

**Montreal's Scottish Community, 1835-65:
A Preliminary Study**

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ABSTRACT**MONTREAL'S SCOTTISH COMMUNITY, 1835-65:****A PRELIMINARY STUDY****HEATHER MCNABB**

Some of the members of Montreal's Scottish community were among the most powerful and influential men in Canada throughout most of the nineteenth century. The life stories and successes of many of these individuals are well known. Most of the available literature reinforces the popular perception of the Scots in Montreal as a prosperous group of merchants and businessmen. Apart from the successful individuals, however, very little is known about the Scottish community in Montreal. Because there is little information available to the contrary, one might assume by implication that this group of successful Scots was more or less united by common values, religious beliefs, and ideals. This was certainly true of a select group within the community, but does not describe the majority of the population. This is only a beginning to a study of the community. For this reason, it is limited to a brief examination of two major institutions of the Scottish community in nineteenth-century Montreal: the Scottish Presbyterian churches and the Saint Andrew's Society. The study is also limited to the period of thirty years between 1835 and 1865. These three decades represent a time of great development and change in Montreal, as well as a period of growth and transition for the institutions of the Scottish community. It was in this era that many of Montreal's most renowned nineteenth century Scottish immigrants arrived, obtained, and began to extend their economic power and influence from within this city.

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I.

INTRODUCTION

Scottish immigrants had an important role in the development of Canada throughout the nineteenth century. Many writers and historians would agree with Pierre Berton, in The National Dream: The Great Railway 1871-1881, when he explains of the Scots in Canada:

The Irish outnumbered them, as they did the English, but the Scots ran the country. Though they formed only one-fifteenth of the population they controlled the fur trade, the great banking and financial houses, the major educational institutions, and, to a considerable degree, the government.¹

During the nineteenth century, Montreal became the undisputed economic centre of Canada. In his The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal, Donald MacKay presents a selection of photographs of some of the grand mansions in Montreal in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The accompanying text explains that the majority of residents of this extremely wealthy neighbourhood were Scots. MacKay asserts that

Generation after generation, Scots were the single most powerful group in the Montreal business community, which meant they were the most powerful in Canada. They were never more than one fifth of the city's population, greatly outnumbered by the French and even the Irish, but they maintained their predominance for a century and a half.²

Members of Montreal's Scottish community were certainly among the most powerful and influential men in Canada throughout most of the nineteenth century. The life stories and successes of many of these individuals are fairly well known. Peter McGill, John Redpath,

¹Pierre Berton, The National Dream: The Great Railway 1871-1881 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1970), 319.

²Donald MacKay, The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987), 28.

and John Young, as well as Hugh Allan, George Stephen, and Donald Smith (better known as Lord Strathcona) are those who appear most often in the history books. There were, of course, many other prominent nineteenth century Montrealers from the Scottish community whose names are now all but forgotten. Gerald Tulchinsky, in The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-53, mentions many lesser-known Scottish businessmen who were successful entrepreneurs and industrialists in Montreal. Tulchinsky explains that the Scots "...comprised the dominant group in most forms of commerce and were often leaders in the enterprises examined..." in his study.³

Most of the available literature reinforces the popular perception of the Scots in Montreal as a prosperous group of merchants and businessmen. Without a doubt, the Scottish community developed an influence beyond its numbers in Montreal. The census of 1861 recorded only 3,235 natives of Scotland, compared with 4,394 natives of England, and 14,469 natives of Ireland living in the city of Montreal.⁴

Apart from the successful individuals, however, very little is known about the Scottish community in Montreal. Lynda Price's Introduction to the Social History of the Scots in Quebec 1780-1840 is the only modern published work to include a brief examination of Montreal's Scottish community. Unfortunately, Price's compilation is quite limited on the subject of the Scots in Montreal. The book makes it clear that there were decided class divisions within the Scottish community, but major errors in the footnotes and appendices make the text difficult to follow.

³Gerald Tulchinsky, The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-53 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 19.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

This paper was motivated by the lack of information on the subject of the Scottish community in Montreal. The popular perception of the Scots in Montreal is of a prosperous group of merchants, bankers, and businessmen. Because there is little information available to the contrary, one might assume by implication that this group of successful Scots was more or less united by common values, religious beliefs, and ideals. This was certainly true of a select group within the community, but does not describe the majority of the population. The aim of this study is to begin to understand the scope of the Scottish community in Montreal in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Obviously, not every Scot in Montreal would have been rich and successful. There is, however, very little information available which mentions the average individual in the Scottish community. Only a beginning can be made in this paper because there are so many possible areas to examine. It was decided that a study of some of the specifically Scottish institutions in the city might help to uncover a fuller picture of the Scottish community in nineteenth-century Montreal. Because this is only a beginning to a study of the community, it will limit itself to two major institutions of the Scottish community in nineteenth-century Montreal, the Scottish Presbyterian churches and the Saint Andrew's Society. The focus of this study will be on the period of thirty years between 1835 and 1865. These three decades represent a time of great development and change in Montreal, as well as a period of growth and transition for the institutions of the Scottish community. It was in this era that many of Montreal's most renowned nineteenth century Scottish immigrants arrived, obtained, and began to extend their economic power

⁴Mrs. R. W. S. MacKay, MacKay's Montreal Directory (Montreal: Oowler & Stevenson, 1861), 227.

and influence from within this city.

The paper will be divided into three parts. The first section of this paper will be devoted to a brief survey of the subject of Scottish emigration and settlement in Montreal. A short summary of the Scottish situation, which precipitated emigration to Canada, will be included in this discussion. It is useful to understanding why particular populations of Scots may or may not have settled in Montreal. As Scottish Highlanders are the subject of much of the historiography of emigration from Scotland, some attention will be given to discovering whether or not a significant population of Highlanders existed in Montreal from 1835-65. This section makes use of the 1861 census in order to examine the composition of the Scottish immigrant community. It is not possible to get a good picture of the population from any of the earlier ones. It was partly for this reason that an end date of 1865 was chosen for this investigation. The extraordinary economic success of many Scottish immigrants in Montreal is a major theme in this section. A brief look at some of the possible reasons for the success of so many Scottish immigrants will be included in this part of the paper.

In the second section, the religious institutions of Montreal's Scottish community will be surveyed. The birth and development of Montreal's Scottish Presbyterian churches will be examined, in an attempt to establish the role of each one throughout the period. In the mid-nineteenth century, most Scottish-born Montrealers belonged to one of the Scottish Presbyterian churches. A much smaller proportion of the Scottish population belonged to Catholic or to other types of Protestant churches. It is for this reason that the records of the Scottish Presbyterian churches of the city are the only ones from which the data was drawn.

Reverend Robert Campbell's A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church St. Gabriel

Street, Montreal, published in 1887, is a good starting point for the history of the Scottish Presbyterian churches. His book gives a detailed story of the divisions that occurred over the years within the Scottish Presbyterian Church on Saint Gabriel Street. These divisions may be seen as reflecting changes in the composition of Montreal's Scottish community. Unfortunately, Campbell's work is not able to give the reader a sense of the greater Scottish community. His book is filled with the life stories of many Scottish-born Montrealers who played a prominent role in Montreal's Scottish Presbyterian churches. Information from secondary sources such as Campbell's work will be supplemented with data gathered from individual church registers, in order to gain a better understanding of the scope of the Scottish Presbyterian community. Graphs developed from church records will help to provide an overview of the growth or decline as well as the use of the various churches by different segments of the community during the period. A beginning date of 1835 was chosen in order to limit the study to a manageable amount of church records, but also to include the founding of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal.

The final section of this paper will explore the origins and function of the main charitable institution of the Scottish community, The Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal. The existence of an organization devoted to helping the Scottish poor in Montreal should demonstrate that there were others in the community who were not wealthy and successful. This study will trace the growth and development of the society, from its beginnings in the fall of 1834 until 1865. Its function at its inception was entirely different from the charitable society that it was to become. The Saint Andrew's Society, quite unlike Montreal's Scottish Presbyterian churches, appears to have been a united force within Montreal's Scottish

community throughout the thirty-year period. This unity, however, can perhaps be attributed to the homogeneous character of its membership, which appears to have been limited to the more prominent members of Montreal's Scottish community.

II.

MONTREAL'S SCOTTISH IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY, 1835-65

EMIGRATION FROM SCOTLAND

Emigration from the Highlands of Scotland during the period of the Highland Clearances is a topic that has been quite popular with many historians and authors. The most comprehensive study in recent years is the two-volume A History of the Highland Clearances, written by Eric Richards. Historians often disagree about the precise nature of emigration from the Highlands during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: to what degree the Highlanders were pushed from their homes, or pulled towards opportunities available elsewhere. Eric Richards suggests that "...it appears likely that emigration from the Highlands during much of the nineteenth century was primarily a response to expulsive Malthusian forces."⁵ Richards mentions the "land hunger" or the "...tenacious attachment of the people to the land..." which was characteristic of the peasant emigrants from the Highlands, and common to all peasant societies.⁶ For Highlanders during the time of the clearances, Richards believes "...the great attraction of Canada and Australia lay in the

⁵Eric Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances, Volume 2: Emigration, Protest, Reasons (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1985), 227.

⁶Eric Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances: Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886 (London: Croom Helm Limited., 1982), p. 58.

apparently unlimited access to land, and the security associated with it."⁷ Highland emigration, whether it was a result of clearances by landlords, or inescapable change in the structure of society in the Highlands, was characterized from the last half of the eighteenth century through the first half of the nineteenth century by the movement of groups of people, rather than individuals. Families travelled together and, often, entire communities left the country collectively. Not all Highland emigration ended up overseas, however. Many Highlanders who were displaced by the clearances moved to cities in the Lowlands or in England.

Montreal had its share of Highlanders, it seems, at the end of the eighteenth and in the early nineteenth centuries. Robert Campbell and Stanford Reid, among others, point out that Highlanders were quite heavily involved in the fur trade.

The story of emigration from the Scottish Lowlands is far less dramatic than that of the Highlands. Consequently, it seems, there is little information available on the subject. The Scottish Lowlands, although rural in many areas, was the part of Scotland that was rapidly becoming industrialized in the early nineteenth century. Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, Scotland's major urban centres, were located in Lowland areas.

In contrast to the situation in the Highlands, the rural Scottish Lowlands had generally been undergoing more gradual agricultural changes. Although the pressure of population growth was also felt in Lowland Scotland, industrialization was able to provide jobs for some of the surplus population. As a result, emigration from the Lowlands tended to

⁷Eric Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances, Volume 2, 270.

take place individually, or in small family groups.⁸ Charlotte Erickson states that little is known about emigration from the Scottish Lowlands, but that "...the usually accepted view is that Lowland emigration came from the poorer classes."⁹ This does not appear to have been the case in Montreal, as will be seen later. Michael Vance, in his article "Breaking the Power of a Metaphor: Towards a Social Interpretation of Emigration History" feels that the topic of emigration from Scotland is still poorly understood. He argues quite rightly that "Most scholarship has focused on the Highland Clearances rather than studying emigration as a Scotland-wide experience."¹⁰

There were many different reasons for which people emigrated from Scotland between 1835 and 1865. Most of them probably took their leave for economic reasons, but the intensity of their monetary needs varied greatly. Within the thirty-year period covered by this study, the rate of emigration from Scotland fluctuated, according to the economic situation in a given year. It is difficult to obtain precise figures for emigration from Scotland during this period. Sources suggest that Canada attracted most of the Scottish emigrants until the 1840's.¹¹

⁸Eric Richards, "Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century," Historical Studies 21 no. 85 (October, 1985): 476.

⁹Dudley Baines, Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales 1861-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 70-71.

¹⁰Michael E. Vance, "Breaking the Power of a Metaphor: Towards a Social Interpretation of Emigration History," in The Immigrant Experience: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of Guelph June 1989, ed. Catherine Kerrigan (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1992), 60.

¹¹M. Anderson and D. J. Morse claim that by the early 1840's, British North America was no longer the choice destination for Scottish immigrants. M. Anderson and D. J. Morse, "The People" in People and Society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830-1914 ed. W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1990), 15. Tables published in another book, however, show that 1845-49 was the period in which immigration

SCOTTISH IMMIGRANTS IN MONTREAL

In addition to the lack of information on Lowland and urban emigration from Scotland, there is very little written on the subject of the urban Scottish emigrant communities in Canada. Lynda Price's introductory work on the Scottish communities of Montreal and Quebec City is the one exception. There are, however, a growing number of detailed studies written within the last ten to fifteen years, which examine specific Scottish settlements in rural areas of Canada.¹² A picture of the rural Scottish communities in Canada has been gradually emerging, while the urban Scottish communities remain largely ignored.

It is unfortunate that there has not been much written specifically about Montreal. There are, however, a few studies that form a useful background to the study of Scottish emigrants in this city. Stephen Hornsby's "Patterns of Scottish emigration to Canada, 1750-1870" is one such example. Hornsby's analysis, based on 7478 records from Donald A. Whyte's A Dictionary of Scottish Emigrants to Canada Before Confederation, suggests that the traditional views of patterns of Highland emigration and settlement must be revised. Although many Highlanders emigrated from the Northwest coast of Scotland to settle in

to British North America began to decline. It was calculated that the British colonies attracted 44.3 percent of Scottish immigrants in 1835-39, but only 19.3 percent in 1860-64. Michael Flinn, ed. Scottish Population History: From the 17th Century to the 1930s (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 450-51.

¹²For example, Marianne McLean's The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition 1745-1820 encompasses both the emigration and settlement of Scottish immigrants in Glengarry, Ontario. J. I. Little, in Crofters and Habitants, examines the way of life of Scottish emigrants from the Isle of Lewis who settled in the township of Winslow, Quebec. Little examines church, census, and other records in search of social differences between settlers of Scottish origin and their French Canadian counterparts. Both cultural groups began farming this newly opened township at about the same time. Margaret Bennett's Oatmeal and Catechism is constructed primarily from oral history, and supplemented by written history when needed. Her book contains detailed information about the daily life of Gaelic speaking emigrants from Lewis in the Eastern Townships from the late nineteenth century onwards. There has also been some interesting research on the subject of the Scots in the Maritime communities.

Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Glengarry, Ontario, Hornsby demonstrates that many of them did not fit this traditional pattern. His sample shows strong channels of emigration not only from the Northwest coast of Scotland, but also from eastern Inverness, Highland Perth, Argyll, and Bute.¹³ He points out that many Highland emigrants settled in Northeastern New Brunswick, southern Quebec, and Southwestern Ontario. Hornsby discovers that the principal destination of Highland emigrants was Ontario (42%), followed by Nova Scotia (31%). Quebec was the third choice destination, with eleven percent of the Highlanders in the sample.¹⁴ Hornsby also analyzes his data by date, dividing his sample into two periods. The first period is from 1755 to 1814, and the second from 1815 to 1854. During latter period, from a total of 525 emigrants to the area now known as Quebec, Hornsby's data reveals that most of the Scottish emigration was from Bute (196 emigrants), followed by Ross and Cromarty (45 persons).¹⁵ These counties are considered by Hornsby to be located in the Scottish Highlands. The next area with the most emigrants was the Lowland county of Ayr (42 individuals). Unfortunately for those interested in Montreal, he explains that "Most of the Highlanders in Quebec settled in Montreal and in Megantic, Compton, and Richmond counties in the Eastern Townships."¹⁶ Unfortunately, Hornsby's statement does not inform the reader of the proportion of Highland emigrants who settled in Montreal. Elsewhere in the text, the author explains that very few Highlanders settled in the major urban centres of

¹³Stephen J. Hornsby, "Patterns of Scottish Emigration to Canada, 1750-1870." *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 4 (October, 1992) : 411.

¹⁴Ibid., 401.

¹⁵Ibid., 410.

¹⁶Ibid., 402.

Ontario. This statement conforms to Eric Richards' belief that emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland were primarily in search of arable land. Although Hornsby does not suggest it, quite probably the majority of the Highlanders in his sample did not settle in Montreal during this period.

A small survey conducted for the purposes of comparison in this paper shows that relatively few Highlanders settled in Montreal from about 1835 to 1865. The survey was made on the basis of a list of emigrants who lived in Montreal during the period from 1835 to 1865. Their identities and place of origin were collected primarily from biographical information available in the Reverend Robert Campbell's History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church. The same book was also one of the sources of information for Donald Whyte's dictionary. Of the 123 emigrants to Montreal that were examined, only eighteen percent were from the Scottish Highlands. Most were from the Lowland cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Many of the remaining emigrants came from the vicinity of Aberdeen and the North-eastern coast of Scotland. Very few emigrants to Montreal appeared to have come directly from the Highlands. In contrast to Hornsby's findings, there were few emigrants from Ayrshire in this sample.

The 1861 census also reveals something about the origins of Scottish-born Montrealers. Although most Scottish-born listed Scotland as their place of birth, there were 115 separate records in which a town or district in Scotland was named.¹⁷ These records reveal that a minority of the emigrants (only thirteen percent) were originally from the

¹⁷See Appendix I.

Scottish Highlands. In 1861, the majority of Scottish-born Montrealers came from either Glasgow or Edinburgh. Eric Richards' belief that the Scottish Highlanders were tenaciously attached to the land appears to be supported by the fact that so few Highlanders seem to have settled in the urban environment of the city of Montreal during this period.

