realistic ideals. But these invariably prove both complex and demanding. They encourage reflection and self-scrutiny, confronting us with paradox and ambiguity, the sort of difficulties that demand a resolution that can never be complete. Sentimental ideals, however, are founded upon artificially neat distinctions, stock characterizations, clammy cliché, manipulating our emotions, intellects and imaginations, without exercising them.

The demand for recognition and respect of, and reward for, one's ethnicity or tribal history proceeds from a curiously passive form of self-regard.[16] That I am of Scottish descent, of Highland descent, a MacKinnon, a Catholic, a Canadian is due to nothing at all that I, as an individual, have done. In an article entitled, "The Sentimental Self," Joseph Kupfer writes: "The trite, cliché, and stock entrench the familiar past, the appreciation of which requires only that we recognize the type, and the well-worn emotional path is readied to be walked again."[17] Regardless of the immediate object of sentimentality - dogs or people, a country or a tribal past - "its resting place," says Kupfer, "is always the

self."[18] And the sentimental self, so averse to challenge and difficulty, will not grow.

In his book, *Blood and Belonging,* Michael Ignatieff cites an example that nicely illustrates Kupfer's claim. Ignatieff devotes an entire section of his concluding chapter to a 74 year old Ulsterman, named Tommy Doyle. He writes:

> What it means to be British for Tommy is essentially what it means to be Protestant. The two cannot be distinguished,.... Orangeism is his life because both of his loyalties, to the Crown and to his religion, are united in the Orange creed. It is what makes Tommy a happy man; he knows who he is and that he is doing God's work. But it also means he is a man *who cannot change or learn.*[19]

We could even say that to define oneself in terms of Crown and creed, or of a people and its past, is to declare oneself a culturalist. But whereas the culturalist favours abstract categories borrowed from the social sciences to account for identity, Bromwich urges instead what he calls a "novelistic" approach. An individual's identity, he says, is not reducible to class, race, ethnicity, religion and gender. Rather, it is more like a temperament, infinitely subtle and complex.[20]

Here is an example of what I think Bromwich has in mind. In Richard Ford's novel, *Independence Day*

the main character, Frank Bascombe, wonders about a friend of his ex-wife's, an eye doctor named Henry Burris:

> My problem is only that I don't know where to attach my own eyes to Henry, can't *sense* him, and not even that I can't tell you what makes him tick. Eyes make him tick: how you fix 'em, what's wrong with 'em.... But what I can't tell,... is what and where his mystery is, the part you'd discover if you knew him for years, learned to respect him professionally.... What are his uncertainties, the quality of his peace made with contingency, his worries about the inevitability of joy or tragedy out in the unknown where we all plow the seas: his rationale, based on experience, for the *advisability* of discretion?[21]

Bascombe's is a meditation on the sorts of subtleties of character that make a man who he is. Not all allegiances are pre-determined, but rather acquired, supplemented and refined. Roundedness of character, and all the complexity and nuance it entails, is an ideal in life as in literature, and identity a matter as much of achievement and chance as it is of inheritance.

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Endnotes

1. David Bromwich, "Culturalism, The Euthanasia of Liberalism," Dissent, vol, No., Winter 1995, p. 89.
2. Consider, for instance, recent claims made on behalf of "deaf culture." See Carol Mustone's "Sound and Fury," Saturday Night, March 1996, pp. 25-28.
3. It is useful, I think, to distinguish between *defacto* and bureaucratic multiculturalism. Whereas the former identifies a community's comprising people of diverse cultural backgrounds as a matter of fact, the latter is a political initiative designed to encourage and reward group difference.
4. Quoted in Marcia Muelder Eaton, "Laughing at the Death of Little Nell: Sentimental Art and Sentimental People," American Philosophical Quarterly, vol. 26, No. 4, October 1989, p. 270.
5. J.D. Salinger, Raise High the Roofbeam, Carpenters and Seymour: An Introduction, New York, Bantam Books, 1965, p. 67.
6. Seamus Heaney, The Government of the Tongue, London, Faber and Faber, 1988, p. 30.
7 Quoted in Michael Tanner, "Sentimentality," Proceedings of the Aristotelean Society, vol. LXXVII, 1976-1977, p. 127.
8. Tanner, p. 128.
9. See Anthony Savile, The Test of Time: An Essay in Philosophical Aesthetics, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982, p. 137.
10. Archibald A. MacKenzie, History of Christmas Island Parish.

11. Charles W. Dunn, Highland Settler: A portrait of the Scottish Gael in Cape Breton and Eastern Nova Scotia, Wreck Cove, N.S., Breton Books, 1991, pp. 109 and 110.
12. Dunn, p. 109.
13. IBID, p. 63.
14. IBID, p. 87.
15. IBID, pp. 127 and 135.
16. I owe this point to Katherine Fierlbeck. See her "The Ambivalent Potential of Cultural Identity," Canadian Journal of Political Science, vol. XXIX, No. 1, March 1996, p.18.
17. Joseph Kupfer, "The Sentimental Self," Canadian Journal of Philosophy, vol. 26, No. 4, December 1996, p. 544.
18. Kupfer, p. 553.
19. Michael Ignatieff, Blood and Belonging: Journeys Into the New Nationalism, Toronto, Viking Books, 1993,
20. Bromwich, p. 95.
21. Richard Ford, Independence Day, Toronto, Little, Brown and Company (Canada) Limited, 1995, p. 399.

Scottish Chartism in Canada West?: An Examination of the "Clear Grit" Reformers[1]

There is a tendency in Canadian historiography to view radical political reform movements in early nineteenth-century Upper Canada as products of the exposure to American republicanism and thus account for the apparent rejection of such "foreign" ideas by an essentially conservative colonial population.[2] As a consequence, transatlantic radical influences on the colony's political life have been underestimated. In particular, little attempt has been made to trace the reform ideas introduced to the colony by Scottish immigrants who arrived in their thousands in the early decades of the century. Figures like William Lyon Mackenzie, the Dundee native and leader of the 1837 Rebellion in Upper Canada, have had more than their share of scholarly study but, again, Mackenzie's American interests have been stressed at the expense of a close study of his Scottish trades experience.[3] This is despite the fact that recent Scottish immigrants, many from Lowland artisan backgrounds, were clearly represented in the rank and file during the events of 1837.[4] The role of the Scottish background of many key leaders of the later radical reform splinter group movement in

Canada West known as the "Clear Grits"[5], has also been downplayed as a consequence of an interpretation, put forward both by contemporaries and later historians, which emphasized American influences. For example, Dr. Landon described the Clear Grits as a "radical wing whose political programme was definitely influenced by American theory and practice."[6] This was apparently confirmed by the fact that the core of the Grit program was outlined in a speech given by Peter Perry, a long-standing reformer with an American Loyalist background, at a Markham reform meeting on March 12, 1850. Yet a casual examination of Perry's eighteen-point radical platform reveals a striking parallel with the six points of the People's Charter - the manifesto of British Chartism, in particular the call for universal manhood suffrage, biennial Parliaments and removal of the property qualification (see Appendix A).

The presence of these elements in the Grit platform has not been overlooked entirely by historians. Although he did not attempt an answer, J.M.S. Careless posed the question, "How far has the transference of British ideals also operated here (in Canada West) to infuse Grit radicalism with the views of the Chartism and philosophical radicals?" A.M.M. Evans claimed that the Clear Grits represented "a mixture of the earlier radicalism of Mackenzie, British Chartism, and North American Frontier democracy," but failed to investigate any further. More recently, Allan Greer has pointed out that all aspects of the reform movement in the Canadas should be understood in the wider context of not only

Jacksonian America, but contemporary European republicanism and British Chartism.[7]

It will be the purpose of the present discussion to suggest that the Chartist connection, and the transatlantic Scottish role in making it, deserve closer attention. This will be done, firstly, by looking at the leadership of the movement, highlighting the importance of Scottish involvement. Secondly, the focus will shift to the origins and development of the Clear Grit platform in order to account for the "American" interpretation of the movement as well as to point out the similarities with contemporary Chartism. Finally, discussion will move to an examination of the role which Upper Canadian newspapers, published and edited by "Clear Grit" Scots, played in promoting the goals of the reformers, while making an effort to assess the Scottish component of the Upper Canadian constituency most likely to be receptive to their appeal. It will be suggested that even a cursory survey such as this demonstrates the important role that recently arrived immigrants played in shaping the anti-privilege politics of Canada West, and that this calls for a revision of the notion that the population of the province was essentially conservative in nature.

I

There is evidence that as early as 1839 many Scottish immigrants to Upper Canada, through their connections at home, were aware of the aims and goals of Chartism. J.H. Collins wrote to his elder brother Edward, who was attempting to establish a market for the families' Glasgow paper business in Brockville, the

following account of Chartist agitation in Scotland:

> This country at present is very unsettled and rather in a bad way from the conduct of the working class. They are very discontented and are stirred up to mischief by several clever scoundrels who take pretty good care to screen themselves when in danger. There have been several petty riots throughout the kingdom and a number of their fellow (Chartists) have been arrested - 3 are to be hanged and a lot imprisoned.[8]

Dr. John Scott, a prominent surgeon in Berlin, Waterloo Township, in a letter to his uncle in Roxburghshire, derided both the "Chartist riots in England, and our radical insurrections in Canada" as examples of "...lawless unthinking striving with constituted authorities."[9] Although such passages do not express much sympathy with Chartism, they do demonstrate an awareness of the movement. Others in Canada must have been more sympathetic, as were the increasing numbers of more recent Lowland artisan immigrants coming into the province. Alex Wilson has contended that the emigration of many of the Chartist rank and file was one of the important contributing factors to the decline of the movement in Scotland after 1839 and again following the agitations of 1848. There was, indeed, a history of radical Scots departing to North America when the pressure was on at home.[10]

It should not be surprising, therefore, to find that there was a high proportion of Scots and those of Scottish parentage among the founding members of the radical Clear Grits. The principal leaders of the movement began meeting in late December 1849 at the King Street office of William McDougall, a young Toronto lawyer of Scottish and Loyalist pedigree. Three of the founding members present on that occasion were the Rebellion era reformers, Malcolm Cameron, James Lesslie and Peter Perry. Although not involved in the fighting of 1837, all three had been denied meaningful positions in the new Baldwin/LaFontaine Reform coalition government. Only Perry had no Scottish connection, being from a Loyalist family which traced its roots from a seventeenth-century English immigrant to Massachusetts. Despite having played a central role in founding the Reform movement in 1824, Perry's earlier ties with Mackenzie had discredited him in Baldwin's eyes.[11] Early on Perry provided *de facto* leadership for the Clear Grits until his death in August, 1851, but prior to that the role of promoting the group's goals had been quickly taken up by Cameron and Lesslie.

Malcolm Cameron, unlike Perry, had clear Scottish connections. His father had been a hospital sergeant in a Scottish regiment and his mother was a MacGregor. Although he was born at Trois Rivieres in 1808, Malcolm's Presbyterian parents ran a tavern in Lanark county and as a consequence Cameron, spent his formative years among the notoriously dissolute half-pay officers of the Ottawa Valley as well as the large number

of Lowland weavers and artisans of the Bathurst district. It was the radical weavers, many from the Glasgow region, rather than the pretentious half-pay officers who influenced the young Cameron and this was reflected in the *Bathurst Courier*, a reform paper which he founded with his brother John in 1834. Although he would sell the *Courier* the following year, the paper maintained the reforming bias of its founder and Cameron kept his hand in Upper Canadian publishing, evidenced by the fact that he tried to get his friend and fellow Scot, Thomas McQueen, to edit a reform paper for the newly-settled Huron Tract.