According to Hornsby's calculations, Quebec was the second choice destination of emigrants from Scotland's Lowland regions from 1815 to 1854. He discovered that 15% of the Lowlanders in the sample settled in Quebec, while 71% went to Ontario.¹⁸ From 1750 to 1870, Hornsby explains, more than half of the Lowlanders in Quebec settled in Montreal.¹⁹

Many Scottish emigrants, both Highlander and Lowlander, passed through Montreal on their way to Upper Canada or the United States. Donald Creighton, in Dominion of the North, describes vividly the "great army of people" that travelled up the Saint Lawrence to reach Upper Canada during the 1830's and 1840's. He describes how in the summer,

...the poverty stricken immigrants filled the old towns of Quebec and Montreal to suffocation, crowding every inch of the taverns, immigrant shelters, and hospitals, filling the ill-paved, ill-lighted streets with their quarrels and drunken merriment, and thrusting the problem of their poverty and disease on a community which was totally unprepared to cope with them.²⁰

Creighton also explains that the main body of the migration "...pressed tumultuously through Lower Canada, leaving only a few and scattered detachments behind it."²¹ It is not known

¹⁸Ibid., 409.

¹⁹Ibid., 404.

²⁰Donald G. Creighton, Dominion of the North: A History of Canada (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1957), 212.

²¹Ibid.

how many Scottish emigrants travelled through Montreal from 1835 to 1865, and what percentage remained in the city.

It is certain that some Scottish emigrants lived and worked for a time in Montreal before they "pressed tumultuously" through to Canada West. James Thompson, an Aberdeenshire native who arrived in Montreal in 1844, was one of those people. He worked in Montreal for about a year, before heading West. Thompson wrote many letters about his experiences to friends and family at home. The letters survived, and were compiled into a book entitled For Friends at Home, published by McGill-Queen's University Press in 1974. The book is a valuable insight into the life of a relatively ordinary Scottish emigrant. His description of the trip across the Atlantic is very interesting, but there is also much useful information about immigrants from Scotland that may be gained from his writing. Thompson, a baker by trade, notes that most of the passengers who embarked with him at Aberdeen were farmers and farm labourers. Others were tradesmen, including

...four or five blacksmiths three bakers half a dozen wrights and joiners and a tailor who might almost be said to have crossed the atlantic on his goose and needle as he sewed all the time unless when the rolling of the ship turned him off his chest lid. We also had two fiddlers and a poet.²²

Thompson explains that of his one hundred and forty three fellow passengers²³, "Henderson is the only one of our number who remained in Quebec and there are only about half a dozen

²²Richard Arthur Preston, ed., For Friends at Home: A Scottish Emigrant's Letters From Canada, California and the Cariboo 1844-64 (Montreal and London, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 49.

²³Thompson does not mention how many passengers the ship St. Lawrence had, but the newspaper account of its arrival does. The Montreal Gazette, 10 June 1844.

in Montreal".²⁴ Thompson's words confirm Creighton's statements that only a minority of the masses of immigrants remained in Lower Canada.

Thompson's writing also corroborates the information about urban immigrants which may be gleaned from Charlotte Erickson's Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in 19th-century America. She divides immigrants into three major types of occupation, beginning with the agricultural immigrant. Erickson also describes two types of urban immigrant, the "tramping artisan" and the "uprooted" professional. Erickson discovers that the agricultural immigrants most often arrived with their families, while the artisans and professionals she studied tended to be single. If married, they were likely to have left their wives behind them.²⁵ According to Erickson, the artisan letter writers "...were not part of an elite cadre of advanced industrial workers" but "...may be characterized more aptly as bringing pre-industrial skills to America."²⁶ Erickson believes that the artisans, rather than fleeing impoverishment, emigrated with the "...hope of economic improvement."²⁷ The professionals, like the artisans, tended not to be driven by economic hardships. They most often cited "personal, family, and status reasons for emigration" rather than economic pressures. Erickson discovers that both of the urban groups, unlike the agricultural immigrants she examined, extended their networking advice and assistance

²⁴Richard Arthur Preston, ed., For Friends at Home, 49.

²⁵Charlotte Erickson, Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in 19th-Century America (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), 241.

²⁶Ibid., 229.

²⁷Ibid., 237.

beyond the family. Some of them carried letters of introduction, and others had "the promise of a house to come to temporarily and assistance in finding a job on arrival."²⁸

James Thompson's story confirms Erickson's thesis in many ways. Thompson was a typical tramping artisan, a single man who, as a baker, immigrated with pre-industrial skills. A decade and a half later, the census records for the City of Montreal in 1861 demonstrate that there were many immigrants like James Thompson.²⁹ The majority of Scottish immigrants in Montreal in 1861 were not rich, successful merchants, nor did they possess advanced industrial capacities. They were, in fact, skilled artisans or craftsmen, like James Thompson, pursuing trades such as bakers, carpenters and tailors. Many other Scottish-born Montrealers were clerical workers, such as bookkeepers, clerks, and accountants. Comparatively few Scots living in Montreal at that time were unskilled labourers. There were also very few Scottish-born servants and domestics.

A history of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal, written by Hugh Allan, records an attempt that was made early in 1836 to establish a Register Office for Scottish emigrants who were looking for employment as servants. It was reported at the Quarterly Meeting in May that the idea had not been a success.

The applications for servants had been exceedingly numerous, amounting to above five hundred, but only two servants had applied for places, and it appeared on enquiry

²⁸Ibid, 243.

²⁹Out of a possible 3235 records of Scottish-born Montrealers, 1387 names were copied into a computer database. Records were collected from all of the different districts of the city of Montreal, with the aim of discovering Scottish immigrants both rich and poor. Some districts contained very few Scottish-born people. The entire St. Ann's ward, for example, only contained 123 Scottish-born. St. Mary's yielded only 97 records. Other areas, such as the St. Antoine and St. Lawrence wards, seemed to have Scots living in every second household. See Appendix II and page 19 for more details.

that very few Scotch persons would become servants, and the limited number who did, had no difficulty in obtaining places.³⁰

Eric Richards' article, "Varieties of Scottish Emigration", provides a possible explanation for the apparent reluctance of Scottish emigrants to become servants. Richards suggests that by this period, Scottish emigration was more a "migration of rising expectations" than an exodus fuelled by desperation.³¹ This may well explain why the glimpse of the composition of the Scottish community in Montreal afforded by Presbyterian Church registers, as well as the 1861 census, shows a relative absence of servants and domestics from 1835 through to 1865.³²

IMMIGRANT NETWORKS

James Thompson, like Charlotte Erickson's urban immigrants, did not have family to aid and support him upon his arrival in Montreal. Instead, he carried letters of introduction, addressed to James Smith at the Bank of British North America, and to the Reverend Henry Esson.³³ The Reverend Mr. Esson, who was born in Deeside, Aberdeenshire, obtained a situation for his fellow countryman at a bakery run by two Scotsmen, Mr. McDougall and Mr. Morrison. Thompson stayed for a few days at a lodging house kept by another fellow Scotsman, a Mr. McHardy, "...who twelve years ago was a coach guard on the Deeside

³⁰Hugh Allan, St. Andrew's Society of Montreal (Montreal: St. Andrew's Society, 1844; reprint, 1856), 13.

³¹Eric Richards, "Varieties of Scottish Emigration", 478.

³²See Appendix V.

³³Richard Arthur Preston, ed., For Friends at Home, 44.

road."³⁴

The network of Scottish emigrants from Aberdeenshire appears to have been fairly extensive in the Montreal area. Thompson's letter dated August 8, 1844, reveals a little of this web of associations. He writes "I have enquired at several persons about David Currie but can get no certain account of him." Thompson explains that "Curry[sic] was an acquaintance of Mr. Shanks when they were journey men. You may also tell Mr. Shanks that I have seen and spoken several times to Mr. John Scott, Candlemaker."³⁵ On the third of November, he relays that he went visiting to nearby Cote des Neiges "where there is a baker that wrought in Aberdeen".³⁶

It was not only the Aberdeenshire natives who had extensive networks of Scottish friends and relatives in Canada. Alexander Henderson, a resident of Edinburgh, left Scotland for Canada in 1855 to pursue his occupation as an accountant. Preserved amongst his papers are four letters of introduction.³⁷ Three of the letters are those that Henderson brought with him when he emigrated. They may not have been the only letters he carried, and probably are those that he did not use. Two of the letters were addressed to people in Toronto and the third was intended for the cashier at a bank in Kingston, Ontario. The Torontonians appear to have been relatives of the Scottish letter writers. In both cases, the letter writer is a friend

³⁴Ibid., 45.

³⁵Ibid., 56. The variations in spelling that Thompson used in his letters were preserved in the text.

³⁶Ibid., 66.

³⁷Alexander Henderson Papers, Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.

of Alexander Henderson. This is a confirmation of Charlotte Erickson's statement that urban professionals and artisans were more likely to obtain assistance and advice outside of their families than the agricultural immigrants. It is likely that the support these people received upon immigrating was repaid in kind to other Scottish immigrants. For example, the final letter of introduction found in the Henderson collection dates from 1866 and is addressed to Mrs. Henderson from an old female friend. The writer introduces her son, with the hope that "...if he goes to Montreal he will find a friend in you. Should he get work to do & hold out hopes of employment as he desires, I should think seriously of emigrating too along with the family."³⁸

It seems that many Scottish emigrants had little difficulty in finding countrymen who could employ them, or give them lodging or advice upon their arrival. An extensive Scottish emigrant network must have been a contributing factor to the success of many of the Scots who arrived in Montreal and other Canadian cities.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Michael B. Katz has made a detailed study of census records and financial records of people living in Hamilton, Ontario from 1851 to 1871. His book, entitled The People of Hamilton. Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City examines the economic and social changes within Hamilton's ethnic groups over thirty years. It has been said that Katz "...has traced the downward mobility of Scots..."³⁹ in this work. Indeed Katz discovers that the overall percentage of poor Scottish Presbyterians increased from 1851 to

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Michael E. Vance. "Breaking the Power of a Metaphor," in The Immigrant Experience, ed. Catherine Kerrigan, 71.

1861, while the percentage of well-to-do among them decreased. He explains, however, that "This was probably a function of the heavy immigration of relatively poor artisans, for the total number of assessed Scottish Presbyterians jumped a hefty 92 percent during the decade."⁴⁰ In another section of the book, Katz measures the economic and occupational mobility of the various ethnic groups between 1851 and 1861, and discovers that a rather low percentage of Scottish Presbyterians remained poor over the decade. In addition, Katz finds that a comparatively large percentage of Scottish Presbyterians became "well-to-do" during the same time period.⁴¹

Presumably, the Scottish Presbyterians were also the most economically mobile ethnic group in Montreal at this time. There are numerous individual success stories of Scots emigrants to support the suggestion. Unfortunately, there has not yet been any study of Montreal accomplished with the same scope and painstaking detail as Katz's survey of Hamilton. There has been a study by the Department of Geography at McGill, but it has little use for the reader who is specifically interested in the Scottish community. In this instance, all of the English speaking Protestants are examined together.⁴²

It is certain that the Scottish community in Montreal lived relatively comfortably. The 1861 census of the City of Montreal shows that there were relatively few Scottish-born

⁴⁰Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1975), 62.

⁴¹Ibid., 165.

⁴²The study in question is the Department of Geography at McGill University's series entitled Shared Spaces/Partage de l'Espace, particularly Sherry Olson and Patricia A. Thornton's "Trajectories of Three Communities in Nineteenth-Century Montreal", published in November, 1993.

people at the lower end of the social scale. The occupational classification developed by Michael Katz was used on records collected from the 1861 census of Montreal. There were 600 records of Scottish-born Montrealers in which the person's occupation was classifiable according to Katz's system.⁴³ Only one hundred and three (17.17%) people were classified as type I, the highest category. This category included merchants, doctors, and clergymen, in other words, the typical Montreal Scots of the history books. A much higher percentage of people (32.17%, or one hundred and ninety-three) were identified as type II, a category which includes clerks, bookkeepers, and grocers. People of the type III category formed the largest group, which, with two hundred and nineteen people (36.5%), was slightly larger than the previous category. Type III occupations included artisans and tradesmen, such as bakers, blacksmiths, and tailors.

The glimpse of the community afforded by the census records of 1861 demonstrates that rich, successful businessmen and merchants did not make up the majority of the Scottish community in Montreal. The census also shows, however, that an equally small percentage of Scots were in the two lowest-ranked occupational categories. A mere four percent of the 600 Scots were a type V (labourer), while 10.17% were in type IV (i.e. carter, gardener). One might speculate that the lack of Scots in the two lowest categories could be related in some way to the fact that there were very few Highlanders in Montreal at this time. It does appear, however, that in Montreal at least, emigration from Lowland Scotland did not come from amongst the poorer classes.

⁴³The occupations that were unable to be classified included those not listed in Katz's system (i.e. storeman), as well as servants and women's occupations. Only 10.17% of the 600 classifiable occupations were category IV (e.g. carter, gardener), and only 4% were a category V (labourer). See Appendix II for more details.

Although there has not been any quantification of the remarkable success of Scottish emigrants in Montreal to date, some historians have made an attempt to explain it. Gerald Tulchinsky, in The River Barons, endeavours to explain how the Scots came to dominate business ventures in Montreal. He suggests that British merchants, many of whom were Scots, had strong business links with Britain. They were able to predominate in the growing trade in imported goods through Montreal to the expanding agricultural and timber communities in the West. Tulchinsky summarizes the career of Peter McGill, in order to explain why the Scots were predominant in Montreal's commercial life.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, it is difficult for the reader to make assumptions from the life story of one very successful Scottish-born gentleman. Tulchinsky does not offer the reader any clues in this respect, either. He does make the suggestion that the rapid expansion of trade in imported goods "...rested overwhelmingly in the hands of the merchants who formerly had participated in the fur trade."⁴⁵ These firms were mostly of British origin, and many of them were Scottish.

Elaine Allan Mitchell's "The Scot in the Fur Trade", in W. Stanford Reid's The Scottish Tradition in Canada, tries to explain the predominance of Scottish emigrants within the fur trade in Canada. She feels that the Scots seemed to have a natural affinity for the trade from an early date. "In the first place, partly no doubt as a result of early political and commercial ties with France, as well as a shared dislike (or envy) of the English, they got

⁴⁴Gerald Tulchinsky, The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-53 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 20.

⁴⁵Ibid., 6.

along well with the French in Canada..."⁴⁶ Mitchell believes that with French help, the Canadian fur trade was able to expand and prosper soon after the Seven Years' War.

Tulchinsky's look at the Montreal business community from 1837 to 1853, in David Macmillan's Canadian Business History, offers a clearer explanation of Scottish success in Canada than is available in his book The River Barons. Tulchinsky characterizes the Scots as "...probably the most poorly educated element in the elite – and the best trained."⁴⁷ He believes that the widespread practise of apprenticeship in a trade at an early age provided young Scots with an advantage in Canadian industry. In addition, he feels that the "intense ethnic loyalties" which characterized the Scottish migrants, and the fact that Scotland was an industrializing society in the mid-nineteenth century, combined to give the Scots a "technical superiority" over most other ethnic groups.⁴⁸

Donald MacKay suggests of the Montreal Scots that

Tradition and motivation undoubtedly had something to do with their success, for most were Protestants, with a Calvinist appetite for hard work. . . . Unlike the French, however, they had strong commercial ties with the United Kingdom. Unlike the English, they were not hampered by a class system that discouraged initiative by people of modest beginnings.⁴⁹

There is no question that Montreal's Scottish community flourished in the years following 1763. Scottish people dominated the field of commerce in Montreal. It is possible

⁴⁶Elaine Allan Mitchell, "The Scot in the Fur Trade," in The Scottish Tradition in Canada, ed. W. Stanford Reid (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 32.

⁴⁷Gerald Tulchinsky, "The Social and Political Significance of Business Groupings: The Montreal Business Community, 1837-1853", in Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971, ed. David S. Macmillan (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972), 152.

⁴⁸Ibid., 154.

⁴⁹Donald MacKay, The Square Mile, 28.

to find comments written about Montreal such as "The country is over run with Scotchmen"⁵⁰ written by disgruntled non-Scots. Tulchinsky quotes a businessman named Ward, who noted that Montreal, in 1821, was a place "Where, if one were not a 'Scotchman', and especially if one were an American, there was considerable prejudice in business."⁵¹ Ward was apparently not fond of Montreal, and he wrote in 1822, "I am not a Scotchman, a circumstance of no small importance with some of the wise ones here."⁵²

Tulchinsky explains, however, that "ethnic solidarity was everywhere a common feature of the world of business before the rise of joint-stock companies."⁵³ David S. MacMillan's "The Scot as Businessman", in W. Stanford Reid's The Scottish Tradition in Canada, is less philosophical about the Scots' solidarity in business. MacMillan feels that it was one of their "less admirable" traits. The new Scottish commercial class, both at home and abroad, were, according to MacMillan, characterized by an "intense, narrow localism" in their trade. He explains how Scottish merchants

...tended to trade with their home ports (mostly with Greenock) and to congregate in their colonial settings with Scots from their own regions, if they were available. They also recruited clerks, craftsmen, and labourers from their own districts back in Scotland -- and kinfolk wherever possible, often to the detriment of the colonial population seeking employment."⁵⁴

R. A. Cage, in his introduction to Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-

⁵⁰ Elaine Allan Mitchell, "The Scot in the Fur Trade", 36.

⁵¹ Gerald Tulchinsky. The River Barons. 214.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., 9.