The friendship is also noteworthy for demonstrating the depth of Cameron's connections with Scottish radicalism. McQueen's father had been a labourer in an Ayrshire rural parish twenty miles south of Glasgow. Thomas apprenticed as a stonemason and eventually became interested in the agitation for parliamentary reform, writing for the Scottish radical press on the "rights of the working man." In 1842, after Chartism was well ensconced in Glasgow, McQueen emigrated to the Bathurst district, continued work as a mason and began contributing to the *Courier*, drawing himself to the attention of Cameron. His radical reform reputation would eventually land McQueen the editorship of the *Huron Signal*.[12]

In addition to the publishing ventures which had brought him in contact with individuals like McQueen, Cameron also began a long parliamentary career in the Ottawa Valley and, as the reform candidate, was elected

for Lanark County in 1836. He would be elected twice more for the county before running and winning in Kent in 1847. Despite being given the office of assistant commissioner of public works in the Baldwin ministry, Cameron became increasingly vocal in his criticism of the administration and quit his post shortly after the initial Clear Grit meetings. He resigned his seat altogether in November 1850, but returned again to parliament as an independent MP for Huron in 1851. His peripatetic political career reflected his business interests which, aside from publishing, included a general store, lumbering and shipbuilding in Sarnia and land sales in the Huron tract. But in all three constituencies, he relied on Lowland Scottish settlers for his core of support. This was especially true of the Huron tract and Lanark County where radical reform-minded Scots had settled in large numbers.[13] Cameron took particular pains to remain in contact with the latter, sending frequent communications to the *Courier* in order to explain his actions and those of the Clear Grits and thereby helping to keep the radical reform platform before the public in the Ottawa Valley.[14]

Of the three Rebellion era Clear Grits, James Lesslie, a native of Dundee and from 1842 the proprietor of the *Toronto Examiner*, had the most recent experience of the social and political climate in Scotland. Lesslie had been in Scotland during the "Radical War" and arrived along with many other Lowland Scots settlers in 1822.[15] He had followed his father, Edward, who himself had earlier accompanied William Lyon Mackenzie on board ship

from Scotland. James set up a branch of the family general merchandising business in Kingston and in 1826 moved to York (incorporated as Toronto in 1834) to take over the family drug and stationery store, an enterprise that the elder Lesslie had briefly engaged in with Mackenzie. Lesslie and Sons soon came to dominate in this area of business, allowing James to branch out into publishing and civic politics. He became intimately involved with Mackenzie's bid for the mayoralty of Toronto and in 1835 was instrumental in founding the Bank of the People, the reform response to the Tory government-associated Bank of Upper Canada. Although called by the former Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, a "notorious rebel" and being imprisoned on suspicion of involvement in the Yonge Street rising, no evidence could be found linking Lesslie to the Rebellion. After 1837, he initially championed the cause of responsible government, but after the 1848 elections his paper became one of the most vociferous critics of the Baldwin/LaFontaine coalition.[16] In these early days of the movement, the most important vehicle for the dissemination of Clear Grit radical ideas was Lesslie's *Examiner*.

In addition to this Rebellion era core, a group of more recent reformers was present at the King Street meetings. William McDougall himself was the organizer and at twenty-seven, the energy and enthusiasm behind the Clear Grits. He claimed that his commitment to reform was awoken in 1837 when, still a boy, he had witnessed the burning of the rebel headquarters, Montgomery's

Tavern, which was near his parents' farm on Yonge Street. Suzanne Zellor points out, however, that his early schooling and professional training had some considerable influence on his political thought. Daniel McDougall insisted on a liberal education for his son eventually sending him to the Methodist Upper Canada College. Later, William apprenticed at the law office of James Hervey Price. The majority of Price's clients were farmers, like McDougall's father, who often had various grievances with the land policies of the administration. Thus his apprenticeship kept McDougall attuned to the concerns of the pioneer farmers in the province, later translated into a publishing venture entitled the *Canadian Agriculturalist*. But Price, originally from Cumberland in England, also influenced McDougall's political opinions, being a reformer himself who was in favour of such radical measures as vote by ballot and elective institutions. As a consequence, McDougall's education, training and experience encouraged him to identify with those who were committed to radical constitutional reform. His publishing ventures also echoed the journalistic interests of the Clear Grits and this would be demonstrated clearly by the founding of the *North American* on February 14, 1851, a reform paper which quickly took over from the *Examiner* as the official voice of the party.[17] But in this regard, McDougall had clearly been anticipated by the newspaper activities of Cameron and, especially, Lesslie.

Another member of the group and recent arrival to Canada West was Edinburgh-born David Christie, who

had become an affluent farmer in the colony. In 1833, he had emigrated with his family in order for his father to take up a farm in the Scottish settlements of Dumfries Township. But the Christies must have been a family of some means, since they were able to send David to Edinburgh High School before emigrating to Upper Canada. David Christie became one of the most successful farmers in the colony, which also suggests that the family had some resources at their disposal, although Christie gave credit to the improving principles he had acquired as part of his education in Scotland. In Canada West, Christie was instrumental in founding various agricultural societies and exhibitions as well as the Board of Agriculture, but the highest office he held outside of agricultural circles was as reeve of Brantford in 1850. Yet he shared with the other members of the Clear Grits a desire to see radical reform of the constitution along democratic lines. J.M.S. Careless has argued that Christie's interest in reform was a product of a growing perception among the farmers in the western part of the province that since responsible government "ministerial leaders were growing fat if, not unprincipled, in power" and that what was required for them was "cheap and simple government close to the people."[18] Of course similar indictments of the British governments had been prevalent with radical reform movements since the last decades of the eighteenth century and in Scotland itself, this anti-corruption argument had proved useful in mobilising members of the middle classes. Government repression and increasing violence, however, caused

many to distance themselves, at least publically, from movements like the Chartists.[19]

Two other British immigrants present at McDougall's King Street meetings were the Englishmen Charles Lindsey and Charles Clark, both of whom brought further journalistic talent to the group. With provision of a grammar school education (at the cost of considerable sacrifice on the part of his parents) Lindsey had taken an apprenticeship with a press in Lincoln before emigrating to Upper Canada in 1842. In a bid to establish himself in the Upper Canadian press, he had submitted a series of letters "with a reform bias" to a Port Hope paper, a contribution which ultimately led to a position on the staff. In 1846, on the basis of this early experience in reform journalism, Lesslie hired Lindsey to edit his *Examiner*. Clarke was the twenty-three year old associate editor of the Hamilton reform paper, the *Journal and Express*. As a boy, also in Lincoln, Clarke had apprenticed to a draper of strong free-trade opinions and in 1841 had joined the Anti-Corn Law League. Exposure to such popular yet middle-class reformism would influence his journalistic career as did his family's largely unsuccessful attempt at pioneer farming, an experience shared by many Lowland Scots immigrants.[20]

Of the founding membership, then, six were of British origin and four were either born in Scotland or of Scottish parentage.[21] Nevertheless, it had been the Canadian-born Perry, of Loyalist background, who had provided the impetus for the Clear Grits, with his

attack on the policies of the Baldwin/LaFontaine government, a fact that would lead contemporaries, and subsequent historians, to focus on the group's American orientation rather than its British, and especially Scottish, composition.

II

Peter Perry's *de facto* leadership status originated in the 1848 election campaign when he attacked the direction of Reform policy since 1837. After the suppression of the Rebellion, the reformers, who followed the leadership of Robert Baldwin, had tried to distance themselves from some of the inflammatory ideas of Mackenzie and his followers and were committed to the achievement of "responsible" government for the colony through constitutional means. Although it took over ten years to gain, responsible government was finally attained and the 1848 elections produced the first government to be elected under the new constitutional arrangement: the Baldwin/LaFontaine administration made up of Upper and Lower Canadian reform members.[22]

The coalition, however, immediately began to encourage the ire of more determined Upper Canadian reformers, such as Perry, whose expectations, ironically, had been raised by the victory. The administration's first piece of major legislation, the Rebellion Losses Bill, was designed to recompense Lower Canadians who had suffered damages to property during the insurrection. The bill angered not only conservatives, who denied the necessity of the legislation, but also reformers, who might have agreed with government aid in principle but

did not see why Upper Canada should have to pay for much of it.[23] Baldwin was forced to pass the measure in order to ensure the support of Lower Canadian members, and this betrayed an underlying tension in his government. In order to maintain his position, Baldwin had to balance Upper and Lower Canadian interests.

Meanwhile Mackenzie, who had returned from exile in the United States after receiving amnesty for his part in the Rebellion, kept up a vigorous correspondence with Upper Canadian newspapers, recalling the reform issues which had been current prior to 1837. These included vote by ballot, reduction of law costs, reform of the jury system and the judiciary, and retrenchment in government spending.[24] All of these challenges to established privilege had been raised as early as 1834, but the delicate balance that Baldwin had achieved between conservative, French-Canadian, and various reform elements had not allowed him the opportunity to act.

As early as 1849, in his York by-election campaign, Perry tapped into the disillusionment with the slow pace of change and took advantage of Mackenzie's renewed calls for reform by declaring that he would "act independently in Parliament if elected, would approve truth no matter whence it originated, and would advocate and uphold the true principles of Reform and Responsible Government." Although Perry wished to fight the election on the issue of unreformed privilege, the Baldwin/LaFontaine administration was more concerned with the growing American Annexation Movement based in Montreal. Along with their supporter George Brown,

the Alloa-born editor of the Toronto *Globe* and boyhood classmate of David Christie, the administration sought to make annexationism the major issue of the campaign.[25]

Perry's refusal to declare himself on the issue and his frequent use of American examples to make his case for the necessity of speedier and more complete constitutional reform, would allow conservatives, along with more moderate reformers like Brown, to brand Perry, and later the Clear Grits, as conspirators attempting to force a union with the United States. The editorial in the *Globe* on Perry's March 12, 1850 Markham *manifesto* speech, which followed the by-election victory of Caleb Hopkins, an old reformer but Clear Grit newcomer[26], reflects the persistence of this coupling.

> Mr. Peter Perry ... simply proposes to adopt the Republican form of government of the United States; and there is no difficulty in perceiving that the whole thing is but another movement in the "mapping and mining" tactics and the first step of preparation for an Annexation denouement. Elective institutions from the head of Government downwards - Universal suffrage - no property qualification - Biennial Parliaments, and fixed elections embody the whole difference between a Republican form of government and the limited monarchy of a Great Britain.

Historians, including Brown's biographer, have

tended to view the Clear Grit radicalism in the same manner, even though much of the evidence could be interpreted in a different light.[27] What contemporaries, and some later historians, chose to ignore was that the use of American images to argue for reform had a long history in British radicalism and was particularly evident in the *Chartist Circular,* produced in Glasgow by the city's leading Chartist, William Pattison.[28]

The Clear Grit counter to Brown's attacks was to employ their own extensive connections in the Canada West newspaper publishing world to disseminate their views. Only when we turn our attention away from Perry and the responses to him in the *Globe,* can we see the important role that the Scottish members of the group played in promoting the radical platform and begin to see the parallels with Chartism.

It was David Lesslie, through his *Examiner*, who took the leadership role in publishing the "Clear Grit" principles. He was joined by Malcolm Cameron's foundation, the *Bathurst Courier,* and the *Huron Signal*, edited by Cameron's friend and Ayrshire native, Thomas McQueen. Their lead was eventually followed by reform papers around the province, particularly in the newly settled western portions. These papers emulated the Chartist press in their reprinting of articles from each other's papers and sending letters for publication to like-minded editors.[29]

The *Globe* is notable for the fact that it was exceptional among reform papers for the vehemence of its attack on the Clear Grits and, as a consequence, Lesslie's

Examiner quickly rose to the challenges it made. George Brown had argued that the majority of the issues promoted by the Grits were ones which most reformers agreed upon and had "always contended for" but they had made their way onto the Grit program as "a cloak for the revolutionary parts of the scheme." In response, the *Examiner* acknowledged that the platform did not present "many new issues to the country" but stressed the fact that nothing had been achieved on long-standing grievances, as all reforms had been "'tomahawked' by the old ladies of the legislative council."[30]

It is important to note that both the *Globe* and the *Examiner* agreed that the novel parts of Perry's Markham platform were those that called for elective institutions, universal suffrage, abolition of property qualifications, biennial parliaments and fixed elections. The *Examiner* argued that these points were included in the platform not in order to make Canada a republic but to break the hold of privilege. The Clear Grits claimed that they were responding to the massive popularity of such principles, which the government had chosen to ignore. The reforms were designed to allow a greater participation of the populace in the government, not to dismantle the system.[31]

The six points of the Chartist People's Charter were a similar attempt. Four of the Charter's points - annual parliaments, universal male suffrage, removal of the property qualification, and secret ballot - were directly related to the novel aspects of the Markham platform. The two remaining points - payment of MPs and equal

electoral districts - reflected similar Clear Grit concerns, such as the demand for "elective institutions" and payment of jurors, both of which were intended to allow all who were qualified and desirous to be able to serve without having to rely on patronage (see Appendix A). All of these Clear Grit and Chartist proposals were designed to allow greater access to the machinery of government and to circumvent privilege.

The Clear Grit commentary over the loss of the Representation Bill of 1850 is perhaps one of the clearest illustrations of the adaptation of Chartist principles to Upper Canadian circumstances. The bill was intended to provide a limited extension of the franchise, but the *Examiner* did not bemoan its defeat. Instead, Lesslie's paper argued that with limited suffrage any representation was unjust:

> To complain that a majority of representatives may be elected by a minority of voters, while we forget that something like the majority of the people are deprived altogether of the franchise is to be unjustly discriminating in our complaints.[32]

The *Courier* claimed that because the measure ignored the principle of representation by population it merely reinforced the existing system and was the "very essence of Toryism and must have been borrowed from that party, who pride themselves on being advocates of tyranny and misrule."[33]

Both Clear Grit papers appealed to the principle of universal suffrage, long demanded by British radicals, but then went on to attack the LaFontaine bill with an Upper Canadian gloss. They contended that the measure was in fact an attempt to have Lower Canadian interests dominate the house. Suffrage was not only seen as an inalienable right, but a way in which the French-Canadian influence could be checked. The *Examiner* saw the bill's defeat as the foiling of a sinister plot, reporting that, "The *Journal de Quebec* has stated that the measure would be able to give the Gallic population of Lower Canada a certain and lasting preponderance over the rest of the population." The *Courier* agreed, stating that LaFontaine would never have proposed a bill that would sacrifice Lower Canadian interests. But equal representation, a key Chartist demand translated by the Clear Grits as representation by population, would recognize "the tide of emigration to Upper Canada, in which thousands are yearly arriving." Both papers believed that the population of Upper Canada was increasingly greater than that of Lower Canada and, therefore, the introduction of universal suffrage and equal representation would accurately reflect the composition of the two provinces in parliament. According to the *Examiner*, this was only natural and LaFontaine's bill was an artificial attempt to preserve what was doomed:

> The division of the population of Canada into two distinct races is an existing fact. The extinction of the peculiar institutions of that

> race, that will soon be inferior in numbers and that is already far behind the advanced line of civilization reached by the other, is as certain as any social or political event not yet come to be. The ultimate absorption of the Gallic race of Lower Canada in the more energetic Anglo Saxon is equally certain. But before this event takes place the throes of an expiring nationality may disturb or convulse the yet conflicting elements of a new Anglo American nationality, which one day will burst into life.

The Chartist planks of universal suffrage and equal representation were being used to justify a racial explanation for the anti-French sentiment which most of the Clear Grits appear to have shared. This may also have reflected the attitudes of many of their constituents as there was a contemporary Scottish parallel with the intense anti-Catholicism that had developed in the Glasgow region as a consequence of the increasing immigration of Irish labourers. This could have predisposed many immigrant Scottish artisans and labourers, who viewed the Irish as part of the threat to their livelihood in Scotland, to the anti-French attitudes prevalent in Upper Canada. Nevertheless, it is clear that elements of the Chartist platform were being adapted to particularly Canadian circumstances.[34]

The more general attack on vested privilege which the six points of the People's Charter implied, was also

apparent in the Clear Grit reiteration of long-standing Canadian reform measures. For example, the argument for the abolition of the law of primogeniture was argued on the basis that its only purpose was "to build up an aristocracy" in Upper Canada. Similarly, the Court of Chancery, a frequent target of reformers, was opposed because of apparent manipulation by the wealthy in order to monopolize desirable land grants and its ruinous costs which prevented even those of moderate means from obtaining justice. It was "a master-piece of iniquity, and a curse unsuited to any country - even to Old England." While payment for jurors was welcomed as a means to allow greater participation, pensions for judges were attacked since these were also open to abuse by the privileged. "The general provision of the law is, that when men feel themselves getting a 'sick head-ache' or other such serious complaint, they can retire upon a pension; the knowledge of this fact induces them to live extravagantly." All of the measures for legal reform proposed by the Clear Grits were designed to break elite control of the law and make justice widely available to all. Although more narrowly focussed in Upper Canada, this analysis, which connected the material conditions of the population at large with constitutional and institutional forms of governance, had a long tradition in British radicalism and found full expression in the Chartist six points.[35]

The high-point of Clear Grit influence came with Baldwin's resignation in July 1851 over the Chancery Court issue. The *Examiner* argued that his mistake was

to attempt "the reconstruction of the Court of Chancery at a time when it ought to have been abolished." The editorial then went on to attack the Baldwin government for failing to take into account public opinion. The *Courier* agreed: "[d]issatisfaction seems to pervade the length and breadth of the [Reform] party in so far as Upper Canada is concerned - brought on we must confess, owing to the tardiness or unwillingness of Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues to grapple with the just demands of the people." The clear implication was that if universal suffrage were to be enacted, then such high-handed governance would not be possible.[35]

What appears to have happened in Canada West is that elements of reform derived from Britain, such as universal suffrage and equal representation, were married by the Clear Grits to the peculiar concerns of indigenous reform movement. This also appears to be the case when we go beyond the People's Charter and look at what other elements of the movement Scottish immigrants were likely to bring with them.

One of the longest-lasting aspects of the Chartist movement in Scotland was the survival of the Chartist churches. According to Rev. William Hill, editor of the radical paper the *Northern Star*, "the chief strength of Scottish Chartism...resided in the Christian Chartist Churches." Their congregations were located in the Gorbals, Paisley, Renfrew and other industrial areas of the greater Glasgow region. One Chartist paper summed up the sentiment behind the movement:

> The man who is not a Chartist is not a Christian otherwise than in name... Practical Christianity can never be reconciled to narrow selfish politics... Real Chartism seeks to do justice to every man without exception. It is therefore a holy-sacred principle [,] a principle which must be engraved on the heart of any man who loves justice, who loves humanity, who loves the Christian religion.[37]

Apart from this ideal, Alex Wilson has isolated several practical concerns which prompted the formation of Chartist churches in Scotland. Support from the established Presbyterian church, known for their opposition to reform, was not expected, but the lack of enthusiasm for Chartism from the dissenting churches disappointed a great many reformers. Chartists were being barred from established churches and largely ignored by dissenting clergymen. As a result, they established their own congregations to provide services for those who had been denied them and to teach Christian principles with the Chartist ideal in mind. The church that evolved out of the Glasgow circumstances was not only egalitarian and reforming in principles, but also opposed to state endowment of established churches. That system, which the Chartists viewed as totally un-Christian, reinforced the patronage networks and helped to maintain the inequities in Scottish society.

Many of the immigrants who came from Glasgow to Canada West would have known about the Chartist

churches and they would have seen a familiar issue in the Clergy Reserves controversy. Upper Canadian reformers of Protestant background had largely been opposed to the settlement which had endeavoured to give the lion's share of the sale of reserve public lands to the Anglican Church. Although the Church of Scotland was also generously provided for, the Free Kirk, formed in 1843, was not, and in these circumstances the reserves would have been particularly galling to many Scottish immigrants on religious grounds alone. But the Clear Grit leadership, particularly the Presbyterian Cameron, the Secessionist Christie and the Scots Baptist Lesslie, were especially opposed the Anglican domination of the land reserves income on grounds other than religious belief.[38] As with the Scottish Chartists, the Clear Grits believed the offices of the church were sources of patronage for the Upper Canadian elite and argued that the numbers of adherents did not justify the level of support. In his Markham speech, Perry suggested that there were no biblical grounds for such endowment and claimed that Christ after all had died because he had opposed the "established church." He stated that the Clear Grits believed in a "voluntarist" principle and that the reserves should be used for the benefit of all Protestants. This alarmed the Catholic Church in Quebec who saw this as a direct challenge to their land holdings in Lower Canada. LaFontaine's defence of state recognition of "vested religious interests" prompted many Clear Grits to again see French Canadian influence in the coalition halting

the progress of reform. As a consequence, by 1851 the debate over the reserves question had degenerated into an anti-Catholic attack, as witnessed by editorials in the *Examiner*, the *Courier* and even the *Globe*. [39]

But by the end of 1851, the Clear Grits were already a spent force. With the collapse of the Baldwin/LaFontaine coalition, a new Reform ministry was formed and Dr. John Rolph and Malcolm Cameron were offered ministerial posts. In addition, William McDougall's paper, the *North American*, would support the reconstituted government led by Francis Hincks. But the new arrangement quickly unravelled when Cameron pulled out of the administration after hearing that he was to be offered the President of the Council, a position he had consistently attacked as useless and wasteful. The coalition remained intact, but the Clear Grits were fragmented, weakening the radicalism of the movement. In its early days the *North American*, particularly with the contributions from Charles Clarke, had continued to link Canadian reform issues with the ideals of the Chartists, but the new connection with the governing administration tended to modify both the paper and the group's attacks. In the end, this proved so effective that George Brown would eventually be able to lead a much more moderate Grit party.[40]

The Clear Grits had precipitated a great deal of reform infighting and brought down one administration because of the group's impatience with the pace of reform, but their greater significance, for our purposes, is the extent to which the group demonstrated the

continued importance of British and especially Scottish developments for the political life of Canada West. The Chartists' six points, and the Scottish variant of the movement, provided the general principles to which the old grievances could be attached and the Clear Grit influenced press, with its heavy Scottish proprietorship, gave the means to promote this new fusion.

III

In order to evaluate accurately the impact of the Clear Grit press, more has to be understood about their audience. Aside from the core of reforming support in the Ottawa Valley, the vast majority of Grit seats came from the western counties, an area which had provided support for Duncombe's rebellion in 1837 and where settlements, which included a large number of recently arrived pioneer Scots, were largely rural. Frank Underhill characterized this group as being preoccupied with the concerns of settlement and somewhat threatened by the political power of metropolitan centres. The *Bathurst Courier* appeared to pander to these sentiments declaring that the Grits were in favour of simplifying the forms of law and reducing expenses, because this would reduce the number of lawyers: "none but the clever would follow the profession, and others could go on digging potatoes or some other honest employment."[41] In fact, Underhill argued that it was this anti-professional and anti-commercial nature of Clear Grit support which encouraged opposition to the movement from merchants and manufacturers of both Canadas.[42]

Underhill believed that the "Clear Grits" had the

same appeal among the pioneers of Canada West as Jacksonian "Frontier Democracy" had in the United States; he described this rural electorate as the "intelligent yeomanry of Upper Canada."[43] Dorothy Thompson, however, has argued that, in Britain, the ethos of Chartism was best maintained in the types of small communities which papers like the *Bathurst Courier* and *Huron Signal* served. These had to be large enough that the village was not under the control of a single dominant aristocrat, but small enough that communities could exercise control "over shopkeepers, constables, schoolteachers, local perchers and even Poor Law guardians." It was in these mid-sized communities that the Chartist appeal for constitutional change was most successful. There the direct effect of changes could be monitored and enforced while in the large urban manufacturing centres, such control was not possible. Although settlement was much more dispersed in the western counties, the "intelligent yeomen" of Upper Canada may have been ideally suited for the reception of Chartist ideas since they were in a political position similar to that of the small community dwellers in Britain.[44]

The readership of the *Courier* and *Signal* not only conforms to this profile, they were also composed of a great many Lowland Scots of artisan, labouring or small farming origins. The intense agricultural and industrial transformation occurring in Lowland society in the opening decades of the nineteenth century not only made for frequent industrial disturbances during

the periodic economic slumps that hit trades like weaving, but also provided hundreds of immigrants for the ships heading to colonies such as Canada West. Many of these migrants were skilled, literate tradesmen who made their way to the Ottawa Valley and the western counties.[45]