⁵⁴ David S. MacMillan, "The Scot as Businessman" in The Scottish Tradition in Canada, ed. W. Stanford Reid, 185.

1914, attempts to explain the success of the Scots wherever they settled around the globe. He is reluctant to suggest that they were disproportionately successful, but admits that they were "frequently successful".⁵⁵ He feels that they prospered as a result of the commercial connections that the Scottish migrants maintained with Scotland. He explains that newly arrived immigrants were able to establish contacts within the Scottish networks. Cage concurs with MacMillan, emphasizing how the Scots were adept at preserving and cultivating their "Scottishness", often employing only Scots or buying only from Scottish firms.⁵⁶ Cage suggests that the "crucial factor" in the success of the Scots lay in the fact that "...the Scots easily assimilated into their new environment; most were used to moving and re-establishing themselves."⁵⁷

Cage's statement is reminiscent of a much earlier one written by Andrew Dewar Gibb in his Scottish Empire. Gibb believes of the Scotsman that "...the labour of extorting a livelihood from mountain and moor makes him less critical than the Englishman of the conditions which are usual during a period of colonization."⁵⁸ While this statement may seem outdated and stereotypical (certainly not all Scots lived off the land), it does have a certain truth to it. Scotland had (and still has) a less civilized, industrialized, primarily rural landscape, with far fewer roads and cities than could be found in England. A Scottish emigrant may indeed have felt more at home than an Englishman in the rough environment

⁵⁵R. A. Cage, ed., The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914 (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1985), 4.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid., 5.

⁵⁸Andrew Dewar Gibb, Scottish Empire (London: A. Maclehose, 1937), 308.

of Canada's frontier towns, cities, and countryside.

THE SCOTS AND EDUCATION

One avenue that neither Cage, MacMillan nor Tulchinsky explores is the possible influence of widespread Scottish literacy and education on their success in Canada. T. C. Smout, in his A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830, examines the results of the Scottish system of subsidized education from its inception in the early seventeenth century through to the early nineteenth century. He concludes that the system of education was inadequate in the towns and the Highlands, but that it served the rural Lowlands quite well. He feels it provided especially good education for the middle classes, which were generally able to obtain commercial and professional training in academies and universities. Smout notes that for all its shortcomings, the education system provided Scotland with an average rate of literacy that was higher than in England in 1833.⁵⁹

R. D. Anderson, in Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland, points out that in 1855, Scotland had a literacy rate of 89 percent for men and 77 percent for women, compared with 70 and 59 percent for England and Wales. Anderson, like Smout, explains that education was theoretically provided for everyone, but the quality and availability of schooling tended to vary widely from parish to parish, from Highland to Lowland, and from city to countryside. In the beginning of the first chapter of his book, Anderson warns the reader that the popular nineteenth century belief that Scottish education and society was "peculiarly democratic" was a myth. This democratic myth, however, "...became, and has

⁵⁹T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 443.

remained, a central part both of the Scottish sense of nationhood and of the image which others have formed of the Scots."⁶⁰ Anderson does acknowledge that the myth is not completely false, however, but rather "...an idealization and distillation of a complex reality, a belief which influences history by interacting with other forces and pressures..."⁶¹ He suggests that the Scots believed in the existence of a "ladder from the gutter to the university."⁶² It is not difficult to imagine that such a belief would have spurred ambitious people to make an attempt to rise above their social origins. Anderson also explains that Scottish universities, from the 1860's through to the 1900's served not only the élite, but also a wide range of the community. During this period, "...a large minority of university students were the children of shopkeepers, artisans, small farmers, and skilled workers..."⁶³

Earlier writers appear to have had no misgivings about the Scottish educational system. W. J. Rattray, in The Scot in British North America believes that the success of many Scottish people of otherwise humble beginnings was due to the "...sound plain education..." of the parochial school system of Scotland.⁶⁴

In his study of Hamilton, Ontario, Michael Katz discovered that Scottish Presbyterians and Canadian Protestants had the highest percentage of children aged eleven to

⁶⁰R. D. Anderson, Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 1.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid., 339.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴William Jordan Rattray, The Scot in British North America vol. I (Toronto: Maclear, 1880), 197.

fourteen attending school in 1861.⁶⁵ In Montreal, however, the figures for Scottish Presbyterians attending school were slightly lower. In Montreal, 67.65 percent (or 23 out of 34) of the Scottish-born Presbyterian children aged eleven to fourteen were listed as attending school. In Hamilton, however, the figure was 70.2 percent. The figure for female attendance at school, aged eleven to fourteen, was higher in Montreal than in Hamilton (63.64% in Montreal, 57.6% in Hamilton). The table developed by Katz demonstrates, however, that Scottish Presbyterian females had the second lowest school attendance rates among various ethnic groups in Hamilton in 1861⁶⁶.

It is more difficult to obtain a direct comparison of school attendance rates in Montreal. Bettina Bradbury's study, Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal examines school attendance only in Saint Ann and Saint Jacques wards. Unfortunately, these wards were ones in which relatively few Scots were found. The records which were collected, however, do show that the Scottish-born children may have been ahead of the average. Bradbury's charts show a peak of attendance for girls aged eight and nine in 1861, at about 63 or 64 percent.⁶⁷ Three out of four girls of that age attended school in Saint Ann's ward. There were no records collected for girls aged eight and nine in Saint Jacques. Boys aged ten and eleven showed the highest attendance rates in 1861, about 76 or 77 percent, according to Bradbury.⁶⁸ The records collected for Scottish-born boys aged ten and eleven in the two wards numbered only six in 1861, but all of them were recorded as

⁶⁵Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West, 285.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 288.

⁶⁷ Bettina Bradbury, Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993), 121.

attending school. Further research is needed in order to determine whether or not the Scots were truly above average, and if the children of Scottish parents also had a high rate of school attendance.

When the school attendance of Scottish-born children in the various districts of Montreal is compared using the 1861 census, it is Saint Ann's ward that shows the highest percentage. Saint Ann's ward had 64.29 percent of children aged five to sixteen in school, while Saint Antoine ward had sixty percent. The census does not specify full or part-time attendance. Unfortunately, it is not able to reveal whether the high figures in St. Ann's ward included children who attended a Sunday School, but not regular schooling.^{67a}

The fourth chapter of Lynda Price's Introduction to the Social History of the Scots in Quebec 1780-1840 discusses education in the form of Sunday Schools. Price states that Sunday Schools were set up "...to teach the young a code of behaviour regarding both God and their society."⁶⁹ She believes that "It was hoped that children would learn obedience and submission to authority in order to preserve the existing order."⁷⁰ This statement corresponds more to the view of education in England rather than Scotland. R. D. Anderson explains that the clergy in England

...often lent their authority to crude ideas of education as a form of social control. In Scotland, the belief in popular education took root before fears of the new factory proletariat arose, and men like Chalmers were able to put forward a much subtler idea of

⁶⁸ Ibid.

^{67a} See appendix III for details.

⁶⁹ Lynda Price, Introduction to the Social History of the Scots in Quebec 1780-1840 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981), 35.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 38.

social harmony based on common schooling or on a controlled upward mobility.⁷¹

Price's statement that "The Church and its Sunday Schools served as a major force in diverting working class interests towards the maintenance of their lower social position"⁷² is not supported by the quotations used in her text. The quotations that precede the above statement are ones in which Sunday School officials complain that attendance at the schools are less, and that few pupils have converted. Price's suggestion that the educators were "not free from self-interest" in their desire to educate the uneducated is somewhat more credible. She states that the more selfish motives of the educators were to preserve a steady, dependable work force and a stable society. It was necessary, she explains, "...to convince labourers and artisans that the middle-class virtues of hard work and sobriety were essential aspects of "civilized" society."⁷³ She does admit, however, that along with their concern for "...imprinting their own value system" on the labour force, "Merchants and other substantial parish members accepted the Old Country view that education of the poorer classes could help them better their lot in society..."⁷⁴ Lynda Price is perhaps an overly harsh judge of the motives of the merchants and substantial parish members. The desire for a stable society seems hardly a self-interested one, especially if the values that the educators were attempting to imprint on the labour force were ones to which the merchants and parishioners themselves aspired.

Reverend Robert Campbell's A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel

⁷¹R. D. Anderson, Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland, 14.

⁷²Lynda Price, Introduction to the Social History of the Scots in Quebec, 41.

⁷³Ibid., 44.

⁷⁴Ibid.

Street, Montreal, published in 1887, is a good contrast to Lynda Price's work. Despite its title, Campbell's history is not restricted to the Saint Gabriel Street Church, and is actually a valuable source of information on the origins of most of the Presbyterian churches in Montreal. It also touches on many other aspects of Montreal's Scottish community, including the numerous educational and charitable institutions founded by church members. The 807 page volume is filled with hundreds of biographical sketches of prominent Montrealers, many of whom were born in Scotland. Thankfully, it does not continuously praise the achievements of its Scottish-born subjects. Some of the other early (and not so early) books on the subject of Scots in Canada are preoccupied with individual achievements of both Scottish-born and Scottish Canadians. Because Campbell's book is very detailed, it has many uses for those interested in Montreal's Scottish community, as well as those interested in the history of Montreal. There are, however, certain limitations to the book for the purpose of constructing a study of the entire Scottish community. For example, the focus on the people involved in church management, which is appropriate to a history of the church, quite naturally leads to an over-representation of the more prominent people in the congregation.

It was decided to examine church records, in conjunction with the information contained in Reverend Campbell's book, in order to obtain a broader picture of the Scottish Presbyterian community in Montreal.

III.

MAJOR RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF MONTREAL'S SCOTTISH COMMUNITY 1835-1865

This examination of the religious institutions of Montreal's Scottish community will be limited to the Scottish Presbyterian churches in Montreal. From 1835 to 1865, most Montrealers of Scottish birth or ancestry would have belonged to one of the Scottish Presbyterian churches in the city. At this time, only a small proportion of the Scottish emigrant population belonged to other denominations. The percentage of Scots in these other religions would not have been enough to form predominantly Scottish churches. In the 1842 census of Montreal, for example, most of the households examined contained at least as many Church of Scotland members as there were natives of Scotland. It is difficult to acquire much detail about religion from the 1842 census, however, because the information is given in a collective form. Each record contains numerical data about the members of the family or household. Numbers are given under the many different headings, which include the number of natives of Scotland, the number of people belonging to the Church of Scotland, and the number of men, women, and children in various age and marital status categories. It is not possible to determine the denomination of individuals from this type of record.

The 1851 census would have been more informative in this regard, because it lists each member of the household individually. Unfortunately, most of the records for Montreal

have been lost or destroyed. There are only fifty-nine records of Scottish-born Montrealers in the remaining records for the 1851 census. Thirty-one of them were listed as Presbyterian. Eleven other natives of Scotland were listed simply as Protestants, and eight others were said to be Church of England. The remainder included four Roman Catholic, two Wesleyan Methodists, two Episcopal and one Congregational.

The 1861 census is a much better source of information about the Scottish community in Montreal. It is the first complete census from the Montreal area in which the name, place of birth and religion are indicated for each member of the household. Most Scottish immigrants were registered as belonging to the Church of Scotland. Of the 1387 records collected from various areas of the city, 990 Scottish-born Montrealers (71.38 percent) were listed as belonging to a Scottish Presbyterian Church. Church of England members numbered 102 (7.35 percent). There were sixty-one (4.39 percent) Roman Catholics, and fifty-eight (4.18 percent) Congregationalists. The numbers are considerably smaller for other denominations.

Because most of Montreal's Scottish-born were Presbyterian, one might assume that the Scottish Presbyterian churches would have formed the nucleus and focal point of a united Scottish community. Actually, the situation was quite different. Montreal's Scottish Presbyterian churches, ministers, and congregations were rarely in agreement with each other over religious and sometimes temporal matters. One church in particular, the Saint Gabriel Street Church, was frequently troubled by internal strife. Religious conflict was responsible for many divisions within Montreal's Scottish community over the years. The history of the Scotch Presbyterian churches in Montreal shows ample evidence of bitter disputes within

congregations. Divisions tended to occur over the choice of ministers, and the common pattern in Montreal seemed to be that those who preferred a more evangelical minister seceded from the main body of the congregation.

There is some historiographical debate concerning the social composition of evangelical Scottish Presbyterian congregations in Canada. Some writers believe that evangelical congregations were composed of people belonging to a relatively low socio-economic status. This section will show that this was not always the case in Montreal from 1835-65.

Division and dissent was not an unusual occurrence in the Presbyterian Church as a whole. In Scotland, the governing bodies of the Presbyterian Church had been divided several times through the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century as the result of disputes. These divisions were in turn carried across the Atlantic, sometimes resulting in the establishment of separate churches in nineteenth century Montreal. In the first three decades of the nineteenth century, and to a lesser extent, from 1835 to 1865, conflict within Montreal's Scottish Presbyterian congregations was followed by the creation of new churches by the dissenting members. The disputes were not always settled amicably. In a few instances, litigation was the final solution to the problems encountered when congregations were divided over an issue.

By 1835, Montreal's growing Scottish community supported four Presbyterian congregations. The Scotch Presbyterian Church on Saint Gabriel Street was the first Presbyterian Church established in Montreal. By 1835, the church was part of the Presbytery of Quebec, in connection with the Church of Scotland. It was the largest and most prestigious of the Scottish Presbyterian congregations in Montreal at the time. The Saint Andrew's and the

prestigious of the Scottish Presbyterian congregations in Montreal at the time. The Saint Andrew's and the Saint Paul's congregations were also connected with the Church of Scotland, and had developed at different times from divisions within the Saint Gabriel street congregation. Saint Andrew's, with a church on St. Peter street, was a relatively small congregation in 1835. Saint Paul's held services in its newly built church on St. Helen Street, which had opened in 1834.⁷⁴ Its congregation appears to have been only slightly smaller than Saint Andrew's Church, judging by the number of records in the register that year. The fourth congregation belonged to the United Secession Church of Scotland. Its church was on the Northwest corner of Lagauchetière and Chenneville streets. This newly completed stone structure, with a temporary wooden pulpit, was begun in the spring of 1834, and completed in February or early March, 1835.⁷⁵

All four churches were supported for the most part by Montrealers, and were also frequented by members of the Scottish communities living outside Montreal. These people may not have had regular services given by ministers of their own denomination in their locality. Those who lived a greater distance away may not have attended the church on a weekly basis, but they did appear regularly in the church records of baptisms, marriages, and funerals.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, there is no indication given in the church records whether the

⁷⁴Twentieth Century Fund, ed., Historic Sketches of the Pioneer Work and the Missionary, Educational and Benevolent Agencies of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto: Murray Printing Co., 1903), 19.

⁷⁵Elizabeth Ann McDougall, "The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada 1815-1842" (Ph.D. diss., History Department, McGill University, 1969), 241. The Secession church is the only one of the original four Scottish Presbyterian churches which is still standing. It is now a Chinese Catholic Mission.

⁷⁶Farmers and tradesmen in the nearby communities of Long Point, Saint Laurent, and Longueuil appear regularly in church records. People from more distant communities such as L'Assomption, Beauharnois and Laprairie are also represented.

minister travelled to the outlying communities, or if the people came in to Montreal in search of their services.

The founding of two new churches, Saint Paul's and the Secession Church, within a year of each other, points to a sudden growth of the Scottish Presbyterian community in Montreal in the early 1830's. Only one new church emerged in the 1840's, which would probably indicate that the growth of the Scottish community slowed through the 1840's and early 1850's. There appears to have been an increase in the Scottish Presbyterian population by the late 1850's and early 1860's, since the community could boast of seven churches in the Montreal area by 1865.⁷⁷

The church record totals also confirm that the growth of the Scottish community appears to have slowed through the 1840's and early 1850's.⁷⁸ Church records show an increase in numbers only in the 1860's. This information is a useful addition to census figures, which only show the community at ten-year intervals.

THE SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN MONTREAL BY 1835:

THE SAINT GABRIEL STREET CHURCH

The history of the Saint Gabriel Street Church is also the story of the beginnings of most of the other Scottish Presbyterian churches in Montreal during this period. Many of the other Presbyterian congregations were formed from divisions amongst the members of this church. The first Presbyterian service in Montreal was held in a small room on Notre Dame Street on March 12, 1786.⁷⁹ The preacher, Reverend John Bethune, was a retired chaplain of

⁷⁷ John Lovell, MacKay's Montreal Directory (Montreal: John Lovell, 1865), 427-29.

⁷⁸ See Appendix VI, chart B.

⁷⁹ James Croil, Life of the Rev. Alexander Mathieson, D. D. Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal

the 84th (Highland Emigrants) regiment.⁸⁰ Services were held until May 6th, 1787, when the Reverend moved to Glengarry, Upper Canada, to take advantage of a grant of land available to Loyalists.⁸¹ The congregation was firmly established a few years later when the Reverend John Young was supplied by the Presbytery of Albany. Regular services began on September 18th, 1791.⁸² At this time, both the Presbyterian and English Church services were held in the Recollet Church on Notre Dame Street. Reverend Robert Campbell, in A History of the Scotch Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal, lists the names of many Scots merchants and fur traders who worshipped with the congregation from the early days. The Saint Gabriel street edifice was built with the subscriptions of Montreal Presbyterians and fellow Scots of other faiths. Campbell explains that many Scottish men in the North West Company were Episcopal, and others were Roman Catholic. These Highland gentlemen, however, rallied in support of the Saint Gabriel street church and later bought pews in it because "...their national sentiment was stronger than their denominational attachment."⁸³ The church opened for worship on October 7, 1792.⁸⁴ Reverend Campbell explains that it was the first Protestant building for public worship to be erected in Lower Canada.⁸⁵ The

(Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870), 62.

⁸⁰Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church St. Gabriel Street, Montreal (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887), 26.

⁸¹Ibid., 28.

⁸²Ibid., 44.

⁸³Ibid., 27.

⁸⁴Ibid., 68.

⁸⁵Ibid., 62.

simple and unassuming stone structure measured sixty by forty-eight feet, and could seat 650 persons. It stood on the East side of Saint Gabriel street, at the West end of the Champ de Mars. The land on which it was built sloped north from Saint James Street, and part of the city's fortification wall at one time covered a corner of the property.⁸⁶ In 1835, it is apparent that a great number of Montreal's Scottish community worshipped at the Saint Gabriel Street Church. The Reverend Henry Esson's church register contains 235 acts for this year (122 baptisms, forty burials and seventy-three marriages). The acts recorded in the Saint Gabriel Street Church register far outnumber the other Scottish churches in Montreal for this year. For the following nine years, the Saint Gabriel Street Church had the largest number of marriages, baptisms, and funerals recorded each year. Saint Andrew's Church was consistently gaining ground, however, and by 1844 it was only behind by nine records (Saint Gabriel's had 150, while Saint Andrew's had 141). During the period from 1835-1844, the Saint Gabriel Street Church was regarded as the premier church of Montreal's Scottish community. Lynda Price states that

...St. Gabriel's was looked upon as a kind of social club for prominent Montreal merchants regardless of nationality or religious affiliation. In short, St. Gabriel's was a congregation of the Montreal élite until the disintegration brought about by the Free Church movement of 1844.⁸⁷

Although it is indisputable that the Saint Gabriel Street Church was attended by the élite of Montreal, the church registers do reflect the use of the church by a cross-section of the general population. In 1835, for example, not only merchants and gentlemen, but farmers,

⁸⁶Ibid., 66.

⁸⁷Lynda Price, *Introduction to the Social History of the Scots in Quebec*, .28.

carpenters, cabinet makers, blacksmiths, and shoemakers, as well as some labourers are represented in the records.⁸⁸ There are, however, comparatively few domestics and servants listed in the Saint Gabriel Street registers. This characteristic is consistent with the records of the other Scottish Presbyterian churches for this year and for subsequent five-year intervals until 1865.

SAINT ANDREW'S CHURCH

Montreal's second Presbyterian congregation was formed as a result of a division within the Saint Gabriel street congregation over the choice of a new minister in 1803. The majority of the Saint Gabriel Street congregation had agreed to call James Somerville, who was a licentiate of the Relief Presbytery in Scotland. He was ordained at Montreal by a Presbytery formed from Church of Scotland ministers. A minority of the members, however, apparently preferred the preaching style of the Reverend Robert Forrest, who had held services at the Saint Gabriel Street church for a month. The minority who seceded from the Saint Gabriel street church, states the Reverend Campbell, "...were mostly Americans by birth, accustomed to a different ecclesiastical atmosphere than the Church of Scotland all their lives or were in sympathy with the Secession churches of the mother country."⁸⁹ Lynda Price says that the new church "followed a pietistic and evangelical faith."⁹⁰

Campbell's book concurs with the evangelical part of Price's statement, but there is nothing mentioned about pietism. Price does not offer a footnote to explain the origin of her

⁸⁸See Appendix IV.

⁸⁹Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 178.

⁹⁰Lynda Price, Introduction to the Social History of the Scots, 29.

assertion.

Reverend Forrest did not remain in Montreal for very long, but the new congregation soon found a minister. The Reverend Robert Easton was considered a suitable replacement for Reverend Forrest, for he was also from the secessionist strand of the Presbyterian Church and was of the evangelical persuasion.⁹¹ The congregation met in temporary quarters until it was able to build a church on Saint Peter Street. Montreal's second Presbyterian Church opened for worship in March, 1807.⁹² The Saint Peter Street church was a plain but comfortable building, which could accommodate 760 persons.⁹³

Campbell explains that the Saint Peter street church had

...really only a connection of sympathy with the secession church rather than a legal one. . . .the congregation early became a second Scottish one, to which a certain class of the people of that nationality went, because they felt more at home in it..."⁹⁴

About 1809:

The Saint Gabriel street church was considered the Church which was attended by the higher classes of the Presbyterian community and Mr. Easton's church by the tradesmen and mechanics of the Presbyterian faith.⁹⁵

This statement was made by the Hon. James Leslie, when he was being questioned in the course of a law suit in 1860. This was probably the inspiration for Lynda Price's assertion that St. Peter's church "...was formed by lower class Scots in 1803, far less wealthy or

⁹¹Neil G. Smith, Allan L. Farris and H. Keith Markell, A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, ca. 1967), 30.

⁹²Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 176.

⁹³James Croil, Life of the Rev. Alexander Mathieson, 113.

⁹⁴Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 180.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 181.

influential than those of the larger congregation."⁹⁶ Unfortunately, Price does not support her point of view with any references. Campbell is not of the same opinion as Price. He tempers Mr. Leslie's description of the churchgoers with the statement:

But while the new Church in St. Peter street may have attracted a majority of the families of the class indicated by Mr. Leslie, it certainly did not embrace them all, as the records of the St. Gabriel Street Church show that a fair proportion of all ranks and conditions in the community attended its services.⁹⁷

The St. Peter Street congregation retired Reverend Easton in 1824, voting themselves "...in connection with the Church of Scotland."⁹⁸ From that time, the congregation took the name of Saint Andrew's Church.

A minority of the St. Peter Street congregation had not agreed with the decision that had been made to obtain a minister from the established Church of Scotland and "none else".⁹⁹ These people left the church to organize their own congregation on December 15, 1822. This group founded the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal. Reverend Campbell explains that the dissenters were mostly New Englanders.¹⁰⁰ David Knowles, in his unpublished thesis on the origin and growth of the American Presbyterian Church to 1866, states that "...the majority of the congregation appears to have originated in the Northeastern United States".¹⁰¹ From a total of 162 church members whose origins were

⁹⁶Lynda Price, Introduction to the Social History of the Scots in Quebec, 29.

⁹⁷Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 181.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Ibid., 752.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 254.

¹⁰¹David Knowles, "The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal 1822-1866" (M. A. Thesis, McGill

identified in letters of dismission, Knowles found that only eight were from the British Isles. The census records for 1861 are in agreement with Knowles' findings. Only nine Scots belonged to the American Presbyterian Church out of the 1271 census records that were collected. It is for this reason that the records of the American Presbyterian Church were not examined for the purposes of this study.

The 1835 church register reveals that Saint Andrew's, like Saint Gabriel's, was patronized by men from a wide range of occupations. Merchants, engineers, bakers, blacksmiths and farmers all appear in the records. Saint Andrew's church was, however, considerably less active than Saint Gabriel's. Reverend Mathieson's register contains only eighty-three acts (fifty baptisms, eleven burials and twenty-two marriages). This is considerably less than the 235 acts recorded for the Saint Gabriel Street Church in the same year.

SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH

Saint Paul's church was the next Scottish Presbyterian Church to be formed in Montreal. It was the result of another major dispute that arose within the Saint Gabriel street congregation and erupted in January, 1830. At that time, the congregation was struggling to support two clergymen while paying an allowance to their retired Reverend Somerville. Pew rents had been raised in order to improve the financial situation, but this had not resolved the problem. There seemed to be no other option for the congregation but to choose one minister over the other. In addition, rumours were circulating concerning the character and

reputation of the Reverend Esson.¹⁰² A rift developed between the church administration and the congregation. The majority of the temporal committee (representatives of pew proprietors) supported Mr. Esson. The majority of the church elders, however, were in favour of retaining Reverend Edward Black, the minister who had been hired in 1822 on Reverend Somerville's retirement.¹⁰³ Because there was no higher authority such as a Presbytery in connection with the Church of Scotland in Canada at the time, it was a long while before the matter was resolved. The most colourful episode in this conflict took place on Sunday March 6, 1831 when some of the supporters of the Reverend Mr. Black took possession of the church, and barricaded themselves inside. Friends of Mr. Esson gathered outside the building. Esson's supporters attempted at first to force the door open. Failing that, they undertook "...to starve them into submission".¹⁰⁴ Reverend Campbell quotes in this instance from the memoirs of a Dr. Hamilton, surgeon to the 66th regiment. Dr. Hamilton was appalled at such a proceeding happening on a Sabbath. He was dismayed as well to find that a "...crowd of Canadians in the street were laughing disdainfully at these disgraceful proceedings... it was no means agreeable to my Protestant feelings to see persons of the greatest respectability committing themselves in this serio-comic manner..."¹⁰⁵ This little drama took place on the initiative of members of the congregation. Apparently, neither of the ministers approved of or took part in this event.

¹⁰²Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 345.

¹⁰³Ibid., 346.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 349.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland was formed in 1831, and the "...immediate occasion of their coming together was to try and compose the unhappy differences that existed in the St. Gabriel Street Church."¹⁰⁶ In May 1832, four clerical arbitrators cleared Henry Esson of the charges against him. As senior minister in the church, he was awarded the Saint Gabriel street building and the church records. Edward Black, as the more recently hired colleague, was ordered to form a separate congregation with his supporters.¹⁰⁷ Reverend Black was a preacher of "...what is known as the Evangelical school" explains Campbell.¹⁰⁸ This Scottish Presbyterian splinter congregation, then, like the earlier one, was also formed around a minister who had evangelical tendencies. The presbytery of Quebec recognized the new congregation and Reverend Black in July, 1833 as "...a distinct congregation already in full communion with the church."¹⁰⁹ Black's congregation worshipped at the Baptist church on Saint Helen street until their new church, on the Northwest corner of Recollet and Saint Helen, was built. On August 24th, 1834 the large stone building, which could seat 700 persons, was dedicated and opened for worship.¹¹⁰

Lynda Price suggests that there was a class-based reason for this division of the congregation. She maintains that Reverend Black's supporters were mostly small traders and

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 352.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 359-60.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 346.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 361.

¹¹⁰Elizabeth Ann McDougall, The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, 213.

master craftsmen, and that only two of them (Thomas Porteous and Robert Armour) were members of the élite of the Montreal business community. Unfortunately, Price does not offer convincing evidence to support her statements.¹¹¹

T. C. Smout, in A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830, reveals that in Scotland, the Evangelical strain within the Church of Scotland represented a relatively lower-class segment of society, while the Moderates tended to be supported by the upper-class.¹¹² Reverend Campbell does not write his history from the same point of view. He believes that the Saint Paul's split in the congregation was one based on religious belief and personal preference. He explains that there were members of the congregation who left Saint Gabriel's church because they preferred other evangelical preachers to the young Reverend Henry Esson. It is evident that Campbell (who was minister of the Saint Gabriel Street Church when he wrote the book) was a preacher of an evangelical nature. He believes, for example, that the Reverend Esson was too weak in his preaching in the early part of his career. "And the people who go to church," he says, "sometimes at least, expect to be told of their sins...They are not long satisfied to be spoken to as if they were saints..."¹¹³ Campbell compares the position of the minister to a "spiritual physician", and believes that people will choose what they feel they need. The Reverend Campbell's evangelical tendencies are quite

¹¹¹Price's footnote sends the reader to Appendix IV. This appendix is quite large, with eleven sections. Section J is the only part which could possibly apply to Price's statement. This appendix gives the occupations of family heads from the registers of the different Presbyterian churches of Montreal in the year in which they were founded. It is especially confusing because St. Peter's 1803 and St. Andrew's 1824 are given in the same column. The second reference is pp. 347-360 in Campbell's book. Campbell does not support this point of view.

¹¹²T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1850 (Great Britain: Collins, 1969; reprint, London: Fontana Press, 1985), 221 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

¹¹³Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 284.

evident in his text, especially in the section on Henry Esson's early preaching style.

Campbell writes

...souls are not saved by descanting on the beauties of the sentiments set forth by Jesus and His Apostles. As a rule, sinful men require a more heroic treatment. The patient suffering from a gangrene cannot be cured by sprinkling rosewater about his apartment.¹¹⁴

Reverend Black's congregation had been quite recently formed in 1835, yet the register contains ninety-seven acts (twenty-six marriages, forty-eight baptisms, and twenty-three burials). This new congregation appears to have been a little more active than the Saint Andrew's church at this time. The social composition of Saint Paul's in 1835, viewed through the church records, differs slightly from the Saint Gabriel Street and Saint Andrew's churches. There are a few more merchants, as well as a few more labourers than the other two churches. Saint Paul's Church records also show fewer tradesmen or artisans than can be found in the records of the other churches for 1835. There is no clear evidence in this case to support the theory that evangelicalism is associated with a relatively low socio-economic status.

THE SECESSION CHURCH

The Secession Church on Lagauchetière Street was formed at about the same time as Saint Paul's, but it does not appear to have been a splinter group from the congregation at Saint Gabriel Street. People who rallied around a certain clergyman had formed the nucleus of the other Scottish Presbyterian congregations in Montreal. This congregation, however, was organized by a group of Scottish laymen without the benefit of a minister. They held

¹¹⁴Ibid.

their first meeting at the schoolroom of a Mr. Bruce on McGill Street on December 29, 1831. Once they had determined that they would have enough people to form a secession congregation, they wrote to a Dr. John Mitchell in Glasgow requesting that he find them a Secessionist minister.¹¹⁵ Dr. Mitchell sent David Shanks, a licentiate of the United Secession Church. The congregation was unhappy with his pulpit style at the end of Shanks' one-year contract, and decided not to retain him. William Taylor arrived in June, 1833, with a fellow missionary of the United Secession Church, George Murray. The two of them preached in Montreal for a month, after which the Secession congregation voted to call Reverend Taylor to their pulpit.¹¹⁶

Lynda Price explains that the Secession church was built in 1835 by what she calls a "...committee of evangelistic presbyterians...". She claims that "the congregation met in a Griffintown schoolhouse for two years prior to completion of their modest church in the same working-class district."¹¹⁷ This statement is quite confusing, because the church was not built in Griffintown, but on Lagauchetière at Chenneville Street. Elizabeth McDougall, in her unpublished PhD thesis on the Presbyterian Church in Lower Canada explains that the congregation soon outgrew the schoolhouse on McGill Street, and made arrangements to meet in the American Presbyterian Church's sanctuary each Sunday until the church was ready in 1835.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵Elizabeth Ann McDougall, The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, 238.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 240.

¹¹⁷Lynda Price, Introduction to the Social History of the Scots, 29.

¹¹⁸Elizabeth Ann McDougall, The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, 241.

Price mentions that the founding congregation "...contained 16 carpenters, 6 tailors, 6 farmers, 5 masons, 4 blacksmiths and 3 shopkeepers. Its total membership was 65 heads of households all of whom remained outside the social territory of the Montreal Scottish elite."¹¹⁹ McDougall writes very much the same thing, except that she says that Taylor's congregation "...consisted at its creation of seventy five persons, mostly working class families, many living in the Griffintown suburb. McDougall states that Taylor "...organized weekly prayer meetings in both his own church and in Griffintown."¹²⁰ This could explain Lynda Price's statement about the location of the church in the Griffintown area, although Price does not give any sources for her statement.

In 1835, the Secession church appears to be the smallest congregation of Montreal's four Scottish Presbyterian churches. The register contains only forty-one records (twenty-six baptisms, six burials and nine marriages). The predominance of carpenters or joiners in the congregation is evident, as they are the most numerous in the records. Seven carpenters and one joiner are listed, combining to form 22.8 percent of the occupations listed in that year. There are only a few representatives of the upper classes (a Merchant, a Lawyer and a Surgeon), and there are no labourers. The church records are therefore almost entirely composed of tradesmen. This is quite different from what was discovered about the occupations of people recorded in the registers of the other three Scottish Presbyterian churches in Montreal in 1835.¹²¹ T. C. Smout explains that in Scotland, the Secession

¹¹⁹Lynda Price, Introduction to the Social History of the Scots, 29.

¹²⁰Elizabeth Ann McDougall, The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, 242.

¹²¹See Appendix VI, Chart A.

churches "...drew their main support from lower down the social scale than the ministers of the establishment."¹²² Certainly this characteristic appears to be reflected in Montreal's Secession church, as the records reveal a similar occupational profile at each five-year interval up to and including 1845.

MONTREAL'S FOUR SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES, 1835-43

From 1835 to 1843, the city of Montreal was growing. Immigrants arrived regularly once the ice had melted on the river, including, of course, many immigrants from Scotland. The number of emigrants leaving from Scottish ports for Canada peaked at 5,131 from 1840-1844.¹²³ It would be expected that all four of the churches of Montreal's Scottish Community should show some growth during this period. When the total church records are added together, however, the numbers remain relatively constant throughout the period.¹²⁴ When the total acts for each church in each year through the period are compared, however, the growth or decline of the individual congregations becomes apparent.¹²⁵ The Saint Gabriel Street Church records, for example, demonstrate a gradual drop in numbers. Elizabeth McDougall explains that the Saint Gabriel Street Church never recovered its position of leadership in the Church of Scotland in the Canadas after the split in 1831.¹²⁶ The congregation, which had numbered 1500 persons in 1831, had decreased to only 809 in

¹²²T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830, 221.