But Scottish settlement was not restricted to the rural pioneering districts of Canada West. Scots were also found in urban centres like Toronto, where they would have seen Lesslie's *Examiner*. Michael Katz's examination of Hamilton has also revealed that Scottish Presbyterians made up 12.7 percent of the total population in 1851. At the same time, Scots also made up 10.5 percent of the poorest inhabitants of the city and a great many of these, in turn, belonged to the trades or semiskilled and unskilled labour. As the century progressed many Scots showed considerable upward mobility, that would have been of little consolation to the emigrant weavers, stone masons, carpenters and painters who, in the 1840s, left depressed trades in Scotland only to find destitution in Canada West.[46] It was this group who would have been reading that city's reform paper the *Journal and Express*, with its expositions of established privilege as the root cause of the labouring population's misfortune, an analysis that they would have seen before in Chartist papers and the earlier British radical press. In fact, the tone was so similar that J.M.S. Careless has claimed that Charles Clark's writings in the paper "would veritably make the People's Charter ring thorough the Clear Grit platform."[47]

Nevertheless, Kenneth Dewar, in the most detailed study of Chartist influence on Upper Canadian reform to date, argues that despite Clarke's artisan background, his letters, signed with the pseudonym "Reformator" and published in various reform papers, represent the more moderate middle-class, or 'moral' force, element in the movement. According to Dewar, this was because of his adaption of his experience of English radicalism to the social conditions in British North America. As a consequence, Clarke was "less interested in mediating between worker and aristocracy" as his middle-class Chartist counterparts were attempting in Britain, but was instead committed to "giving voice to farmers, merchants, and mechanics, obstructed by the feudal pretensions of government officials and professional men."[48]

All the same, despite the appeal to the labouring population and the occasionally violent nature of some Chartist protest, particularly with the 1839 Newport Rising in Wales, Gareth Stedman-Jones has concluded that the movement in Britain was also dominated by middle-class concerns and rhetoric. Parliamentary reform only provided a focus for middle-class and working-class discontent at a time when the former was excluded from governmental participation. As Stedman-Jones states, "...from 1832 onwards the middle-class formed part of the legislative classes and thus became the authors of the miseries of which the working class complained; while a portion of middle class opinion was prepared to support the Chartist petition, there was no corresponding support for the Convention (of 1839) as

rival legislative body." Since the middle-class was not prepared to take this revolutionary step, and because they provided the rhetoric for the movement, the differing aims of the classes took the steam out of Chartism. Dorothy Thompson further supports this thesis by suggesting that by the 1850s working-class energy was diverted from Chartism into trade unionism.[49]

This class division within the movement has often been portrayed as a conflict between "moral force" and "physical force" elements. William Ferguson uses this model to account for the differences between Edinburgh and Glasgow Chartists, although this explanation also recognizes economic factors, "Glasgow was more proletarian and suffering from industrial depression and unrest, whereas the Edinburgh Chartists were dominated by fairly prosperous artisans." As a consequence, the Glasgow Chartists were more prone to direct physical action than their better off and more moderate Edinburgh brethren.[50] To a certain degree, this dichotomy was reflected in the reform movement of Canada West, with George Brown being the inheritor of Edinburgh liberal ideals and the Clear Grits representing the more radical disillusioned elements. As Careless points out, Brown was keenly interested in questions of penal, social and governmental reform but, as with his British liberal counterparts, he was reluctant to accept large-scale constitutional changes.[51] The Clear Grits, on the other hand, were demanding immediate wholesale reforms of this nature.

The common denominator, for many Lowland Scots

immigrants to Canada West was the experience of the highly charged political atmosphere of early nineteenth-century Scotland, which would have almost certainly familiarized them with the aims of the popular radicals, and, as a consequence, the province was likely to receive Scots who were versed in the politics of the Chartists. And yet, if Stedman-Jones' thesis is correct, one would expect reform policies to be articulated by a socially conservative middle class, despite an ardent reform rhetoric. The Clear Grit leadership, although in many cases influenced by artisan origins, conform to this model. An example of their caution can be found in the *Courier* editorial of May 2, 1851, which was commenting on William Lyon Mackenzie's return to Parliament as the new member for Haldimand:

> What ever revolutions he may wish to create in public opinion, we are persuaded he will use none other than moral and constitutional means to effect them as a Canadian politician.

However, the warning was not necessary, as it is clear that although Mackenzie wished to bring the reform issues of 1837 back to the attention of the public, he had by this point abandoned thoughts of rebellion and had himself become a 'moral force' politician.

IV

If, as Tony Clark contends, too much has been made of the dichotomy between physical force and moral force Chartism in Scotland[52], then a similar argument can be

put forward for the distinctions drawn between Rebellion era radicalism and the "Clear Grit" reformers of the 1850s. In both cases, a period of violence had been followed by a commitment to constitutional means for promoting political change. In Britain, the Newport Rising was followed by two unsuccessful petitioning campaigns in 1842 and 1848 calling for the adoption of the People's Charter, while in Upper Canada the roughly contemporary 1837 Rebellion was followed by what in the end proved to be an equally unsuccessful radical reform campaign mounted by the "Clear Grits." After Cameron was discredited for accepting and then resigning his appointment in the Hincks' coalition administration in 1851, the movement fell under the influence of the moderate liberal, George Brown. To be sure during their heyday, members of the middle and elite classes of both societies were alarmed at the potential for a return to revolutionary violence that these groups appeared to represent, but this should not detract from our recognizing the essentially peaceful nature of both movements nor from the continuity in both their leadership and support.

In Canada West, both this continuity as well as the transformation to peaceful tactics are exemplified by William Lyon Mackenzie. Although he had renounced his earlier revolutionary past, upon his return to Upper Canada Mackenzie sought to promote further reform through debate in the legislature and through his newspaper, the *Message*. This did not mean, however, that he had lost his interest in radical working-class politics.

In his private scrap books, which are housed in the Public Archives of Ontario, one will find under the heading "Chartism, or White-slavery - labourers - workmen," clippings from *The Radical*, *The Northern Star* and the *Chartist Circular*, including a story from the latter on the Chartist disruptions of political meetings in Glasgow.[53]

Although Mackenzie was not a member of the Clear Grits, much of his experience, tactics and personal connections to Scottish radical influences were shared. Many of the areas of Upper Canada which had supported the Rebellion had also supported the Clear Grits and were, in addition, areas of particularly heavy Scottish settlement. A great many of those Scots were only recently removed from the radicalized political context of Lowland Scotland. Although there has been some recent reaction against overdrawing the regional aspects of Chartism, such as Chartist churches, and emphasizing once again the British and working-class aspects of the movement, nonetheless it is clear that Lowland Scotland, and the Glasgow region in particular, played a central role in the movement.[54] For this reason alone we should be sensitive to the radical baggage, including their newspapers, that many Scots would have brought with them to Upper Canada. This inclined them to support reform movements in general and the Clear Grits in particular. Contemporaries, especially George Brown, were obsessed with the personal qualities of the group's leadership, Brown called the Grits "a miserable clique of office-seeking bunkum-talking cormorants,"[55] but as we

have seen, the critic's condemnation has led historians to overlook the remarkable Scottish composition of the Clear Grit leadership and their press.

It is the further investigation of the Clear Grit constituency, however, that is likely to reveal a fuller understanding of the importance of the Scottish background for the radical reform politics of Canada West. Only then will we be able to go beyond the relatively superficial comparison of political platforms and analysis of leadership and determine if the popular nature of the Chartist movement in Britain was replicated in British North America. Recent studies have shown that in Britain, Chartism became enmeshed in broader working-class ritual and popular culture. In many places, especially Lowland Scotland, the movement also provided a focus for the social and cultural life of many members of the labouring population. As Wilson contends, in Glasgow one could read Chartist papers, shop at Chartist co-operative shops and attend Chartist churches. Furthermore, in Britain the mass nature of the movement also allowed women a rare public political role through Chartist meetings, demonstrations and associations. There was, however, no obvious involvement of women in Upper Canadian reform politics, perhaps confirming the findings of some that, despite the opportunities for being involved in protest, Scottish artisan households were much more patriarchal and females were more clearly restricted to domestic supportive roles.[56] Nor does there appear to have been a transference of the popular culture and social aspects

of Chartism to British North America. A close study of Scottish pioneering and labouring immigrant families is required before we can measure the cultural influence of these immigrants on the political life of Canada West, but it is hoped that this study has hinted at the value in doing so.

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Endnotes

1. The author wishes to thank the members of the graduate seminars at McMaster University and the University of Guelph, who commented on the first draft of this paper many years ago! He would also like to thank his colleagues, Dr. Burkhard Kiesekamp and Dr. Anthony Farrell for their advice and encouragement. Finally, special thanks must be given to Marlene Singer for her invaluable assistance in the recomposition of this paper. Of course, all faults, errors and omissions are the author's own.
2. See for example Sydney F. Wise, "Through the lace curtain: Canadian Views of American Democracy in the Pre-Civil War Period", CASS Bulletin, 1967 2(2), pp. 46-48.
3. For example see J. E. Rea, "William Lyon Mackenzie - Jacksonian?," Mid-America, L (1968), pp. 223-35 and "William Lyon Mackenzie," Dictionary of Canadian Biography [hereafter DCB], Vol. IX, 1861-1870, pp. 497-510.
4. See Colin Read and Ronald J. Stagg, eds., The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada (Ottawa, 1988), pp. lxxv, 16, 103. Although Scots were not heavily represented in

Duncombe's rebellion, which centred on the western, mainly pioneering, part of the colony and followed the failure of Mackenzie's rising, Lowland Scottish settlers in Dumfries township had supported the reform movement and appear to have been excluded only because news did not reach their settlements until after the insurrection. See Colin Read, The Rising in Western Upper Canada: Duncombe Revolt and After (Toronto, 1982) pp. 50, 182-83.

5. The origins of the label "Clear Grit" are obscure. One contemporary report suggested that the term came out of a discussion between David Christie and George Brown regarding the nature of the group. Christie claimed that moderate reformers, like Brown, would not be welcome: "We want only men who are Clear Grit." Certainly, Brown's paper, the Globe, was applying the term to the radicals in December of 1849 and the label stuck. "David Christie," DCB, vol. X, 1871-1880, p. 169.
6. F. Landon, "Western Ontario and the America Frontier," in M. Cross, ed., The Frontier Thesis (Toronto, 1970).
7. J.M.S. Careless, "The Toronto Globe and Agrarian Radicalism, 1850-67," in M. Cross, ed., Frontier, p.156; A. M. M. Evans, "The Scot as Politician," in W. Stanford Reid, ed., The Scottish Tradition in Canada (Toronto, 1976), p. 287; Allan Greer, The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada (Toronto, 1993), p. 131. For a lucid discussion of the importance of viewing the Rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada as a single phenomenon and as part of a wider transatlantic development, see his "1837-38: Rebellion Reconsidered," Canadian Historical Review, LXXVI, 1, 1995, pp. 1-18. Michael Cross, although insisting on the importance of local conditions, has also alluded to parallels in the artisan and labouring class nature of the support for reform on either side of the Atlantic. See his "1837: The Necessary Failure," in Cross and Kealy, eds., Pre-Industrial Canada, 1760-1849 (Toronto, 1982), pp. 139-158.