¹²³Michael Flinn, ed., Scottish Population History: From the 17th Century to the 1930s (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), Table 6.1.6, 450.

¹²⁴See Appendix VI, Chart B.

¹²⁵See Appendix VI, Chart C.

¹²⁶Elizabeth Ann McDougall, The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, 150.

1840.¹²⁷ The church registers also show a slow decline from 235 total acts in 1835 to 143 in 1843. The church does, however, retain consistently the highest number of total acts among the four churches in each year during this period. McDougall suggests that the St. Gabriel Street congregation "...retained its prestige as the mother church of Scottish Presbyterianism in Montreal..." through the 1830's.¹²⁸ The eminence of the church at this time is, she feels, proven by the fact that Saint Gabriel Street Church minister Henry Esson delivered the first sermon to the prestigious St. Andrew's Society when it was formed in 1835. McDougall believes that the Saint Gabriel Street Church was still a strong congregation in 1842. It was by that time working in co-operation with Saint Paul's Church from which the split had been so acrimonious in 1831. Campbell also notes the warming of relations which had begun between the two churches as early as 1839, when the congregation of Saint Paul's were invited to use the Saint Gabriel Street Church half of each Sunday while their church was undergoing repairs.¹²⁹

Saint Paul's church records seem to indicate a period of stability from 1835 to 1843. The registers do show a brief decline in 1836 and 1837, but it is easily explained. Reverend Edward Black received permission from the Presbytery of Quebec to visit Britain during the winter from 1836 to 1837. He acted as their representative to the British Government, requesting a government allowance for the Presbytery of Quebec.¹³⁰ While in Scotland,

¹²⁷Ibid., 212

¹²⁸Elizabeth Ann McDougall, The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, 212.

¹²⁹Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 363.

¹³⁰Elizabeth Ann McDougall, The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, 215.

Reverend Black married a woman from his native county, and was also granted a Doctor of Divinity degree from his alma mater, the University of Glasgow.¹³¹

Saint Andrew's Church and Dr. Taylor's Secession church both show gradual growth during this period. The registers for Saint Andrew's Church during the years 1837 and 1838 show a decline which can be attributed to a leave of absence that Reverend Mathieson took from his congregation at that time. He sailed for Scotland in June, 1837, and returned only in October, 1838. While in Scotland, he received a Doctor of Divinity degree from the University of Glasgow.¹³² Doctor Taylor's church records also show gradual growth, with a decline in 1840. Reverend Taylor returned to his church in the fall of 1840, after an absence of nearly a year in Scotland. He had been searching (unsuccessfully) for a Secession minister for Lachute, Quebec.¹³³

When the acts for all the churches are looked at as a whole from 1835 to 1843, the numbers of records are quite stable, as the decline at the Saint Gabriel Street Church is offset by growth in the other churches.¹³⁴ It may seem surprising that there is not more evidence of growth in the community from 1835 to 1843, a period in which great numbers of Scots were arriving in Canada. One possible explanation for the apparent lack of growth amongst the Scottish Presbyterian congregations in Montreal during this period is the opening of churches in the outlying areas of Montreal. It is also quite possible that the Scottish population in

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²Ibid., 218.

¹³³Ibid., 246.

¹³⁴See appendix VI, chart B.

Montreal was increasing relatively slowly during this period. It is likely that the many of the large numbers of Scottish immigrants were land hungry Highlanders, who did not tend to settle in urban centres such as Montreal.

Although Montreal's Scottish Presbyterian churches were not growing rapidly from 1835 to 1842, they appear to have been free of the strife that plagued the Scottish congregations in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. By 1842, all four churches were even involved in co-operative efforts to provide religious services in hospitals and jails, as well as missionary and Sunday School projects.¹³⁵ In 1844, however, the stability of Montreal's Presbyterian community was shattered once more when a division occurred within the Church of Scotland in Canada.

THE DISRUPTION OF 1844

In Scotland in 1843, the Church of Scotland was transformed by an event that was soon to be called the "disruption". In the biggest upset within the Church of Scotland since 1733, most of the evangelical ministers left the General Assembly, renouncing their connection with the state. In all, 474 ministers out of a total of 1203 left the Church of Scotland to form the Presbyterian Free Church of Scotland. The Church of Scotland had until this time two major parties in its General Assembly, usually called the moderates and the evangelicals. The moderates had held control over the General assembly for many years, a control that often resulted in moderate clergymen being forced upon evangelical congregations.

¹³⁵Elizabeth Ann McDougall, The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, 211.

In Canada, the Church of Scotland had its own disruption in 1844. During the Canadian Synod meeting at Kingston in June, twenty-three out of sixty-eight ministers left the Synod. They renounced their connection with the Church of Scotland and formed themselves into the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. It was more commonly known as the Free Church.

In Montreal, sympathy with the Free Church movement began even before the disruption at Kingston. On the 6th of January, 1844, John Redpath, a wealthy Scottish born Montrealer with evangelical tendencies, gathered around him "A few private friends connected with various churches in the city (and) met that evening at the house of the late Mr. Orr then in Saint Paul street."¹³⁶ The group had as their intention the formation of a Free Church committee. Following the meeting, steps were taken to disperse tracts on Free Church principles, and to raise money for a building fund. Mr. Redpath and his committee gained the support of the Deputies sent from Scotland to promote the cause in Canada, as well as the leader of the movement in Canada, Dr. Robert Burns.¹³⁷ The diligent work of the committee members resulted in the building of the Côté Street Free Church and the formation of its congregation. The first services were held in a temporary wooden church built by March, 1845.¹³⁸

The Reverend Henry Esson of the Saint Gabriel Street Church was also sympathetic

¹³⁶Reverend D. Fraser, A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Free Church, Cote Street, Montreal (Montreal: J. C. Becket, 1855), 2.

¹³⁷Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 391.

¹³⁸Reverend D. Fraser, A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Free Church, 4.

to the Free Church movement in Scotland. Reverend Robert Campbell described him as having been "carried atop the Free Church 'wave' ".¹³⁹ He renounced his connection to the Church of Scotland at the Kingston Synod in June, 1844. John Redpath and the other members of the Free Church Committee, having some common ground with the minister and his congregation, attended the Saint Gabriel street church during the few months before the disruption in June. Campbell explains of Redpath at Saint Gabriel's, however, that "The spiritual atmosphere there did not quite suit him, and his mind was made up not to be content with its provisions."¹⁴⁰ Although the congregation attempted to please the Free Church committee (by changing the church constitution), there was a "sharp collision" between Mr. Esson and his congregation, and Mr. Redpath and his associates. "The immediate cause of the withdrawal of the Free Church Committee from St. Gabriel Street was the demand that the Kirk-session should be reconstructed and former elders resign...", which was refused at first.¹⁴¹ The Saint Gabriel Street congregation was not pleased when they discovered that they were not to be the centre of the Free Church movement in Montreal. A twenty-nine page pamphlet was published by the Committee of St. Gabriel Street Church detailing how ill-treated their congregation had been by the Free Church Committee. The authors accuse Redpath and his group of ignoring their responsibilities towards the Saint Gabriel Street Church, of glorifying themselves by starting a new congregation rather than supporting the old, and of appropriating for the new church the minister originally destined for the St.

¹³⁹ Reverend Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church*, 290.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 390.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 516.

Gabriel Street Church. The authors also complain that the Free Church Committee members were not worthy of their role of religious leaders and representatives of the Free Church. It is in this respect that the social status of the Free Church Committee is called into question in the text. The committee members are grudgingly accorded the title of "respectable", despite their "low" social status.¹⁴² The Saint Gabriel Street Church committee would have liked their readers to believe that none of the twelve (not even Mr. Redpath and Mr. Orr, both "active and useful citizens"), could be considered prominent leaders and representatives of the Free Church in Canada by the "enlightened" portion of the community.

Later writers do not agree with each other on the social standing of the supporters of the Free Church and the Free Church Committee. Lynda Price states with conviction that "There is little doubt that the disruption in Montreal was the result of a movement of artisans, traders and rising manufacturers in opposition to the established mercantile elite who supported the Church of Scotland."¹⁴³ She describes the Free Church Committee, headed by John Redpath, as an organization "...composed of successful rising master craftsmen..."¹⁴⁴ Price's claim is quite difficult to support. Only five of the twelve men listed by Price could be described as craftsmen. In addition, there is a merchant, a bookkeeper, and a schoolmaster. The occupations of the other four are not listed. The Saint Gabriel Street

¹⁴²Committee of the Saint Gabriel Street Church, Statement of the Committee of the St. Gabriel Street Church Detailing the History, &c. &c. (Montreal: J. C. Becket, 1845), 5.

¹⁴³Lynda Price, Introduction to the Social History of the Scots, 31.

¹⁴⁴Ibid.

Church committee describes the group in a slightly different manner. According to them, "...four or five are respectable mechanics: three of them master tradesmen; one a Physician of not very old standing, while the others are clerks in mercantile houses of this city: The two leading and most influential members are Mr. Redpath and Mr. Orr..."¹⁴⁵ Although there is no reference to it in her text, Price's statement may have been based on the work of A. Allan MacLaren, in his Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen. MacLaren compared the social status and residential mobility of church elders of both established and Free Church congregations in Aberdeen, Scotland. He discovered that support for the Free Church in that city came predominantly from the lower middle classes, or from relatively new middle-class families with "obscure origins".¹⁴⁶ MacLaren determined that the seceders were generally younger than those who remained with the established church, and were characterized primarily by their rapid social mobility. Perhaps the papers from which Lynda Price drew her text made a clearer connection between the successful rising master craftsmen and the Free Church in Montreal, but because Price does not give any further details, it is impossible to tell.¹⁴⁷

R. W. Vaudry, in his book The Free Church in Victorian Canada, 1844-1861, doubts that Price's assertion is applicable to the complex situation in Montreal. He believes that it was "...ideology, not social background or geography..." which determined each individual's

¹⁴⁵Committee of the Saint Gabriel Street Church, Statement of the Committee, 5.

¹⁴⁶A. Allan MacLaren, Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 94.

¹⁴⁷See Appendix VII for a discussion of the weaknesses of Lynda Price's study of the Scots in Montreal.

position at the time of the disruption.¹⁴⁸ In his book, Vaudry quotes his own 1984 PhD thesis, stating that "...a detailed analysis of Free and Kirk supporters suggests social origin and occupation are not reliable guides to behaviour in a religious conflict."¹⁴⁹ The appendices that are included in Vaudry's thesis demonstrate that the merchants generally tended to oppose the Free Church. Supporters, however, seem to have been drawn from a wider range of the community.

Although Lynda Price's assessment of the social origins of the supporters of the Free Church in Montreal is questionable, her conclusion that "The events at Saint Gabriels can also be interpreted as the result of the large scale increase in Scottish immigration in the 1830's" is insightful. She explains that "Popular emigration affected the basic unit of local organization, the parish, as the Saint Gabriel incidents and the founding of the Erskine church show."¹⁵⁰ The splits that developed within Montreal congregations may very well have been intensified, if not caused, by a change in the composition of the community.

The connection of new Scottish immigrants with the Free Church in Canada is a theme discussed by a few writers. John S. Moir, in Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, for example, suggests that it was the recent Scottish immigrants who had sympathy for the Free Church of Scotland in 1843.¹⁵¹ Reverend

¹⁴⁸Richard William Vaudry, The Free Church in Victorian Canada, 1844-1861 (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1989), 37.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 29.

¹⁵⁰Lynda Price, Introduction to the Social History of the Scots, 31.

¹⁵¹John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Don Mills: Presbyterian Publications, 1974), 87.

Campbell is of the same opinion, although he explains it in another way. He believes that the people who protested Reverend Henry Esson's secession from the Church of Scotland in Canada (that is to say his adherence to the Free Church principles in Canada) were those who had been in the congregation for some time, particularly "the substantial mercantile community".¹⁵² Campbell explains that those who supported Henry Esson and the Free Church at Saint Gabriel's were for the most part new members of the congregation. A separate source of support for Campbell's statements may be found in the letters of James Thompson, who arrived in Montreal not very long after the disruption had occurred at Kingston, Ontario. The situation in Montreal at the time was tempestuous. Thompson's choice of words confirms that he was a supporter of the Free Church during the controversy. He says for example, "I may here mention that the Moderates here were quite as furious as they were at home."¹⁵³ In another letter, dated after the departure of Mr. Esson to Toronto in November, 1844, Thompson writes that Mr. Esson and his congregation are the only ones in the city "...who have maintained in all their purity the great principles of Presbyterianism."¹⁵⁴ At this time, John Redpath had not yet formed a separate Free Church congregation.

Lynda Price states that the Saint Gabriel street congregation disintegrated almost completely following the disruption. This statement can be borne out by the church registers, which show a dramatic drop after the disruption.¹⁵⁵ The deterioration in the congregation

¹⁵²Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 508.

¹⁵³Richard Arthur Preston, ed., For Friends at Home, 58.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁵⁵See appendix VI, chart B.

was not simply caused by the disruption, however. As was previously mentioned, the church records had been declining in numbers for some time before 1845. Examination of total church acts from 1835 demonstrates that the numbers declined steadily until 1844. Reasons for this decline are unclear. It is possible that the opening of a third and fourth Scottish Presbyterian Church in the city drained some of the population from the Saint Gabriel Street Church. It is likely that the rate of immigration was not able to keep up with the availability of space amongst all of the churches.

Price explains that after the disruption, St. Gabriel's was low on priority for ministers. She fails to mention, however, that the Côté Street Free Church does not appear to have fared any better. Although the Côté Street Free Church had a small peak in attendance in 1847, the records do not show any significant growth until the 1850's. The Saint Gabriel Street Church is actually in advance each year until 1852. In subsequent years, the two churches were, in general, quite comparable. Reverend D. Fraser's A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Free Church, Cote Street, Montreal lists the names of the thirteen ministers who passed through the Côté Street Free Church between 1845 and 1851. It is apparent that it was quite difficult to obtain Free Church ministers at the time.

When the 1845 church records are examined using the occupational classification system developed by Michael Katz, the two Free Church congregations appear to have had a similar social composition. Fifty-seven percent of the classifiable church records were type III occupations (tradesmen, such as carpenters or blacksmiths) in both the Saint Gabriel Street and Côté Street Free Churches. Saint Andrew's and Saint Paul's Church records show far fewer tradesmen, with twenty-one and twenty-two percent classified as type III.

Saint Andrew's and Saint Paul's also have higher percentages of type I and II occupations than do the two Free Churches. The 1845 church records suggest that the Free Church tended to attract more people of lower occupational rank or status than the Church of Scotland. The occupational profiles of the two Free Church congregations are more like that of the Secession Church, which also had a high percentage of tradesmen in 1845 (sixty-five percent).¹⁵⁶

Campbell notes that St. Gabriel lost old members of the congregation to St. Andrew's Church, which became " ...what St. Gabriel Street Church had unquestionably been before, the Scotch church of Montreal, by way of eminence."¹⁵⁷ It is certain that Saint Andrew's church did benefit from the disruption. The church records for 1845 show a large peak in numbers. After 1845, the Saint Andrew's church records maintain, on average, a larger number of acts per year than any of the other Scottish Presbyterian churches in Montreal, until 1864.

The nineteenth-century historian and author, James Croil explains that the Saint Andrew's congregation, "...having greatly increased in numbers and in wealth, steps were taken in 1848 for the erection of a new church. The finest site in the city was secured, on the brow of Beaver Hall Hill..."¹⁵⁸ The building was completed at a cost of sixty-four thousand dollars, and it opened for worship on January the twelfth, in 1851. The edifice was

¹⁵⁶For more information, see Appendix VI, Chart D.

¹⁵⁷Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 509.

¹⁵⁸James Croil, Life of the Reverend Alexander Mathieson, D. D. Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870), 116.

"...modeled after the cathedral at Salisbury", and, according to James Croil, it served to engraft "...on this young colony hallowed associations and pleasing memories of the old world."¹⁵⁹ Perhaps, but in this instance, the associations and memories for these members of the established Church of Scotland were of England. It appears that the Saint Andrew's Church was commissioned by people who thought of themselves more as British than Scottish.

W. J. Morris, in People and Society in Scotland describes the period from 1830 to 1914 in Scotland as the time when "...Scotland reasserted and recreated a national identity. It was the period when North Britain disappeared from the map and Scotland returned for good. At the same time anglicization was powerful and insistent."¹⁶⁰ It would seem that the members of Saint Andrew's Church were not concerned with a Scottish national identity. In building a newer, larger, more decorative church, however, the congregation was following another trend that was current in Scotland at that time. Callum Brown, in "Religion, Class and Church Growth" explains that Victorian congregations in Scotland were not static. Those people able to rise in their occupation and income moved to better housing. This mobility was also "...reflected in church life with congregations tending to rise in the social scale very rapidly, and with frequent rebuilding of churches to ever more expensive and ornate designs."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ W. J. Morris "Scotland, 1830-1914 The Making of a Nation Within a Nation" in People and Society in Scotland: Vol. II, 1830-1914, ed. W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris, 4.

¹⁶¹ Callum G. Brown, "Religion, Class and Church Growth" in People and Society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830-1914, ed. W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris, 325.

Unlike the Saint Andrew's congregation, Saint Paul's did not immediately benefit from the events at Saint Gabriel's in 1844. Their minister, the Reverend Dr. Black, died May 8, 1845.¹⁶² His passing is reflected in the sharp drop in records for that year. The first record of the year was signed by Reverend Black, on the fourteenth of January, and his unsteady signature appears to indicate that he was in ill health at the time. Another minister signed the second record, dated the twenty-third of March, and there are no more entries until October, when the Reverend Robert McGill took over. It is likely that Saint Paul's congregation eventually absorbed some of the former members of the Saint Gabriel Street Church. Over the next four years, Saint Paul's church shows a significantly higher average number of records than there had been in the ten years previous to 1845.¹⁶³

MONTREAL'S FIVE SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN THE 1850s AND EARLY 1860s

During the early 1850s, Montreal was beginning an era of rapid industrial development. Church record totals remain relatively constant in the first half of the decade. The Côte Street Free Church records for 1850 appear to have been lost, which lowers the total number of church records for that year.¹⁶⁴ Emigration was still taking place on a large

¹⁶²Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 755.

¹⁶³The previous ten-year average was seventy-four records, while the church averaged 107 a year for the next four years under Reverend McGill's ministry.

¹⁶⁴The Reverend Fraser's narrative does not give any indication that the church closed in 1850. Reverend Burns left in the spring, Mr. Fairbairn arrived in the summer, and a Mr. Coupar continued into 1851. The lack of records probably means that the book was lost.

scale from Scotland in the 1850's, but the destination of the majority of Scottish emigrants was the United States, rather than Canada.¹⁶⁵ Upper Canada was still an attractive destination for Scottish settlers, however, and large numbers of Montreal's Scottish community were apparently moving there or to the United States. In a speech made to his congregation in April, 1855, Reverend D. Fraser, minister of the Côté Street Free Church commented on the number of communicants on his church roll. He estimated the attendance at his sermons to be from eight hundred to one thousand people, about one third of whom were listed on the church roll. Apparently, 1854 had been a year of trials for the congregation, which "...suffered greatly by the removal of many individuals and families from the city, and also by the terrible visitation of the cholera."¹⁶⁶ He declares that an increase in church members is difficult, as

The additions made from time to time little more than compensate for the frequent losses incurred by removal to Upper Canada and the United States.¹⁶⁷

There is relatively little to be found within any of the church records that can corroborate this statement. As early as 1835, however, Reverend Dr. Taylor recorded in his church register that "--Coutts had a child baptised in the church on the 20th of June but immediately after went to the U. S. without registering". There are many instances in the church records of Montrealers and Scottish-born Montrealers marrying people who resided in the U. S. or in Ontario, but there is no indication of where the couples lived afterwards.

¹⁶⁵Michael Flinn, ed., Scottish Population History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 450.

¹⁶⁶Reverend D. Fraser, A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Free Church, 9.

¹⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 11.

Saint Andrew's Church had been quick to follow the movement of the population north of the confines of the original walled town. By 1868 St. Paul's Church had also moved up the hill, to Dorchester Street. Reasons given for the move were "Owing to the great value of the church site for business purposes, and the inconvenience of its situation to a large portion of the congregation, it was resolved to dispose of the property" which was auctioned off in October 1866.¹⁶⁸ The St. Gabriel Street Church was the only church remaining within the old city's boundary.

The United Presbyterian Church of Canada and the Free Church of Scotland in Canada amalgamated in 1861. This new church was called the Canada Presbyterian Church. Reverend Taylor was the first moderator of this new church.¹⁶⁹ He had been heavily involved in working towards the new union.

The late 1850's and early 1860's saw a beginning of growth within the churches of Montreal's Scottish Community. Industrialization of the city meant that the population was increasing in new areas of the town. Two new churches were founded to serve Montreal's growing working class districts of Point Saint Charles and the Saint Joseph Suburbs.

In 1865, Mackay's Montreal Directory lists seven churches that served Montreal's Scottish community. The two new additions had both begun as mission stations. Saint Matthew's Church in Point Saint Charles had begun as a mission associated with the Church of Scotland in 1857. Reverend Snodgrass of Saint Paul's Church held fortnightly services in

¹⁶⁸James Croil, A Historical and Statistical Report of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland, for the Year 1866, second edition (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1868), 68.

¹⁶⁹Elizabeth Ann McDougall, The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, 250.

the ticket office of the Grand Trunk Railway, and a Sunday School was held in the same building. In 1858, through the efforts of members of Saint Paul's Church, a parcel of land was purchased near the railway crossing. Although the building was delayed for various reasons, the new church was opened for services in April, 1860, by the Reverend Snodgrass.¹⁷⁰ By the year 1866, the congregation was described as "flourishing", with 110 church members and 180 Sabbath School scholars.¹⁷¹ The congregation of Saint Joseph Street had also begun as a mission station associated with the Canada Presbyterian Church in about 1861. John Redpath purchased a site for the new church in April, 1862 and construction began in July. The building, located on St. Joseph Street (later Notre Dame Street) between Seigneurs and Kempt Streets, was completed in January, 1863 and was opened on February fifth by the Reverend Dr. MacVicar of the Côté Street Church. The Board of City Missions placed the Reverend P. D. Muir with the congregation, which was in communion with the Canada Presbyterian Church. Later known as the Calvin Church, the former mission became self-sustaining by 1866.¹⁷² There is one additional Scottish Presbyterian Church that deserves mention at this time. The Montreal Garrison Presbyterian Church, which was intended to serve soldiers stationed in the Montreal Garrison. It was associated with the Church of Scotland. The first record book is from 1862. There are very few records for this short-lived church, which appears to have closed in 1865. The reason behind the formation of this church may have been the fact that the Second Battalion of the

¹⁷⁰Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 765.

¹⁷¹James Croil, A Historical and Statistical Report of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 69.

¹⁷²Reverend Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 766.

Scots Fusilier Guards was stationed in Montreal from 1862-1864.

In 1865, the total number of Scottish Presbyterian Church records declined. This is partly because the records for the Calvin Church are missing. The Saint Gabriel Street Church records appear to be missing as well, but in reality, they are listed under the name of Knox Church. The final division of the Saint Gabriel Street Church resulted in the formation of Knox Church in 1865. This cleavage had actually occurred twenty years earlier, when the congregation had been split over the disruption in 1844. A bitter dispute arose between church members, which resulted in a lengthy legal battle, resolved only in 1865. Some church members had believed that the church property belonged to the Church of Scotland, rather than to the seceding members of 1844. Others argued that the church had not been built as a Church of Scotland, therefore it had never belonged to the Church of Scotland in Canada. The result of twenty years of litigation was that the building and manse had in fact been in connection to the Church of Scotland from the beginning. According to Campbell, the settlement, when it finally occurred, was relatively amicable. An agreement was made whereby the proprietary rights of the congregation who had continued worshipping in the building from 1844 to 1864 were bought up by the group who had remained in connection with the Church of Scotland.¹⁷³ The minister at the time, Reverend Kemp, and his congregation withdrew from the building, adopting the new name of Knox Church for their congregation.¹⁷⁴ A new Church of Scotland congregation was subsequently formed in the old building. In a report published in 1866 by the Church of Scotland, but likely compiled in

¹⁷³ Reverend Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church*, 594-99.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 601.

1865 or earlier, the Saint Gabriel Street Church is recorded as empty.¹⁷⁵ The Saint Gabriel Street Church was, however, reopened as a congregation in communion with the Church of Scotland in 1866.

The period from 1835 to 1865 may be characterized by an increase in population, and the development of industry and commerce in the City of Montreal. The growth of Montreal's Scottish community, as reflected in the church records, did not occur at an even pace. The early 1830's had seen a doubling in the number of Scottish Presbyterian churches in Montreal, presumably because of a substantial increase in the population. The fact that the two new churches were not of the same strain of Scottish Presbyterianism points out the likelihood that the composition of Montreal's Scottish community had also changed. Although two Free Church congregations were formed in Montreal following the disruption, there appears to have been little growth in the Scottish Presbyterian churches of Montreal during the 1840's. The numbers of church records remain constant, until the late 1850's, when another period of growth is evident. This growth appears mainly in the new, working class communities in the industrializing areas near the Lachine Canal, where two new churches were founded at first as mission stations.

During the earlier half of the thirty-year period, religious schisms and conflict within congregations precipitated the founding of new churches, as well as hindering the growth of some of the old ones. An examination of the conflict within and between Scottish Presbyterian churches in Montreal from the 1830's to the end of the 1840's demonstrates the

¹⁷⁵ James Croil, A Historical and Statistical Report of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. 116.

diversity of opinion as well as social background that must have existed within the community. The existence of strong religious ties with Scotland is also revealed. The most obvious evidence of this connection is the disruption of 1844, which was an echo of what had happened in Scotland the previous year.

In the latter half of the period, from about 1850 onwards, the community seems to have been more unified in its religious views. Three new congregations, Saint Matthew's, Saint Joseph Street, and the Garrison Presbyterian Church were formed in the late 1850's and early 1860's, but not as a result of religious conflicts. The Saint Gabriel Street Church was the only Scottish Presbyterian congregation to undergo a division in this period. It was, however, the resolution of a cleavage that had occurred twenty years earlier, at the time of the disruption.

In contrast to the divisions within the Scottish Presbyterian congregations, an investigation of the Saint Andrew's Society from 1835 to 1865 demonstrates the social ties that existed amongst at least a part of the Scottish community in Montreal. The society appears to have helped to unify and strengthen the bonds within the community. Conflict within the organization was seldom made public, and the few splinter organizations that developed in the later period appear to have maintained amiable social and economic ties with the Saint Andrew's Society. In reality, however, the unity of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal may well have come from the fact that many of the members came from the same social background, and shared the same values. The role of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal will be discussed in the following section.

IV.

THE SAINT ANDREW'S SOCIETY OF MONTREAL**THE SOCIETY'S ORIGINS**

The Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal has been in operation for over 164 years. Although the society was officially founded in 1835, its origins can be traced to a Saint Andrew's Day dinner party held in 1834. There is no doubt that there were political reasons behind the foundation of this primarily charitable institution. Elinor Kyte Senior, author of Redcoats and Patriotes: The Rebellions in Lower Canada 1837-38 explains that four national societies (the Saint Andrew's Society, the Saint George's Society, the German Society and the Saint Patrick Society) were formed shortly after the first banquet of the Saint Jean Baptiste Society was held in 1834. Senior states that the societies "...emerged under the cloak of fraternal and charitable societies".¹⁷⁶ Her choice of words lends a slightly sinister aspect to these societies. Senior believes that the St. Jean Baptiste Society was the "...social and fraternal wing of the Patriote party", while the other four societies, by January 28, 1835 were "...under an umbrella organization—the Constitutional Association of Montreal".¹⁷⁷ Apparently, the Constitutional Association was quite militant, and Senior relates that its members developed a sort of "...para-military organization of the British party", the British Rifle Corps. Senior points out that contemporary writers such as Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan saw a connection between the Constitutional Association and the four national

¹⁷⁶Elinor Kyte Senior, Redcoats and Patriotes: The Rebellions in Lower Canada 1837-38 (Stittsville: Canada's Wings, Inc., 1985), 12.

societies. O'Callaghan felt that the national societies "...assumed the sacred garb of charity to conceal their dark and real designs..." which he believed to be to gain political power, control of the "few over the many".¹⁷⁸

The description of the celebration printed in The Montreal Gazette on the fourth of December, 1834 certainly does lend some credence to the statements made by O'Callaghan. The article begins in a neutral manner, reporting that there had not been a public dinner in celebration of Saint Andrew's Day in Montreal for the last eleven years. It quickly transforms, however, into a declaration of the political position of the group of men who attended the dinner. The Gazette declares that the West Ward election proceedings

...had brought together so many fellow-countrymen, united in one common cause; the party to which they were opposed had so diligently and virulently attacked their principles, their country, and all that is dear to SCOTCHMEN, that it was deemed advisable to form an union of all who professed the same feelings and acknowledged the same attachments.¹⁷⁹

It is evident from this description that the dinner, held in the Albion Hotel, was not simply a celebration of the anniversary of the patron saint of Scotland. The very name of the hotel seems symbolic, rather than a location picked by chance. The idea of an alliance of like-minded Montrealers of Scottish origin was an important outcome of the dinner, but the plan seems to have been suggested previous to the celebration. Certainly, the people attending the event had already formed some semblance of an organization. The Gazette article refers to Adam Ferrie as the President, and lists three Vice Presidents, as well as

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 13.

¹⁷⁹ The Montreal Gazette, 4 December, 1834, 2.

several Stewards who officiated. The official history of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal, written in 1844, describes Adam Ferrie as a Chairman and those whom the newspaper named as Vice Presidents are referred to as Vice Chairmen. The difference between the two titles is minimal, but the first has more of the connotation of an organization than the second. The Gazette article recounts that "The pleasure which all derived at the happy intercourse of the evening has led to the idea of the formation of a Saint Andrew's Society, similar to that in New York..."¹⁸⁰ The fact that there was already a Saint Andrew's Society of New York does leave room for the possibility that the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal was not formed solely for political purposes. It is evident, however, that the political and social conflict Montreal was experiencing at that time was the immediate catalyst for the formation of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal.

Hugh Allan was the author of the official history of the Saint Andrew's Society, first published in 1844. Allan's description of the dinner in 1834 is quite similar to the article printed in The Gazette. The ten-year period that elapsed between the event and the writing of it, however, has served to soften the political rhetoric. Allan explains that in 1834

...contests for the Representation of the City of Montreal in Parliament, which were almost entirely trials of strength between the Anglo-Saxons, on the one hand, and the Franco-Canadians on the other, caused a revival of that national feeling which to some extent is natural to all men, and is said to exist in an eminent degree in Scotchmen.¹⁸¹

The text which follows these statements is much more revealing of the motivation behind the founding of the Saint Andrew's Society in Montreal. Allan explains that

It had long been felt that there was a want of concentration and unanimity, amongst the

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Hugh Allan, St. Andrew's Society of Montreal (Montreal: St. Andrew's Society, 1844; reprint, 1856), 3.

Anglo-Saxon community, for although its members on all leading points were sufficiently unanimous, yet the machinery did not exist whereby the views and opinions of the more prominent of "the British party" as it was called, could be diffused and impressed on the community at large.¹⁸²

It is made quite clear that the society was intended from the outset as a means of impressing upon the general population the beliefs and convictions of their more renowned neighbours. In other words, the Saint Andrew's Society was created in order to disseminate propaganda in favour of the so-called British Party. Allan admits that the Constitutional Association was formed for the same objectives. He explains, however, that "experience proved that it did not possess that strong power of appeal to patriotic feeling which Societies strictly national would have."¹⁸³

It may seem surprising to discover that the development of the first Scottish national society in Montreal was the result of a sense of Anglo-Saxon and British unity amongst its founders. In the context of present day Scottish nationalism, it may seem ironic to have a group of prominent expatriate Scots promoting the views and opinions of a British Party. It is, however, not at all unusual for this period. According to H. J. Hanham in Scottish Nationalism, increased prosperity in Scotland coincided with a period of enthusiasm, from the 1830's to the 1880's, for the union with England that had taken place in 1707. Scottish prosperity was partly attributed by the people to the Union, and Scottish nationalism was not directed against it at this time.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ H. J. Hanham, Scottish Nationalism (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969), 72.

Hugh Allan was one of the original members of the Saint Andrew's Society.¹⁸⁵ Since he was a member from the beginning, his statements about the aims of the Society at that time are not simply speculative. When the Saint Andrew's Society was founded, Allan was an ambitious twenty-four year old, who had already begun his climb upwards into the circle of prominent Scottish-born Montrealers.¹⁸⁶ The founding members of the Saint Andrew's Society included other young men on their way up the social ladder in Montreal. Many other original members were well established in the community. The original members of the Saint Andrew's Society reads like a Who's Who of prominent nineteenth-century Montrealers.¹⁸⁷ The Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal appears to have remained relatively exclusive throughout the period from 1835 to 1865. Members belonged to the most prominent people in Montreal at the time.

The original selection process for members of the Saint Andrew's Society was such that the group would remain homogeneous in its social standing and, probably, its political leanings. Members were elected by ballot, and the consent of three-quarters of the members

¹⁸⁵ Rev. Robert Campbell, James Harper and R. M. Esdaile, A Summary of the First Fifty Years: Transactions of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal (Montreal: McQueen & Corneil, 1886), 88.

¹⁸⁶ Hugh Allan had been working for the shipping firm, James Miller & Co. for just over three years when, in 1835 he was admitted to a share in the partnership. Hugh Allan, "Address to the Members of the Young Men's Association of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal" (Unpublished typed manuscript, no date). Notman Papers. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, 18.

¹⁸⁷ Founding members of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal included wealthy and influential gentlemen near the height of their success, like Peter McGill, as well as those who were nearer the beginning of long and fortunate careers, such as Hugh Allan and John Redpath. The majority of members appear to have been merchants, often in the dry goods business. See appendix VIII for further details.

present was necessary for the admission of a candidate .¹⁸⁸

THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE SAINT ANDREW'S SOCIETY

It is difficult to determine the political climate within the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal in the early days, although some clues can be found within the newspapers of the day. It seems that patriotism, in addition to charity, was a primary concern of the society in this period. At the Saint Andrew's day dinner in 1835, a toast was raised to the three sister societies, who were believed to be "United with us in the same spirit of charity and patriotism." On Saint Andrew's Day in 1836, there was a procession held in the morning with members of the other three societies marching together with members of the Saint Andrew's Society. Undoubtedly, this was a show of unanimity and strength on the part of the societies on behalf of the British Party. There was one other reference to the society's political leanings that could be gleaned from the Gazette's coverage of the St. Andrew's Day celebrations of 1836. Loyalty to the British Royal Family was an important theme in many of the Saint Andrew's Day dinner toasts. Out of twelve toasts, the second, third and fourth were made to the King, the Queen and the Royal Family, and the Princess Victoria ("and other bonnie lasses in the wide world o'er"). The outlook of the society and its members during the rebellion years of 1837 and 1838 appear to have been no different from 1835 and 1836.