8. Glasgow, Aug. 19, 1839, Scottish Record Office GD 177/3/4/23.
9. Berlin, Sept. 18, 1839, Scottish Record Office GD 1/813/4.
10. For example, the pro-Chartist, editor of the "Paisley" Section of the Glasgow Saturday Post, John Henderson (1797-1851), had fled Scotland in 1819 when he was suspected of supplying pikes to radicals. He later served as Paisley Provost in 1841-43 before making his newspaper contributions. For the influence of earlier radicalism on Lowland settlers emigrating to the Ottawa Valley see M. Vance, "The Politics of Emigration: Scotland and Assisted Emigration to Upper Canada, 1815-1826," in T.M. Devine, ed., Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society (Edinburgh, 1992) and "Advancement, moral worth and freedom: some possible meanings of 'Independence' among early nineteenth-century Glasgow emigrants to Upper Canada," in Ned C. Landsman, ed., Scotland and the Americas (Edinburgh, forthcoming). For the importance of emigration in the decline of Scottish Chartism, see Alex Wilson, The Chartist Movement in Scotland (Manchester, 1970).
11. "Peter Perry," DCB, vol. VIII, 1851-1860, pp. 694-699.
12. "Thomas McQueen," DCB, vol. IX, 1861-1870, pp. 528-29.
13. "Malcolm Cameron," DCB, vol. X, 1871-1880, pp. 124-26; "Thomas McQueen," DCB, vol. IX, 1861-1870, pp. 528-29; James Scott, The Settlement of Huron County (Toronto, 1966), pp. 247-49; J.S. McGill, A Pioneer History of the County of Lanark (Toronto, 1968), pp. 147, 156-61, 186-7, 191; Vance, "The Politics of Emigration," p. 53 and "Advancement, Moral Worth and Freedom."
14. See for example his letter "To the Electors of Huron, Perth and Bruce" explaining the reasons for resigning from the Hincks reform coalition in 1851. December 19, 1851, Courier.
15. The 1820 "Radical War" was an abortive rising of radically-minded artisans in the region centred on Glasgow. Although a fiasco, it generated considerable alarm, prompt-

ing some to support the idea of government-assisted emigration for many of the regions under and unemployed artisans. See W. Hamish Fraser, "Patterns of Protest" in T.M. Devine and R. Mitchison, eds., People and Society in Scotland, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 269-91 and M. Vance, "The Politics of Emigration."

16. "James Lesslie," DCB, vol. XI, 1881-1890, pp. 516-519; Evans, "Scot as Politician," p. 287.
17. "William McDougall," DCB, vol. XIII, 1901-1910, pp. 632-636; J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe (Toronto, 1959), p.109.
18. "David Christie," DCB, vol. X, 1871-1880, pp. 168-171.
19. For an example of this, see Fiona A. Montgomery, "Glasgow and the Movement for Corn Law Repeal," History, 1979, pp. 363-379, who argues that middle-class reformers shifted focus from Chartism to the Corn Laws to the detriment of the former movement.
20. Clarke's pioneer farm was in the Dunville area at the mouth of the Grand River. Kenneth C. Dewar, "Charles Clarke's 'Reformator': Early Victorian Radicalism in Upper Canada," Ontario History, September 1986, LXXVIII (3), pp. 233-252.
21. Another Englishman, originally from Thorbury, Gloucester, was Dr. John Rolph, a physician, lawyer and political ally of Mackenzie, who was adopted by the Clear Grits as a spokesman because of his rhetorical ability and open conflict with Baldwin. However, his involvement with the foundation of the movement is uncertain and unlike the other members, he was from a relatively affluent professional family. "John Rolph", DCB, vol. IX, pp. 683-689.
22. For a detailed analysis of the attainment of responsible government and the significance of this element of self-government for the Canadas, see J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions 1841-1857 (Toronto, 1972), pp. 113-131.
23. Careless, Union of the Canadas, pp. 122-126.

24. "Mackenzie," DCB, vol. IX, 1861-1870, p. 505.
25. George M. Jones, "The Peter Perry Election and the Rise of the Clear Grit Party," Ontario Historical Society Records and Papers, vol. VI, 1913-14, p. 172; "Perry," DCB, vol. VIII, 1851-1860, p. 169.
26. Hopkins, like Perry, was from an American Loyalist family (New Jersey) and had a long political career as reform MP for Halton county. As with Perry, early on he had close ties with Mackenzie and openly rejected the more moderate course followed since the Rebellion. His by-election campaign provided the Clear Grits with the ready-made opportunity to announce their platform to the electorate, hence the Markham speech. "Caleb Hopkins," DCB, vol. X, 1871-1880, pp. 358-359.
27. Careless, Brown of the Globe. Kenneth Dewar argues convincingly that the identification of Clarke as an annexationist is based on an erroneous understanding of the role of American models for British radicalism. Dewar, "Charles Clarke's 'Reformator'," p. 248.
28. A. Wilson, "Chartism in Glasgow," in Asa Briggs, ed., Chartist Studies (Toronto, 1967), pp. 267-68. For a still useful account of the role of American imagery among British reformers, see Sylvia Strauss, "The American Myth in Britain," South Atlantic Quarterly, 1973, 72(1), pp. 66-81. A random sample of article titles from the Chartist Circular relating to America are: "Education in America," May 30, 1840; "Universal Suffrage - Vote by Ballot - And Law In America!," May 30, 1839; "Prospects of America 'A hundred million of Happy People!'," April 18, 1840. The content of these is reflected in the following passage:

    With greater ease and comfort in his domestic arrangements, the labouring American acquires also the necessary leisure and disposition as his circle of friends becomes enlarged, and he is rendered more capable of appreciating the advantages of the political institutions of his country.

"The Social Condition of the American Operative," July 10, 1841. See also "The Emigrant's Farewell," Appendix B.

29. For example see the Courier, May 10, 1850, August 20, 1851, December 19, 1851.
30. Globe, March 23, 1850; *Examiner*, March 20, 1850.
31. Examiner, March 20, 1850.
32. Examiner, July 3, 1850.
33. Courier, July 12, 1850.
34. Examiner, July 3, 1850; Courier, July 12, 1850. See also Careless, Union of the Canadas, pp. 181-82. The co-existence of liberal and radical movements for reform alongside racial antagonism was not peculiar to British North America, as recent work on race and class in the United States has shown. See in particular David R. Roediger, The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (New York, 1991). For the reaction to the Irish in Scotland, see T.M. Devine, ed., Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society (Edinburgh, 1991).
35. Even some of the more circumstantial Clear Grit complaints, such as the ill-effects of unrestrained government spending, caused by a lack of checks which it was assumed universal suffrage would provide, are echoed in Scottish Chartist literature [See "Retrenchment and a Property Tax," Chartist Circular, June 7, 1840]. The concern with the legal supports for the aristocracy was also anticipated in the Chartist press [See "On the Law of Primogeniture," Chartist Circular, December 21, 1839]. For a general account of the linkage between material circumstances and constitutional reform in British radicalism, see D. Wright, Popular Radicalism: The Working Class Experience 1780-1880 (London, 1988).
36. Courier, July 22, 1851.
37. Alex Wilson, The Chartist Movement in Scotland, pp. 40-41; 138.
38. McDougall, Cameron and Lesslie were all supporters of the contemporary Anti-Clergy Reserves Association. See

the entry for each in *DCB*.

39. Examiner, March 20, 1850; Courier, March 29, 1850; Careless, Union of the Canadas, pp. 173-176.
40. Careless, Union of the Canadas, pp. 166-173.
41. Courier, March 29, 1850.
42. Frank H. Underhill, "Some Aspects of Upper Canadian Radical Opinion in the Decade before Confederation," Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1927, pp. 46-61.
43. Originally coined by the Globe in the 1860s. Underhill, "Some Aspects," p. 47. The literate nature of the population was certainly attested to by the proliferation of newspapers in the region. In 1859, members of thirty-three papers from western counties attended the Reform convention. George W. Brown, "The Grit Party and the Great Reform Convention of 1859," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XVI, No. 3, 1935, pp. 245-265.
44. Dorothy Thompson, The Chartists: Popular Politics in the Industrial Revolution (New York, 1984), p. 338; Tony Clarke has noted the plethora of Chartist groups in Fife partially corroborating Thompson's findings in Scotland. See his "Early Chartism in Scotland: A 'Moral Force' Movement?," in T.M. Devine, ed., Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society, 1700-1850 (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 109.
45. See Glenn J. Lockwood, Beckwith: Irish and Scottish Identities in a Canadian Community (Carleton Place, Ont., 1991); James Scott, Huron County; Reminiscences of the early history of Galt and the settlement of Dumfries, in the Province of Ontario (Toronto, 1880).
46. Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1975), pp. 63-72, 164-173.
47. Careless, Brown of the Globe, p. 109.
48. Dewar, "Charles Clarke's 'Reformator'," p. 246.
49. Gareth Stedman-Jones, "Rethinking Chartism," in his Languages of Class (London, 1983); Thompson, Chartists, p. 339.

50. William Ferguson, Scotland: 1689 to the Present (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 304.
51. Careless, Brown of the Globe; "George Brown," DCB, vol. X, 1871-1880, pp. 91-129.
52. Tony Clarke, "Early Chartism in Scotland," p. 120.
53. William Lyon Mackenzie Papers, Public Archives of Ontario, Mu 1870 2891-3133.
54. See Wilson, Chartist Movement in Scotland and "Chartism in Glasgow" as well as Clarke, "Early Chartism." For a re-evaluation of the working-class nature of Chartism, see John C. Belchem, "Radical Language and Ideology in Early Nineteenth-Century England: The Challenge of the Platform," Albion, vol. 20, no. 2, 1988, pp. 247-259.
55. Jones, "Peter Perry Election", p. 172.
56. See Paul A. Pickering, "Class Without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement", Past and Present, No. 112, 1986, pp. 144-162 and his Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford (London, 1985); Owen R. Ashton, "Chartism and Popular Culture: An Introduction to the Radical Culture in Cheltenham Spa, 1830-1847," Journal of Popular Culture, 1987, 20 (4), pp. 61-81. The best overall survey of the movement is Dorothy Thompson's, The Chartists. For the role of females in English Chartism see Thompson's Chapter 7, "The Women," in The Chartists, and David Jones, "Women in Chartism", History, 1983, 68 (222), pp. 1-21. The status of women in Scottish radicalism is discussed in Anna Clarke, The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class (London, 1995), pp. 128-131, 160-161, 242-244.

APPENDIX A

I. The People's Charter

The draft parliamentary Bill, known as the 'People's Charter', was finally approved by the London Working Men's Association on 8 May 1838. This minute of their proceedings a week later describes the arrangements made for putting the Charter forward at the Glasgow meeting on 21 May, along with the Birmingham Political Union's National Petition.

On a motion by Hartwell and Lawrence the following resolution was agreed to,

Resolved, That the Members of the Working Men's Association fully concurring in the great principles of Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, the Ballot, and all the other essentials to the free exercise of Man's political rights - and hearing that a meeting is to be held at Glasgow on the 21st of May in furtherance of the objects do request our Honorary Members Mr Thos. Murphy and the Revd Dr Wade to present to that meeting our pamphlet entitled the 'People's Charter' being the outline of an act to provide for the just representation of the people of Great Britain in the Commons House of Parliament - embracing the principles of Universal Suffrage*, No Property Qualifications*, Annual Parliaments*, Equal Representation, Payment of Members, and Vote by Ballot* prepared by a committee of twelve persons, six members of parliament and six members of the Working Men's Association.

Working Men's Association Minutes, vol. I, 1837-1839, minute for 15 May, 1838, British Library, Add. MSS 37, 773 f. 107.

Source: Edward Royle, *Chartism* (London, 1986 - 2nd edition), p. 94.

II. The Clear Grit Platform

The following is a summary of Peter Perry's March 12, 1850 speech at Markham as reported in the ***Globe****. Although several meetings had been held in various locations in Canada West between January and March of that year, it was Perry's speech which came to be recognised as the* ***manifesto*** *of the movement.*

Extract from Mr. Perry's speech; the ground taken on several questions.

1. ELECTIVE INSTITUTIONS – "On this question he would go the whole length."
2. *UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE – "His opinion was that universal suffrage and vote by ballot was true principle."
3. *VOTE BY BALLOT – "Vote by ballot was the true principle."
4. *NO QUALIFICATION – "No property qualification should be required for the *elected*."
5. *BIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS – "He considered two years long enough for the duration of Parliament."