In 1837 the Saint Andrew's public Anniversary dinner, sermon and procession were cancelled, although apparently about thirty members made arrangements to dine together at

¹⁸⁸Hugh Allan, St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, 45.

Orr's Hotel. Hugh Allan recalled, in another account, how the entrances to the city were barricaded, and martial law prevailed. Members of the Saint Andrew's Society were enlisted in the Canadian Militia at the time, and Allan's recollection of the anniversary dinner was that it was "...partaken of in uniform and with muskets stacked in the passages and there was no limit to the feelings of joy, and congratulation."¹⁸⁹ Those attending the dinner were rejoicing because on that day Colonel Wetherall and the Royal Regiment returned to town with one hundred and fifty prisoners from Saint Charles.

In 1838, despite the rebellion that broke out on the third of November, the procession and public dinner were held once again. At the dinner a collection was taken up, with a total subscription of sixty pounds raised from members of the society. This money was given to the widows and orphans of the volunteers who were killed at Lacolle and Odelltown only a few days prior to the evening's festivities.

In the years immediately following the rebellion, the Saint Andrew's Society continued to celebrate the queen, governor general and sister societies in toasts, but no reference to other political elements may be found in the descriptions of the Saint Andrew's Day dinner.

Elinor Kyte Senior feels that the rebellion left a "...legacy of bitterness that lingered throughout the decade of the forties..."¹⁹⁰ which ran deeply within the French and English communities, as well as between them. As early as 1844, however, only six years after the rebellion had ended, the President of the Saint Jean Baptiste Society was present at the Saint

¹⁸⁹Hugh Allan, "Address to the Members of the Young Men's Association", 22.

¹⁹⁰Elinor Kyte Senior, Redcoats and Patriots, 202.

Andrew's Day dinner. After the customary toast was given to the "Sister Societies" of the city, the band played "A La Claire Fontaine" in addition to the tunes for the Saint George's, Saint Patrick's and German Societies. This gesture of camaraderie may perhaps indicate that the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal had evolved from a primarily political organization to a predominantly charitable and social society.

There is nothing in the constitution that refers to the function of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal as a means of diffusing views and opinions. The constitution is predominantly concerned with the Society's role as a charitable organization, dispensing charity to needy members and their families, as well as poor natives of Scotland and their descendants.¹⁹¹ The constitution of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal was published in the 1856 reprint of the history of the society, which had originally been printed in 1844. It may well have been changed from an earlier version, but there are no indications in the history of the society that modifications were made. When compared with the constitution of the Saint Andrew's Society of Toronto, printed in 1836, most of the twenty-seven articles are practically identical in both versions.¹⁹² It is therefore quite likely that the 1856 form of the constitution of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal was had changed very little from the beginnings of the society in 1835.

Although Allan begins his history with the political reasons for the founding of the Saint Andrew's Society, he also states that political motives were only part of the purpose for

¹⁹¹Hugh Allan, St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, 49.

¹⁹²The Saint Andrew's Society of the City of Toronto, Constitution of the St. Andrew's Society of the City of Toronto and Home District of Upper Canada with a List of its Officers (Toronto: Patriot-office, 1836).

which it was founded. He writes that "the grand cause" to which the National Societies of Montreal "...owe their origin, was the fact that it had long been a matter of complaint and regret that no institution existed in Montreal, for the encouragement and assistance of Emigrants from the British Isles."¹⁹³

CHARITABLE WORK

Membership dues and donations from members were likely to have been the primary source of income for the charitable work of the society between 1835 and 1855. The constitution had specific rules respecting the application of charity. When it was published in 1856, article ten of the constitution, on the subject "Of the Duty of the Managers" read,

...none shall be the objects of the Society's bounty but such Resident Members thereof as may become indigent, and poor natives of Scotland, and children and grand-children of natives of Scotland, or of Resident Members of the Society, unless it shall be otherwise determined at a meeting of the Society.¹⁹⁴

Causes that were deemed worthy yet remained outside the society's mandate were given aid from special subscriptions.¹⁹⁵

In addition to the duties of the managers, a standing committee was appointed to pay attention to emigrants from Scotland,

...to enquire into their treatment during the passage, making report thereof to the Society, and into their circumstances and views, to assist them with their advice, and to

¹⁹³ Ibid., 4.

¹⁹⁴ Hugh Allan, St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, 49.

¹⁹⁵ For example, a special meeting was called in September, 1841 to take into consideration an application from a Mr. Morris, the president of the Emigration Association of the District of St. Francis in the Eastern Townships. A group of 229 destitute emigrants had recently arrived from the Isle of Lewis, and were in need of support in order to survive the winter. It was decided that although the constitution of the society did not authorize the granting of funds outside the city, a special collection would be taken on behalf of these needy emigrants. The collection amounted to 234 pounds. Hugh Allan, The Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal, 22-23.

recommend such of them as they may think proper to the Board of Managers for pecuniary relief.¹⁹⁶

It is difficult to determine who were the main beneficiaries of the Saint Andrew's Society charity. Early annual reports included in the history of the society only mention the total sum of money expended in charity. Later reports include the number of people who were assisted, but do not indicate whether they were Scottish immigrants passing through Montreal or residents of the city. Since Montreal's Scottish-born residents appear to have been quite successful economically, it may perhaps be assumed that a larger proportion of the society's charity was expended on recent immigrants, or on those who were passing through the city. The information available in the history of the society does seem to support this point of view.

In 1852, it is specified that many of those who received aid were "...Highland immigrants, who were forwarded to their destination in Upper Canada or the United States."¹⁹⁷ Forwarding immigrants seems to have become a common expenditure for the society, especially in 1860 and 1861, when 249 and 260 emigrants were forwarded to their relations. The society also sent destitute people back to their relations in Scotland.¹⁹⁸

One of the major projects undertaken by the Saint Andrew's Society during this

¹⁹⁶Ibid., 51.

¹⁹⁷Rev. Robert Campbell, James Harper and R. M. Esdaile. A Summary of the First Fifty Years, 29.

¹⁹⁸At a later date, sending destitute people back to Scotland had become a financial burden for the society. In their annual report for 1875-76, it is stated that "...the Ocean S. S. Co's. having increased their fares, the sending of poor persons to their relations in Scotland has become a heavy drain upon the funds of the Society, and as some of the Western Societies have occasionally sent their poor here to be by us forwarded to Scotland, your Committee have determined to return them to the Society sending them...", St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, Forty-First Annual Report of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal: From November 1st 1875 to November 1st, 1876 (Montreal: John C. Becket, Printer, 1876), 13.

period was the Saint Andrew's Home. At a society meeting on November 17, 1856, the Charitable Committee "strongly urged" the creation of a home for the Scottish poor.¹⁹⁹ During the winter of 1857, as an experiment, "A house in St. Hermine Street was leased and managed by a Committee of Ladies, under the auspices of the Society."²⁰⁰ A committee was appointed, and given the task of considering the "propriety and practicability of making the effort a permanent one". Evidently, the committee was favourable to the idea. At a special meeting in April, they recommended that the society assume a seven-year lease on a building in St. George Street. It was intended primarily as "...a place where respectable Scotch immigrants may find a comfortable room for two or three days, while passing through the city."²⁰¹ The home was undergoing renovations, when it was suddenly pressed into service. At ten o'clock on the morning of Saturday, June 27th, 1857, a group of (mostly Scottish) emigrants arrived on the steamer "Napoleon". They were nearly all of the survivors from the wreck of the steamer "Montreal" near Quebec City on June 26th. In all, 76 persons took refuge in the building. The home was also made available to "a few really deserving poor families" as a shelter for "a longer or shorter period".²⁰² When they were able, inmates were asked to pay a "low per diem charge for rent or board". The home was a success, and apparently became a focus for charitable operations of other Scottish societies in Montreal.

¹⁹⁹Reverend Robert Campbell, James Harper and R. M. Esdaile, A Summary of the First Fifty Years, 34.

²⁰⁰St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, Annual Report of the Charitable Committee, St. Andrew's Society of Montreal (Montreal: J. C. Becket, 1857), 3.

²⁰¹Reverend Robert Campbell, James Harper and R. M. Esdaile A Summary of the First Fifty Years, 35.

²⁰²Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal, Annual Report of the Charitable Committee (1857), 4.

Donations of food and cast off clothing were solicited by the society for the home.²⁰³ In 1865, at a joint meeting of office-bearers of the Saint Andrew's, Caledonian and Thistle Societies, it was unanimously decided to establish the home on a permanent basis. Accordingly, a building was purchased on Dorchester Street on April 30, 1866.²⁰⁴

Typically, the Saint Andrew's Society members had four meetings a year, with an additional procession, sermon, and celebration on Saint Andrew's Day. The members generally met on the morning of November 30th (unless it fell on a Sunday) to elect new members. Afterwards, the members would assemble for the procession to the church in which the annual sermon was to be held. The sermon was delivered by one of the chaplains of the society, after which a collection was taken up. Two chaplains were elected annually by ballot from amongst the resident members of the society. In the early years, the chaplains elected must have belonged exclusively to the Church of Scotland. From 1835 to 1843 the sermon was preached at Saint Gabriel's, Saint Paul's and Saint Andrew's churches (all Church of Scotland) on a rotating basis. After the disruption, the sermon alternated between Saint Andrew's and Saint Paul's churches until 1854, when the Saint Gabriel Street Church was once again the venue for this event. It is apparent that the church had regained some of its former prestige. The minister, Reverend Inglis, was inducted in 1852 and, according to Campbell, his style of preaching had "turned the tables" upon the churches that had drawn

²⁰³For example, short columns requesting donations were printed in Montreal's The Evening Pilot newspaper on Monday, September 24th, and Thursday, October 25th, 1860.

²⁰⁴Reverend Robert Campbell, James Harper and R. M. Esdaile A Summary of the First Fifty Years, 48.

people away. The Saint Gabriel Street Church "...became once more the popular resort."²⁰⁵ From 1854 onwards to 1865, the sermon alternated between the original three churches with the addition of Dr. Taylor's Lagauchetière Street Church. It can perhaps be assumed that Reverend Dr. Taylor's church had gained respectability amongst members of the Saint Andrew's Society over the years. It is also possible that in the two decades since the founding of the church, some of the original members of Reverend Dr. Taylor's congregation had climbed high enough in Montreal's social circles to become members of the Saint Andrew's Society. A preliminary examination of the religious affiliations of the founding members suggests that there were very few members of the secession church involved in the Saint Andrew's Society at its inception.²⁰⁶ As would be expected, the Saint Gabriel Street Church, the most popular church of Montreal's Scottish community at the time, appears to have been attended by the majority of the founding members of the society.

UNITY AND DISCORD WITHIN THE SOCIETY

Montreal's Saint Andrew's Society was certainly much more stable than the Scottish Presbyterian churches in the city. Unlike Montreal's fractious congregations, with their disagreements and divisions, the Saint Andrew's Society members seem to have remained relatively unified throughout the years. Undoubtedly this impression of unity is partly because the written history of the society does not emphasize any conflicts that occurred within the society. There was one instance of discord amongst members of the society, however, which had repercussions for several years after. On April 28th, 1849, a special

²⁰⁵ Reverend Robert Campbell *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church*, 544.

²⁰⁶ See Appendix VIII, for a list of founding members, and their church at or near the time of the founding of

meeting was held, at which a resolution was passed to erase the Earl of Elgin's name from the list of honorary members. This meeting was held a mere three days after the burning of the parliament building, which had followed the signing of the Rebellion Losses Bill by Lord Elgin. There were seventy-one members present at the meeting, which was held under the Presidency of Mr. Hugh Allan. The resolution, moved by Mr. Andrew McGill, read as follows:

Resolved,—“That the Earl of Elgin, having so conducted himself in his Government, as to insult and outrage the feelings of every British subject in Canada, and to disgrace the Scottish name, this Society, with the deepest regret, considers him unworthy to continue longer its Patron, and that he be therefore, from henceforth removed from that office.”²⁰⁷

The seventy-one members present at the meeting unanimously adopted the motion, with the exception of John Boston, the Town Sheriff, who, “...having entered the room, and finding that the previous resolution had been carried, left the meeting.”²⁰⁸ Historians generally agree that the dramatic protests against Lord Elgin’s actions came primarily from Montreal’s merchant class. The quick reaction of the Saint Andrew’s Society points to a very strong sentiment against the Governor General by a number of its members. Indeed, St. Andrew’s Society members who made motions at the meeting in April, 1849, were mostly Montreal merchants. President Hugh Allan was a general merchant (Edmonstone, Allan & Company) at the time. Mr. John Auld was also a merchant. Robert Esdaile was in the import and export business. Many Saint Andrew’s Society members were likely to have been merchants at this time, as they had been at the time the society was formed. The occupations of the

the Saint Andrew’s Society of Montreal.

²⁰⁷ Rev. Robert Campbell, James Harper and R. M. Esdaile. *A Summary of the First Fifty Years*, 23.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

majority of the members are not likely to have changed drastically over the next decade, given the manner in which new members were elected by ballot. Not all of the members attended the meeting on April 29, as membership in the society was probably over 200 at the time.²⁰⁹ It may perhaps be assumed that John Boston was not the only one of this number to disagree with this resolution.²¹⁰ Unfortunately, the published history of the society is quite silent on the subject of members who may have left because of the decision to remove the Governor General from his position as patron of the society. A small hint is given in the history in the form of a resolution that was proposed and unanimously carried in 1851, "That those who had left the Society from conscientious scruples, and who might wish to join again, be re-admitted without entrance fee."²¹¹ Although there was no other explanation of this decision, it can be assumed that this was directed towards those who had left the society after the removal of the Earl of Elgin from the membership roll.

It is clear from the newspapers of the day, however, that the resolution to remove the Earl of Elgin as Patron did no immediate harm to the popularity of the society, amongst many members of Montreal's Scottish community. The Montreal Gazette notes in 1849 that the turnout for the Saint Andrew's Day procession and the dinner was much more numerous than for some years past. The newspaper's opinion was that it was the annexation movement

²⁰⁹The Montreal Gazette, 29 November 1864. According to the President of the Society, John Young, the society had 211 members of the society in 1844, and 232 in 1854.

²¹⁰It is apparent that John Boston did not agree with the resolution, but he does not seem to have ceased his patronage of the society. He is mentioned in The Montreal Gazette's description of the Saint Andrew's Day dinner in 1849.

²¹¹Reverend Robert Campbell, James Harper and R. M. Esdaile, A Summary of the First Fifty Years, 29.

which had in some way "...roused old feelings, and those holy prejudices which having neither reason nor profit for their foundations are more powerful in their dominion than either."²¹² According to The Montreal Gazette, the number of people dining together was too large for one room, resulting in one group of one hundred members and officers of the Society dining at Mack's hotel, while seventy members and officers including the President, Hugh Allan, gathered at Compain's. There is no indication from the newspaper article that this was the result of any kind of split within the society. It was reported that each group enthusiastically drank to the health of the other during the evening.²¹³

The advertisement section of The Montreal Gazette, however, contains an indication that some sort of division may have happened. The official Saint Andrew's Society annual dinner was to be held at Compain's, and tickets were priced at 12s 6d. The notice for this dinner was placed on the 19th of November. On November 23rd, an advertisement was added for a St. Andrew's Dinner to be held at Mack's Hotel. The text is addressed to "Scotchmen in general, and members of the St. Andrew's Society in particular, who prefer patronising a Countryman on this occasion, are respectfully invited to attend." Tickets to this event were to be had at half of Compain's price, at 6s 3d, with "wines, &c., extra." The Saint Andrew's history records only that the dinner was held at Mack's, and supplies no other details.