6. FIXED ELECTIONS – "The day and time" "of the general elections" "should be" "fixed by law."
7. ASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT – "The time of meeting of Parliament should be also fixed by law."
8. RETRENCHMENT – "The Government of Canada is the most expensive in the world, considering its circumstances." "Proper retrenchment would enable us to save some $500,000 to $600,000 a year."
9. PENSION TO JUDGES – "Bad in principle and worse in practise." "He referred to the case of our Judges – such a system ought to be done away with."
10. LAW COSTS – "Are greater than in any other country." He believed vast savings may be made to the country by a proper system, and was not opposed to paying lawyers properly for the performance of necessary duties." "They (the Judges) are not the right men to fix the fees or law-costs – that should be done by law."
11. THE JUDICIARY – "He would abolish the Court of Chancery, and also the Common Place, and have one Court of Queen's Bench, County Courts and Township Courts, and would have judges to "tend them." For the Township Courts the Judges could attend them; these Courts could have jurisdiction as high as £100 in matters of contrast."
12. FREE TRADE – "He was a Free Trader. The system of free trade and direct taxation, was the best that could be devised for any country."
13. THE CLERGY RESERVES – "The Reserves were set apart, not for one church, but for all Protestants – they should now be used for the public benefit of all."

"He (Mr. P.) would not go to Downing Street about it; we should settle it ourselves so that it should stay settled."

14. THE FIFTY-SEVEN RECTORIES – "Some persons said that the present incumbents should not be deprived of these Rectories, but that after their death the lands should revert to the public; but he had no such scruples about it." "He would devote them as well as the Reserves to the support of education, and other general purposes."

15. THE LAW OF PRIMOGENITURE – "As far as he was concerned, he would put his foot on it."

16. THE JURY LAW – "Instead of being taken, as they now too often are, from one locality, they should be drawn by a system of ballot from the several townships of the country." His idea was that each township should furnish its quota, to be selected by the Council, from those who were qualified to act as jurymen. Let them take the assessment roll and strike off all who were disqualified by age or sickness, holding other offices, property or ignorance, and let the names of the rest be put in a box, and the number required from that township for the year, be drawn by ballot and sent to the Sheriff." "He would pay them a reasonable sum per day for their attendance."

17. THE USURY LAW – "Offers no protection against high interest," and it prevents money from coming into the country."

18. PROGRESS GENERALLY – "Members generally were blamed for not moving as fast as the people, but the principal difficulty they would have with him would be

to hold him back, as he would probably wish to go faster than his constituents, and would require 'breeching' a little."

Source: The Globe, March 23, 1850. See also The Examiner, March 20, 1850 and G. M. Jones, "The Peter Perry Election and the Rise of the Clear Grit Party," Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records, vol. XII, 1913-14, pp. 164-175.

*Chartist and Clear Grit points which are related directly.

APPENDIX B

"The Emigrants' Farewell"

Farewell, thou poor land of the coward and slave,
where millions still fettered will be;
Where justice sits waiting by liberty's grave –
Farewell to thy bondage and thee!

Poor land, where the many in misery feel
O'er-tortured by toiling and care.
Where man to his brother forever must kneel –
Pale victim of fear and despair!

And millions must toil that a few may be fed:
The many though starving must till;
Though thousands bewailing and dying for bread,
The idle still revel at will!

Farewell, then, poor land of the coward and slave,
I haste to me where man dared be free;
Where freedom soon gave to the despots a grave –
farewell to thy bondage and thee!

Source: The Chartist Circular, Glasgow
Sept. 28, 1839 issue #1
March 21, 1840 and Aug. 15, 1840

REVIEWS

SCOTLAND AND THE CRUSADES: 1095-1560

By Allan Macquarrie
John Donald Publishers Ltd. Edinburgh: 1997

In his Ph.D. thesis, Alan Macquarrie tells us, he wanted to answer the question; what was the impact of the crusading movement on Medieval Scotland? *Scotland and the Crusades* is an adaptation of his answer to the question that he posed to himself. In his preface, Professor Macquarrie lists several articles he has had published, the view of Holy War in Scotland and a brief overview of the Knights of St. John in Scotland to name two, which are not in the current work. It is hard to imagine what could be contained in these articles, if one considers the information he has included in this work.

With ten plus pages of bibliography, and extensive chapter by chapter endnotes, it is difficult to believe that the final product is only 144 pages, including bibliography. Covering almost five centuries in such a confined space requires a focused mind and astronomical attention to detail, and this is most definitely to be found in

Macquarrie's book. Like most Scottish subjects, there is much conjecture, but Professor Macquarrie explains fact, myth, tradition and educated guess in equal measure. Dividing the book into six chronological chapters, with an introduction and conclusion, provides the framework for examination. Each Crusade is discussed, its leaders, objectives, victories and defeats are given brief scope, then the sources are marshaled into formation to tell the reader what role the Scots played.

According to Macquarrie's findings, the Scots on the First Crusade were nameless, faceless warriors that the other members of the Army to Liberate the Holy Land termed "barbarians". He quotes William of Malmesbury "Then the Welshman abandoned his poaching, the Scot his familiarity with fleas, the Dane his continuous drinking and the Norwegian gorging himself on fish..." (p. 10) to illustrate the class of the Scottish Crusader. In fact Professor Macquarrie was only able to locate the name of one "Scot" that went on the First Crusade, Lagmann, King of Man and the Western Isles. While it would very likely come as a surprise to Lagmann that he was a Scot, he is a fitting representative of what was apparently a largely Celtic participation. To further enhance the image of the Scot as Crusader, the author quotes Guibert de Nogent,

> You might have seen groups of Scots, ferocious among themselves but elsewhere unwarlike, with bare legs, shaggy cloaks, a purse hanging from their shoulders, rolling

> down from their marshy borders; and those who seemed ridiculous to us bore copious arms offering us their faith and devotion as aid. (p.10)

This largely Celtic contingent seems to be true of the eleventh and twelfth century Crusader. Macquarrie mentions that two bards went on the Third Crusade, Muiredhach Albanach O Dálaigh and Gille-Brigde Albanach. In fact, the Celtic, or Hiberno-Scottish Gaels as Macquarrie calls them, seemed to be the only Scots to go on Crusade until the Crusades of the French Louis IX in 1247. The first Scot of any note to go on Crusade was Earl Patrick of Dunbar, who fell ill in 1248 and died in Marseilles while en route. As the Crusades continued, the Scots were in evidence, never more so than under Lord Edward, later Edward I, in 1270-2. Scots were also in evidence in both the Northern Crusades against Lithuania and in the Spanish conquest of Granada. Both the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers had extensive holdings in Scotland, the Hospitallers until the Reformation.

Overall, Prof Macquarrie has unearthed the Scottish participation in the Crusades, he also adeptly traces the modification of the Crusade into the more peaceful form of pilgrimage. In doing so he is able to find an example from Scotland. While his primary example is Flemish, he mentions in great detail the pilgrimage of Anselm Adornes, who dedicated his travelogue, *Itinerarium,* to James III. To round out his discussion, Macquarrie

also mentions the ill-fated pilgrimage of Robert Blackadder, Archbishop of Glasgow. Professor Macquarrie submits James IV's Crusading spirit as a traditional view, he portrays James IV as a conservative in a Machiavellian world.

The amount of intensive research and determination in an effort like *Scotland and the Crusades* cannot be under-estimated. Professor Macquarrie presents his question and proceeds to answer it effectively and methodically. While he often unearths new questions in his research; such as, why did the majority of popes view Scotland as an English appendage until the fourteenth century, Macquarrie keeps his nose to the grindstone and is not side-tracked by these issues. His topic of choice was what impact the Crusades had on Scotland, and his single-mindedness should be an example to any writer of historic scholarship. For many lay readers, the book will be a difficult read. It might be suggested that a quick read of the conclusion will answer the question for them, as Professor Macquarrie tends to assume a certain degree of knowledge of both the Crusades and Scottish history. *Scotland and the Crusades: 1095-1560* is a good book for those who are interested and have a solid grasp of both subjects.

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THE EARLY STEWART KINGS: ROBERT II AND ROBERT III 1371-1406

By Steven Boardman.
From *The Stewart Dynasty in Scotland* Series
Tuckwell Press, East Linton, Scotland: 1996

This work begins with a Foreword by series editor, Norman Macdougall, who opens with the assertion, "The early Stewart kings, perhaps understandably, have lacked biographers, but they have never been short of detractors" (p.ix), which ought to rank high on any list of understatements. Prof. Boardman's offering is the first full length book to attempt an analysis of the reigns of the first two Stewart monarchs, for the boldness of the effort alone he should receive the deepest gratitude of any Scottish historian, professional or amateur. The fact that *The Early Stewart Kings* represents a supreme standard of scholarship, coupled with an obvious respect for his subject, makes it a very rare treat indeed. Rather than plead for his subjects, Prof. Boardman, with careful and extensive research, his bibliography exceeds ten pages, sets out to illustrate "When the early Stewart kings are assessed within [their] environment they emerge as rather more than a hopelessly incompetent double act, staggering

from one disastrous public appearance to the next." (p. xvi) With this as his goal, *The Early Stewart Kings*, is a rare triumph.

Like most modern historians, Prof. Boardman looks at late fourteenth century Scotland with a realistic eye, he does not hold to the theory that the only good monarch is a forceful absolutist, and explains the reigns of Robert II and III in this context. Boardman is also careful to explain that in 1371 Robert II inherited the massive power of local magnates, especially those of the Douglases in the south, and the Lordship of the Isles in the west, from his predecessors, and that forty years of baronial politicking made him aware of the futility of any attempt at uniting them *under* himself, instead Robert II's policy was to unite the magnates *with* himself. In the end, Boardman's assessment of Robert II, counter to popular belief was that "it seems unlikely that the most successful, ambitious and ruthless Scottish magnate of the 1340s and 1350s suddenly awoke on 23 February 1371 as a man unable to deal with the political hurly-burly of the Scottish kingdom." (p. 172) Robert II is characterized as a man with a firm grasp of the realities of Scottish politics, and determined to use sharp deals and marriage alliances to manipulate the decentralized nature of the Scottish nation to advantage, Boardman sees him as successful as any other Scottish king.

With Robert III, Boardman uses the argument that his rise in 1384 was encouraged by his father, and that his marginalization after 1388 was due to the loss of nearly every one of his supporting magnates at

Otterburn, either by death or capture, leaving Robert of Albany in the ascendant. But Prof. Boardman does not stop there, tracing the torturous path of this reign, Boardman unfolds a tale of a man with a tenacity that has never been equaled. Utilizing Exchequer Rolls, household accounts and charter witnesses, Boardman illustrates that realizing his political marginalization in 1390, Robert III carefully worked behind the scenes to engineer the rise of his son David of Rothesay to the lieutenancy by the age of twenty-one. The fall of Rothesay in 1402 had a profound effect on Robert III, and he does not seem to recover until his slow emergence in 1404, to begin again with his sole surviving son, James. The events of 1406 are chronicled and examined with an expert eye, but the underlying pathos of a man going down for the last time makes its understatement all the more poignant. Boardman's account of the burial of Robert III in Dunfermline instead of Scone is perhaps the best assessment of a reign distinguished by a succession of failures to assert royal authority, "Robert III evidently preferred to face eternity with the friendly ghost of his long departed kinsmen rather than bed down in the company of illustrious strangers." (p. 297)

For all the scholarly triumph, *The Early Stewart Kings*, is heavy wading for those unfamiliar with all the players in the fourteenth century political game. Early in the book, Walter, the second son of Robert II is mentioned, married and dies off, only to have Robert's youngest son, also Walter appear later as the Earl of Caithness. At the ascension of Robert III, his second

son, Robert, is mentioned in connection with his older brother David twice, only to disappear without any explanation. On the death of Rothesay, another son, James, makes an abrupt and unannounced appearance. There are genealogies of the major families in the book, but sons that die, like Walter and Robert, are not listed in these tables, which presents the unwary reader with quite a problematic situation. The genealogies have one other particular failing, wives and daughters rarely appear in them, and as one of Boardman's most prominent points is the marriage alliances of Robert II as political stabilizers, this lack seems inexplicable. It might also prove helpful when navigating the Scottish tradition of naming children after their parents. At one point the reader is confronted with Euphemia Ross, the second wife of Robert II, Euphemia Ross, Countess of Ross, and the confusion multiplies when we meet the Countess' daughter, Euphemia.

Aside from these small difficulties, *The Early Stewart Kings*, is a definite must read for anyone with an interest in the period, or the Stewart Dynasty in general. As a ground breaking work, this biography is well researched and well presented, without erring on the dry and scholarly side. Prof. Boardman deserves praise and congratulations on his definitive portrayal of Robert II and Robert III.

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A History of the Western General Hospital, Edinburgh

Martin Eastwood and Anne Jenkinson
John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh: 1995

St. Mary's, Hamilton: A Social History 1846-1996

Thomas M. Devine, ed.
John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh: 1995

These two works, at first glance, share little in common. *A History of the Western General Hospital, Edinburgh* (WGH) traces the evolution of this medical institution from its poorhouse roots while *St. Mary's, Hamilton: A Social History* offers an account of the development of a local Roman Catholic parish. However different in approach and subject, both studies, to varying degrees, share the limitations that are all too common with either in-house or commemorative institutional studies, namely a focus on local institutional milestones at the expense of reasoned analysis. The effective study of any social institution must take the context of the local community into account. Buildings are dependent upon community relationships for sustenance. Thus, obtaining a sense of place is of primary importance in developing an understanding of both the institution and the constituency it serves.

A History of the Western General Hospital, is written by two health care professionals, who seemingly lack familiarity with the rigours of the historical method. This study, which is really two works in one, is a standard great men and events history that lacks any interpretive discussion. The first half examines the evolution of the WGH up to and beyond the implementation of government controlled hospital schemes that came with the passage of the National Health Services Act in 1948 while the second half deals with the evolution of specific departments within the institution. To their credit, the authors do a credible job in examining the impact of the Poor Laws on the development of the institution. Much of the ensuing discussion, however, takes place in a vacuum. There is no account of the larger forces responsible for the many different configurations that the institution was to assume before emerging as the Western General in 1932.

The rationale behind the transformation of this structure from poorhouse to military hospital to modern teaching hospital receives short shrift as does the whole question of patient life. Rather than presenting a superficial overview of the WGH as is done here, a broader perspective that incorporates the advent of scientific medicine, the various political agendas at work, the prevailing social conventions that made the hospital an acceptable place to seek care when ill, and the role of the press in facilitating this transformation would have helped to place the WGH in a larger perspective. After all, the institution was shaped to a large extent by both

medicine and the evolution of Edinburgh and the failure to consider the impact that this community had on the hospital is a significant limitation of this work. The study is further marred by sloppy production. The book has segments of text that appear twice in the text (pp. 56, 73 and 72, 148) errors in punctuation and a prose that features one sentence paragraphs, abrupt endings and poor transitions. While this work has far too many shortcomings to be of any use to the specialist interested in hospital historiography, the work will probably be of some appeal to those individuals with an association to the institution. Certainly the many excellent photographs of both the structure and select individuals will refresh memories of yore.

The second study on St. Mary's, Hamilton was published to coincide with its sesquicentennial anniversary and features a collection of essays that strive to explore selected features of parish development. As is to be expected from any collective effort, the quality of the essays vary widely. Martin J. Mitchell's two essays present a very lucid overview into the difficulties of establishing a Catholic mission in a predominantly Protestant land. Making effective use of Father Michael Condon's diaries, he demonstrates the critical role this individual played in the establishment of the Hamilton mission during his tenure as parish priest between 1850-1859. The work also contains an article by Mary McHugh that outlines, in a rather narrow fashion, the development of Catholic education in the years leading up to the passage of the 1918 (Scotland) Education Act. James Douglas, in a

separate piece, haphazardly details the architectural development of the church, a task that would have been facilitated by the use of photographic evidence.

The study concludes with a series of three essays composed by Joseph M. Bradley, that deal with contemporary social and political issues that affect the current church. To be sure, Bradley's work on morality, intermarriage and a novel piece on the Italian community make for interesting reading. One must question, however, the methodology as much of the evidence is based upon a highly subjective survey of parish members. The fact that only a small minority of parishioners were consulted raises questions about the representativeness of the sample group. To what extent do their views correspond with those who did not participate in the survey? While the sample of opinion provides evidence to support the characterization of a parish that is "clearly middle class" in orientation, the question remains as to whether these parishioners are indeed typical of the broader church community. Moreover, the larger question as to whether or not St. Mary's church is characteristic of the Catholic community in Scotland remains unanswered. Indeed, it is apparent that the representativeness of either study for understanding the function of the hospital or parish will not be accurately ascertained without further study or comparison to similar structures in other regions.

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AN ORKNEY ESTATE
IMPROVEMENTS AT GRAEMESHALL
1827-1888

By Gilbert Schrank.

Tuckwell Press, East Linton: 1995
131 pages. £8.99

Through the eyes of an agricultural historian Gilbert Schrank presents an admirable account of the Orkney Estate at Graemeshall during the nineteenth century. This comprehensive study examines the processes of change and the complex interaction of a number of factors: soil, population, geographical position, weather and economic fluctuations and the extent these contributed to agricultural improvements.

Schrank's work not only provides a distinctly Scottish character but triumphs in preventing the alienation of readers unfamiliar with this particular era. By tracing ownership of the estate through the various lairds and frequent references to the social relations of the Petrie and Graeme family, the author consciously injects the valuable human input which made the improvements a reality. This added a unique perspective as the reader better comprehends inchoate aspirations and the quest for successful implementation of technology on a nineteenth century estate in Scotland.

An obvious drawback emanating from *An Orkney Estate* has been the unbalanced treatment of the underlying causes of agricultural change in the post-1850 period. The study failed to provide sufficient insight into the three decades preceding 1888. The book's focus could have been confined to a time frame of twenty to thirty years; which would have allowed for an intense study of the agricultural changes and would have prompted more emphasis on the causes and effects of the pivotal transition from "Old-Style" to "New-Style" farming methods.

Despite this setback, the book's goal is admirably achieved by the painstaking effort of placing events in context. This is evident in the inclusion of events as the agricultural recession, initial resistance of tenants to change, the use of available technology and the subsequent effects on the Orkney economy during the mid-nineteenth century.

Schrank's objective use of estate correspondence and statistics during this era of agricultural metamorphosis presents a formidable account of nature's response to the changes and limitations of human will and technology. Overall, *An Orkney Estate* is a refreshing study with a revisionist twist of agricultural improvements on a Scottish estate. It is a noteworthy contribution to social, economic, cultural and agricultural historians desiring to understand the complex intricacies leading to change.

Jerome Teelucksingh
York University

THE NINE TRADES OF DUNDEE

Annette M. Smith
Abertay Historical Society, Dundee, 1995

DAUGHTER OF ATHOLL
LADY EVELYN STEWART MURRAY
1868-1940

Sylvia Robertson and Patricia Young
Abertay Historical Society, 1996

The Abertay Historical Society has continued its record of producing lively and scholarly works of local history with its two latest publications, *The Nine Trades of Dundee* (no. 35) and *Daughter of Atholl* (no. 36). The Society is to be congratulated for its continued active promotion of Scottish history.

In *The Nine Trades of Dundee*, Annette Smith carries on the research which she began with her 1987 publication for the Society, *The Three United Trades of Dundee*. This new book contains a wealth of information on the various trades which make up the nine incorporated crafts of the town. This is an institutional history of the incorporations, not a history of craft skills, but it is certain to be of interest to historians of urban society and government, and to those who wish to know how the Nine Trades of modern Dundee came into being. The

present members of the Trades were enthusiastic supporters of this book, the first history of their institutions to appear since A.J. Warden's *Burgh Laws of Dundee* published in 1872.

In an interesting introduction, Dr. Smith spends some time discussing those who were connected with the Trades but were excluded from full membership - these included journeymen and women. Indeed, women continue to be excluded from membership of the Trades today. The next chapter puts the Trades in a wider context, describing the place which craft guilds played in medieval and early modern Europe as a whole. Chapter 3 discusses how certain trades became recognised as a corporate group of Nine Trades.

The earliest example of cooperative action occurred as early as 1527. By the later sixteenth century they were actively working to promote harmony and united action in defence of their craft privileges. This process has continued through the centuries, with the latest rules established in 1979. Although their active involvement in the regulation of the town's economy came to an end with local government changes in 1846, they have continued to exercise an active role in promoting charitable and social causes in Dundee. It is slightly ironic that this chapter, which is devoted to describing the unity of the Trades is divided into several separate sections, each with its own footnotes, unlike the other chapters of the book!

The subsequent chapters focus on the individual trades, the bakers, cordiners, skinners, tailors, bonnet-

makers, fleshers, hammermen, weavers, and the united trades of dyers and waulkers. Dr. Smith has made excellent use of the manuscript records of the individual trades to uncover their histories, and enlivens the discussion through the use of many interesting and amusing anecdotes. For example, when a poor woman asked the Tailors' Trade for help in 1813, the Trade members decided to buy her a mangle of 'very superior size and construction' with which she could earn her living. (p. 36) As Dr. Smith points out, this was a very practical form of charity! Thus, although this is in the main an institutional history, it includes many stories of human interest which remind the reader of the people whose lives were an integral part of Dundee's history.

Daughter of Atholl is the second contribution to the history of Scottish women published by the Abertay Society. Leah Leneman's *Martyrs in Our Midst* (1993) told the story of the Dundee suffragettes. This latest publication focuses on an individual woman, Lady Evelyn Stewart Murray, youngest daughter of the 7th Duke of Atholl. Rejecting the conventional life expected of aristocratic women, Evelyn devoted her life to intellectual and artistic pursuits, especially the study of Gaelic folk tales, needlework and embroidery. However, she paid a heavy price, in mental and physical illness, for doing so.

Evelyn's early life was that of a typical aristocratic girl, with her being introduced to the London season in her teens. However, a severe illness when she was 14 led to a long period of recuperation at Blair Castle, and

during this time, she began to study Gaelic in depth. The language had been encouraged by the Duke on his estates, and the children exposed to it from their earliest days, but Evelyn's interest soon extended to the gathering and recording of Gaelic folklore from the people of the estates and elsewhere. In 1891 she collected 240 tales, remarkable for their variety and richness. It appears she had intended them for publication, but various obstacles prevented this. In 1958 they were presented to the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh as the Lady Evelyn Stewart Murray Collection. Over the years she also amassed a large collection of Gaelic books, which was presented to the National Library of Scotland in 1958 as the "Blair Collection".

Unfortunately for Evelyn, her work was not regarded as suitable for someone of her rank, and she faced increasing opposition from her parents who pressured her to conform to the conventional round of social activities expected of aristocratic women of her day. She suffered from several illnesses, apparently partly caused by her resistance to the type of life expected of her. Her behaviour became increasingly eccentric, and at the age of 23, she was sent to Switzerland, where her actions would no longer embarrass her family, to convalesce. Although her family hoped to bring her home in time, Evelyn's bitterness at being sent away led to her becoming increasingly estranged from them. Most of the rest of her life was spent in Europe. She moved to Belgium in 1893 and began to take a great interest in embroidery and Brussels needlepoint lace. Over the following years,

she built up a collection of lace and embroidery from around the world. She herself became one of the most accomplished needleworkers of her time. In 1905 she began work on her masterpiece, "The British Arms", completed in 1912 and regarded by many as the finest example of modern British embroidery.

Interestingly, despite her independent life style, Evelyn did not altogether approve the 1923 election of her sister-in-law, Katherine Duchess of Atholl, as Scotland's first female member of parliament. She said she herself had no ambition to be a suffragette. Her reaction reminds us of the varied views which were held by women of the day on such issues. Illness and deteriorating eyesight in these later years, meant she had to give up embroidery, and the rest of her life was spent in quiet retirement. Her embroidery and lace were sent to Blair Castle in 1936 and can still be seen there on exhibition today. At the start of the Second World War, Evelyn returned to Britain and died at Blair Castle in 1940.

Evelyn's collection of Gaelic folktales and her embroidery have recently begun to attract increasing attention and she seems destined to become better known. This short biography should prove a useful introduction to her life for those who will want to know the story which lies behind them.

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Scottish Tradition Vol. 22 1997

THE HIGHLAND BAGPIPE AND ITS MUSIC

Roderick D. Cannon

John Donald Publishers. Edinburgh
paperback edition. 1995 Pp.xi, 203 with
chapter endnotes, bibliography, and index

Roderick Cannon's *The Highland Bagpipe*, is an excellent starting point for a general study of the Scottish Highland bagpipe. Its recent republication in paperback is welcome and compliments Cannon's earlier invaluable work, A Bibliography of Bagpipe Music (most of which deals with the music of the same instrument).

In such a short book as *The Highland Bagpipe* the author, himself a good piper, has condensed a large amount of information from an admirably wide collection of sources. Cannon's sights range over the instrument's antecedents in Antiquity, its history and function, musicological questions concerning scales and tonality, classical and light-music piping, and modern piping, including piping for dancing and pipe bands. With such a wide scope, inevitably there are imbalances which may leave a new reader in the subject wondering where the proper emphasis should be. Many topics worthy of post-graduate study, perhaps even books, are touched in the most cursory way. The author

was aware of many and justly acknowledges them.

This is a good book; it is scholarly as much as writing on piping and the bagpipes has stubbornly not been. If too tight and abbreviated, its advantage is that anyone wishing to probe more deeply some of the major aspects of the Scottish two or three-drone bagpipe with a conical- bore chanter (known to the world as the Highland Bagpipe), has a good starting point.

David Waterhouse's review of the earlier hard-cover version of Cannon's book finds occasional errors in that text and discusses Cannon's musicological points in a way which will interest the more technical reader. There is no indicatrion in the paperback edition that the text has been altered since 1980. Waterhouse also remarked, not unkindly, on Cannon's ignorance of certain aspects of North American modern piping which, as one would expect, must appear obscure, once upon a time even inferior, to many British students of the Highland bagpipe. While I know nothing of Mieczyslaw Kolinski's theory of consonance and dissonance, which Waterhouse drew upon impressively in his assessment of The Highland Bagpipe, I will draw your attention to a point concerning the instrument and Cannon's understanding of it which should be said, particularly at a time when "Celtic" music is being wooed by the commercially minded.

While the so-called "Highland bagpipe" is undoubtedly Scotland's national instrument, advertising that bilingual country world-wide (almost having commandeered the death rite and the parade), the foundation for

the instrument's later development lies in eighteenth century Gaelic Scotland. Its function and development as a military and civilian social phenomenon in the English-speaking world springs from the radically altered scientific or improver concepts introduced systematically to Gaelic and English Scottish life from the eighteenth century (in a large expanse of Gaelic Scotland from after 1750).

Competition in bagpiping was begun in 1781 and probably did not fundamentally alter a rich, sophisticated and diversely functional Gaelic "tradition" until after the Napoleonic Wars. Literate learning of piping, like military and civilian pipe bands, and non-ceilidh dance music bagpiping are all nineteenth century phenomena and at a radical remove from the older Gaelic Scotch tradition. Cannon's book about the Highland bagpipe tends to overlook, or de-emphasise, the Gaelic aspect of that Highland instrument. There is no doubt that the bagpipe is much more technically brilliantly played today by a much largernumber of people than ever played the instrumentin old Gaelic Scotland, but to overlook the remarkable Gaelic piping tradtion and foundation on which the inventive, literate and scholarly English-speaker has so fruitfully built is to irritate the crankier purist.

John G. Gibson

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News From *Historic Scotland*

Valley of the Kings

A new centre for archaeology and landscape interpretation in Knapdale is being developed through financial assistance from *Historic Scotland*. Kilmartin House will be the focus for important sites in the agency's care, including Dunadd Fort, Achnabreck and Cairnbaan prehistoric rock carvings, Temple Wood stone circle, Dunchraigaig cairn and Ballymeanoch standing stones.

Kilmartin Glen has something for everyone. Over 5,000 years of human history are traced across the valley, with at least 150 prehistoric sites within six miles of Kilmartin village. There are Neolithic and Bronze Age burial cairns, carved rocks, standing stones and the fortress of the earliest Scottish Kings at Dunadd. The natural environment is remarkable, too, with Moine Mhor raised peat bog, ancient oak woodland and the islands. The old village manse and barn have been restored and converted to form the new centre.

Strolling Back in Time at Oich

A striking and historically important metal bridge in the Great Glen is being restored. The Bridge of Oich, near Fort Augustus, was designed by the engineer James Dredge in the 1850s and is recognised as a good

example of 19th century experiments in bridge design. The bridge, over the River Oich, was owned by the Glen Garry Estate Trust and was taken into care in June. In 1932 new bridges were built over the river and the Caledonian Canal. The structure has since deteriorated and is unsafe to walk on but is presently being restored.

A New Picture of Monks' Lives

Excavations at Melrose Abbey, which created world-wide interest focusing on the discovery of the medieval casket believed to hold the heart of Robert I of Scotland, the Bruce, will give visitors a much more accurate picture of the lives of the monks.

Doreen Grove, Inspector of Ancient Monuments, says: "Our reason for digging at Melrose was not to disturb the remains of a long dead icon but to investigate scientifically the most important building after the church, the chapter house." The chapter house is the main meeting room of an abbey, where monks would congregate every morning to hear a chapter of the Order read to them, to admit their misdemeanors before their brothers and to receive information from their abbot.

Excavation has provided valuable information about the chapter house. The Abbey was badly damaged by the English king, Richard II and his army in 1385, and the resulting rebuilding of the abbey church and chapter house created magnificent buildings. Much of the church remains, but excavation revealed much more of this building than was formerly known.

New Life for Viaduct

Laigh Milton Viaduct, which has re-opened after a £1m refurbishment, was first identified as the world's oldest public railway viaduct by *Historic Scotland*. The category A-listed viaduct, near Kilmarnock, was built by William Jessop and carried horse-drawn coal and passenger wagons between Kilmarnock and Troon from 1821-46. Both the port and viaduct were built by the Duke of Portland to serve his mines in the area.

Now, Laigh Milton Viaduct Conservation Trust hopes the monument will form part of a heritage trail through Ayrshire. The viaduct has been restored to a sound condition with financial support from *Historic Scotland* and a commitment from the local authority to carry out maintenance. The repairs mean that it will survive quite comfortably for another 100 years.

Island Story - Islay's Whisky Heritage

Islay has been the whisky island of the Hebrides for generations. Why, when other islands are larger and more populous, has Islay become and remained a place where Scotch malt whisky is made?

The answer lies in the broad fields of the western part of the island, which once supplied barley, in the peat bogs, which still provide the peaty flavour of several of the island whiskies, and in the water, for the hills of Islay catch wet winds from the Atlantic.

Though whisky was made on a domestic scale throughout Scotland until the late 18th century, it was agricultural improvement and industrialisation that

provided the base for industrial-scale development. Apart from a few large examples in the east of Scotland, the early distilleries were modest, and often attached to farms.

Ardbeg and Bowmore survive of the 18th century foundations. The character of the modern Scotch whisky industry was largely, however, set by Acts of 1816 and 1823 which made it easy to set up small malt whisky distilleries. Islay had many such, and remains of one recently-surviving one show what tiny places they were, indistinguishable externally from the farm steadings of the period.

Natural selection killed off most of them. The survivors flourished because of their seaside locations, as have Caol Ila, added in 1846, and Bruichladdich and Bunnahabhain in 1880-1. The latter two still show in their courtyard layouts the form of their original conception.

The particular character of Islay whiskies has for many years been their peatiness, varying over the years, and between distilleries. The peatier ones are much valued not only as a single malt - 'self' - whiskies, but also for the contribution that they make to the character of many blended whiskies. All of them, strongly peated or not, have their distinctive qualities, and each connoisseur has his or her own favourites.

Because Islay lies on the edge of the economic range of distilling, its distilleries have had fluctuating fortunes with, in some instances, many changes in ownership, and periods out of production. Periods of prosperity

and adversity have made their mark on the distillery buildings and equipment. Islay's distilleries are, then, a rich blend of old and new. Each distillery, like its whiskey, has its own character.

The Gordon Family: 'Cocks of the North'

The Gordons were never far from the political centre-stage and were seldom out of trouble, with an unhealthy predilection for resorting to armed force. Their nickname 'Cocks of the North', was thoroughly deserved.

The family are intimately linked with the north-east, but their origins are firmly rooted in the Border country. The turbulent wars with England in the early 14th century were the catalyst for the move.

During the night of June 23, 1314, on the very eve of Bannockburn, David of Strathbogie, earl of Atholl, decided to wreak revenge on Robert the Bruce for wrongs done to his family. He attacked the Scottish supply base at Cambuskenneth Abbey, near Stirling, killed many of the soldiers guarding it and carried off the spoils.

Twenty-four hours later he paid for his treachery when he was stripped of his earldom and his lands. Strathbogie, 40 miles north-west of Aberdeen, was entrusted to Sir Adam Gordon of Huntly, a prominent Border magnate, and two Berwickshire place-names were set to become more famously associated with Aberdeenshire. In truth Sir Adam had been no less wavering in his support of Bruce than the disgraced earl David. He had even served for a time as a hench-

man of the English king. But the grant of Strathbogie secured his allegiance to Bruce, and in April 1320 he was entrusted with taking the Declaration of Arbroath to the papal court in Rome.

The Gordons gradually uprooted from their Berwickshire estate to concentrate on their new home beside the river Bogie. By 1449, their chief had become earl of Huntly, the name derived from their original Berwickshire seat near Gordon, and the downfall of the Black Douglases shortly afterwards, in which the Gordons played their part, further enhanced their power.

Their rise continued unabated, even after the Reformation in 1560, by which date the Gordons of Huntly were firmly established as Scotland's premier Catholic family. In 1599, the title of marquis was bestowed on their chief, and a dukedom followed in 1684, despite the religious strife that had bedevilled that tortured century. In 1794, the famous 92nd regiment, the Gordon Highlanders, was raised by the fourth duke and his celebrated duchess Jane, who offered to kiss all recruits. The death of the fifth duke in 1836 brought to an end the main Gordon line.

The editor would like to thank *Historic Scotland* for allowing reproduction of this material from their quarterly newsletter *Welcome*. For more information on *Historic Scotland* write to: Historic Scotland, 20 Brandon Street, Edinburgh, Scotland EH3 5RA.

THE HISTORIC SCOTLAND / BATSFORD SERIES

In recent years *Historic Scotland* and *Batsford Publishing* have jointly produced an excellent series of books aimed at interpreting the principal Scottish archaeological and architectural monuments. Here follows a list of current works and those which will be appearing in the near future.

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or to order any of the above works contact:
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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Exciting Mackenzie Historical Book

The Clan MacKenzie Society in Canada is re-printing Alexander Mackenzie's wonderful 1894 book *History of the Clan Mackenzie with Genealogies of the Principal Families*. This Limited Edition of about 150 copies, with a simulated leather Hard Cover and Gold Titling, is priced, to prepaid subscribers only, at Can$75 (or US$55) including postage. After the cut-off date (Dec. 31, 1997) the price will be increased. There are ***over 670 pages of exciting clan history*** and many genealogies of the Mackenzie families in Scotland and world-wide.

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Or contact by e-mail at: alan_mckenzie@msn.com

The Frank Watson Prize in Scottish History

The winner of the 1997 *Frank Watson Prize in Scottish History* is Allan Macinnes for his publication *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603 to 1788.* Tuckwell Press.

Submissions for the 1999 prize (books published in 1997 and 1998) should be submitted to:

E. Ewan, Chair, Frank Watson Prize Committee
Department of History
University of Guelph
Guelph, Ontario, Canada
N1G 2W1

The winner will be presented with the prize at Guelph and will present a paper to the Scottish Studies Programme.