The dinner at Compain's was described at length in The Montreal Gazette. The customary toast to the Queen was apparently extremely well received. The toast to the

²¹² The Montreal Gazette, 3 December 1849.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

Governor General, however, was quite the opposite. Hugh Allan introduced the toast by remarking that it was one which had always been given at public dinners, ever since the society was formed, and that "It was the duty of all good subjects to respect the office, whatever might be their opinion respecting the individual who held it." Apparently, most of the group were careful to pay no attention to the toast. Some gentlemen who, for a moment "...forgot themselves by expressions of dislike" during the toast were "...speedily brought to their recollection, by the Chairman and the Hon. Mr. McGill..." Others drank the toast, and "...assisted the Chairman in his cheers." Following the toast, apparently, the Band played what The Montreal Gazette described as a "very appropriate air, "We'll gang nae mair to yon toon". The writer for The Montreal Gazette believed that the tune "...contributed not a little to the good feeling of the company, from which his Lordship may learn how very little the people of Montreal care for him or his "Seat of Government". It is probably not a coincidence that the four men who were arrested on charges of arson (for burning the parliament building) earlier that year appear to have been featured at the dinner.²¹⁴ Although no first names were given, it seems significant that during the course of the evening, a Mr. Mack, and a Mr. Ferres were each called upon to propose toasts. A Mr. Heward sang "God save the Queen", while Mr. Montgomerie also sang "with great effect" on the audience. Later on, "The health of Mr. Montgomerie was drunk with much warmth of feeling". It is not surprising to read that the president of the St. Jean Baptiste society did not attend this dinner,

²¹⁴ "...Messrs. Ferres, of the Montreal Gazette, Mack, Heward, and Montgomerie--were arrested and taken to the Police Station on a charge of arson..." The Pilot (Montreal), 27 April 1849.

although he had been invited.²¹⁵

The Pilot, a newspaper which promoted the point of view of the Liberal party, had, on April thirtieth, chided the Saint Andrew's Society for being both "silly and contemptible" and "absurd and childish" for removing the Governor General from among its members. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that The Pilot did not give an extensive account of the Saint Andrew's Day festivities. The newspaper did, however, include a list of the toasts proposed during the dinner at Mack's. Significantly, there was no toast proposed to the Governor General, and the tunes played after the toast to the sister societies did not include one for the Saint Jean Baptiste Society. The gentlemen dining at Mack's, it seems, were probably a little more militant than the ones who dined at Compain's.

In 1850, it is apparent that the emotions of many of the members were still inflamed by the actions of the Governor General in the previous year. The office-bearers were faced with the decision of whether or not to include a toast to the Governor General at the annual dinner. It was eventually decided, by a majority of one, to place the toast on the programme. At the dinner, the controversial toast "...was received with groans, hisses, reversing of glasses and other marks of disapprobiation."²¹⁶ The passage of another year was necessary before the tempers of this group had cooled sufficiently on this issue. There appears to have been no recurrence of this behaviour at the annual dinner in 1851.

²¹⁵ According to the account in The Montreal Gazette, Mr. Bourret had been sent an invitation, and had accepted it, but he had not come nor had he sent any excuse to the President of the Saint Andrew's Society who could not account for his absence. The Montreal Gazette, 3 December 1849.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

CHANGES TO THE SOCIETY IN THE 1850s

The course of time also changed the manner in which Saint Andrew's Day was to be celebrated by members of the society. As early as 1835, a proposal was made to "...substitute a Soiree for the dinner which was prescribed in the constitution, but it met with no support..."²¹⁷ A Caledonian Assembly was held in place of a dinner in 1848, with the honoured guests being the Earl and Countess of Elgin and their "brilliant suite". This was an exception to the rule, however, and it was not until 1854 that the constitution was changed, so that the members could celebrate in any way "...which the majority of those present at the Preparatory Meeting shall deem advisable."²¹⁸ The celebration for that year was suspended in order to send the money that would have been expended upon it to the Patriotic Fund for widows and orphans of the Crimean War. Each year after, from 1855 to 1865, the society chose to hold either a ball or a concert. The dinner for members only seems to have given way to an evening's entertainment for a larger crowd. In 1863, The Montreal Gazette noted that

Once on a time, our national societies celebrated the festival of their patron saints by dining and drinking together at some of the public hotels. We live in an age of progress, and this has driven such a custom altogether away. Now, the wives and the children insist on sharing in the festivities of the occasion, and the Bacchanalian orgies in which they could have no share, have vanished. The dinner gave place to the soiree and ball, and they, in turn, have had the addition, in summer, of the open-air Pic-nic.²¹⁹

W. Hamish Fraser writes, in his article "Developments in Leisure" that "It was not until after

²¹⁷Hugh Allan, St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, 10.

²¹⁸Reverend Robert Campbell, James Harper and R. M. Esdaile, A Summary of the First Fifty Years, 32.

²¹⁹The Montreal Gazette, 12 August 1863.

1850 that temperance was really 'respectable' among the Scottish middle class."²²⁰ It appears that temperance became fashionable amongst the members of Montreal's Scottish community during the same period.

The manner in which Saint Andrew's Day was celebrated was not the only transformation for the society in the 1850's. In this period, two new splinter organizations developed from the Saint Andrew's Society. The first was the Caledonian Society, formed in Montreal in 1855. It was supposed to have been organized to complement the Saint Andrew's Society, rather than to compete with it. The Caledonian Society had as its object to promote Scottish "athletic and manly games",²²¹ to cultivate a taste for Scottish music and history, and to give counsel and advice to young men arriving from Scotland. It also proposed to assist the Saint Andrew's Society by donating any money it raised directly to the Charitable Committee of the Saint Andrew's Society. One of the main events sponsored by the Caledonian Society was the annual gathering and games.

There is very little written on the subject of Montreal's Caledonian Society. The Dominion Illustrated magazine described the society in 1889. "Combining as it does by its constitution both literary and athletic pursuits, it has always attracted to its membership the better class of our Scottish population."²²² It is not a surprise to read that the Caledonian Society attracted the so-called better class of the Scottish community, since it had been

²²⁰W. Hamish Fraser, "Developments in Leisure," People and Society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830-1914, ed. W. Hamish Fraser and R. J. Morris, 241.

²²¹The Montreal Gazette, 3 December 1855, 2.

²²²The Dominion Illustrated: A Canadian Pictorial Weekly, 10 August 1889 Vol. III (Montreal & Toronto: The Dominion Illustrated Publishing Company Limited), 86.

associated with the prestigious Saint Andrew's Society from its inception.

The Thistle Society was the second society that developed from the Saint Andrew's Society. By 1857, it was described as "a numerous juvenile society".²²³ The origins of the society probably date back to 1856. At the Saint Andrew's Day procession in that year, mention is made of "...a very pretty worked Juvenile banner, which was carried amid a number of the younger descendants of Old Scotia, who turned out in strong force."²²⁴ There does not appear to be any mention of this group before 1856.

The two splinter societies appear to have been on good terms with the Saint Andrew's Society, and together the three groups organized regular events such as the Saint Andrew's Festival. They also grouped together for special occasions, for example, in constructing a welcome arch for the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860.

The Saint Andrew's Society members, unlike Montreal's Scottish Presbyterian Churches, were remarkably unified throughout the period from 1835 to 1865. Differences that may have arisen between members of the Saint Andrew's Society do not appear to have been catalysts for the formation of a new group. The Saint Andrew's Society, like the Scottish Presbyterian Churches of Montreal, seems to have entered a period of expansion in the late 1850's. It is quite likely that there was an increase in Montreal's Scottish population at that time. This period of expansion is characterized by the formation of two splinter organizations, which were closely tied to the Saint Andrew's Society. The unity observed within the ranks of the Saint Andrew's Society and its satellite organizations may be

²²³The Pilot (Montreal), 2 December 1857.

²²⁴The Montreal Gazette, 2 December 1856.

attributed to the fact that membership was probably confined to the élite of Montreal's Scottish community. Many members shared the same social status and corresponding values and beliefs. The way in which members were elected by ballot at only one meeting a year had not changed by 1864.²²⁵

Although they were of the same social status, it must be remembered that there were some small instances of conflict within the society. The fact that there were members who had left the Society from “conscientious scruples” prior to 1851 is an indication that some members left the Saint Andrew’s Society when they could not reconcile its actions with their own convictions.

The aims of the Saint Andrew’s Society may have been primarily to influence the beliefs and opinions of the community at large at the beginning, but the society appears to have quickly modified its goals to include helping the less fortunate members of the community. The society also helped many destitute Scottish immigrants who were passing through the city. The very existence of the Saint Andrew's Society should serve as a reminder that there was a wide social range of people included in Montreal's Scottish community. Regardless of whether its goals were political or charitable, there would have been no need for this organization within the community had all the Scots in Montreal been rich and successful.

²²⁵The Hon. John Young, President of the Saint Andrew's Society, in his address at the Saint Andrew's Day gathering in 1864, remarked upon the small number of people admitted to the society. He suggested that the constitution be amended to facilitate the admission of new members. The Montreal Gazette, 29 November 1864.

V.

CONCLUSIONS

A cursory look at the Saint Andrew's Society confirms the popular perception of the Montreal Scots as a prosperous and united group. Unlike the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, which were characterized by religious conflict and division in the 1830s and 1840s, the Saint Andrew's Society was able to maintain a relatively unified appearance throughout the period. Saint Andrew's Society members, however, represented only a portion of the Scottish Community in Montreal, the upper level.

An examination of church records and the 1861 census demonstrates that the Scottish community was much more complex than is generally acknowledged in the available literature. The Scottish community was composed of people from various occupations and social levels. Montreal's Scots were not all rich merchants and businessmen, as is the conclusion that might easily be drawn from so many sources. Relatively few members of the Scottish community were able to build a commercial empire and maintain a huge house in the Square Mile. The average Scottish immigrant in Montreal was much more likely to be a baker or a clerk than a merchant. There is, however, evidence that the Scots enjoyed above-average economic success in this city, as there were relatively few Scottish-born servants, labourers and other workers at the lower end of the social scale.

The lack of unity amongst the Scottish Presbyterian community in the 1830s and 1840s may simply have been a result of religious disagreement, but there is some indication that there may have been some class basis behind the religious strife. More research is

needed in order to determine if the religious disagreements were based on class, as some writers have suggested. In some instances, the socio-economic status of the evangelical congregations appears quite clearly lower than that of the others. This is the case in 1845, where the Free Church congregations and the Secession Church had fewer people of higher occupational rank than the two congregations remaining with the Church of Scotland. In 1835, however, the connection between socio-economic status and evangelicalism is not as clear. The records of the Secession Church alone demonstrate this association. Saint Paul's Church, supposedly an evangelical congregation, did not differ significantly from Saint Andrew's or Saint Gabriel's Churches in 1835.

Over time, the religious disagreements within congregations seem to have abated. Although the 1830s and 1840s were characterized by religious division and strife, Montreal's Scottish Presbyterian churches seem to have become more peaceful during the 1850s and early 1860s. Later churches were formed without the animosity that characterized the development of earlier Scottish Presbyterian congregations in Montreal.

Census records and other sources suggest that immigrant Scots in Montreal tended to be of urban and Lowland origins. Comparatively few Highlanders seem to have settled in the city from 1835 to 1865. Montreal's Scots of all social levels appear to have valued education. Indeed, education appears to have been made available to many families in the Scottish community. A higher percentage of children were listed as attending school in Saint Ann's ward than in Saint Antoine ward in 1861. Further research is needed to confirm that the Scots may have had higher than average rates of school attendance.

It is not yet possible to quantify the success of Scottish immigrants in Montreal.

Further studies similar to Michael Katz' study of Hamilton would be useful in this regard. Information from church records as well as the census of 1861 shows, however, that there were comparatively few Scots at the high and low extremes of socio-economic status in Montreal. The majority of Scottish immigrants seem to have been relatively successful in their new home.

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APPENDIX I

SCOTTISH-BORN MONTREALERS, 1861

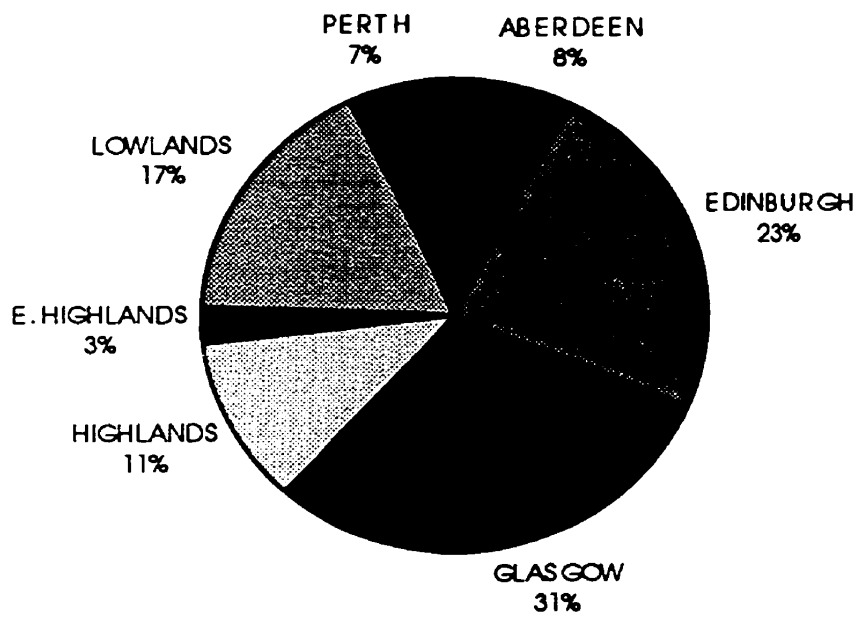
There were 115 records collected from the census in which a city, town, or district of Scotland was mentioned. There had been more, but any extra records from the same family were disregarded. This was done in order to keep the results from being influenced by large families. The census revealed that thirty-five people came from Glasgow and its immediate vicinity, and a further twenty-seven came from Edinburgh and its environs. Thirteen came from the Western Highlands (nine) and Islands (four). Twenty came from the Lowlands of Scotland. Of the twenty Lowlanders, nine were from towns between Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and four from towns between Edinburgh and Glasgow. Eight and nine people came from Perth and Aberdeen, respectively, while three others were from the Eastern Highlands. Chart A is an illustration of these findings.

APPENDIX I

CHART A

PLACE OF BIRTH OF SCOTTISH MONTREALERS IN 1861

FROM 1861 CENSUS DATA



APPENDIX II

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS, 1861

There were 600 records in which the person's occupation was classified according to the occupational classification system developed by Michael Katz. Those unable to be classified included those not listed in his system (i.e. storeman), servants, and women's occupations. Only one hundred and three (17.17%) of the 600 people were classified as type I, the highest category. This category includes merchants, doctors, and clergymen, in other words, the typical Montreal Scots of the history books. A much higher percentage of people (32.17%, or one hundred and ninety-three) were identified as type II, a category which includes clerks, bookkeepers, and grocers. People of the type III category formed the largest group, which, with two hundred and nineteen people (36.5%), was slightly larger than the previous category. Type III occupations included artisans and tradesmen, such as bakers, blacksmiths, and tailors. People from the two lower categories, type IV and V, comprised only 10.17 percent and 4 percent of the total.

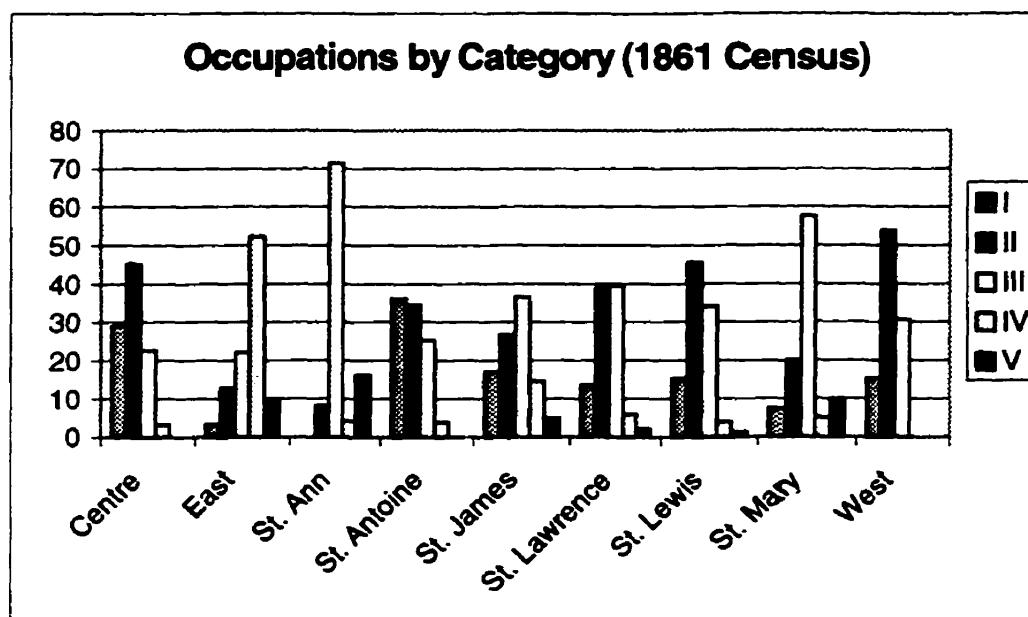
The glimpse of the community afforded by the census records of 1861 demonstrates that rich, successful businessmen and merchants did not make up the majority of the Scottish community in Montreal. The census also shows, however, that an equally small percentage of Scots were in the two lowest-ranked occupational categories.

APPENDIX II

CHART A

OCCUPATIONS OF SCOTTISH-BORN MONTREALERS, 1861

	Centre	East	St. Ann	St. Antoine	St. James	St. Lawrence	St. Lewis	St. Mary	West
I	29.032	3.175	0	36.154	17.073	13.636	15.19	7.5	15.385
II	45.161	12.698	8.163	34.462	26.829	38.961	45.57	20	53.846
III	22.581	22.223	71.429	25.385	36.585	39.61	34.177	57.5	30.769
IV	3.226	52.381	4.082	3.846	14.634	5.844	3.797	5	0
V	0	9.524	16.237	0	4.878	1.948	1.266	10	0



APPENDIX III

SCOTTISH-BORN CHILDREN AGED 5-16 IN SCHOOL, 1861

In the text, the census figures for 1861 were compared with the findings of Michael Katz in Hamilton, and with Bettina Bradbury's discoveries for Saint Ann and Saint Jacques wards in Montreal. The following figures are comparisons for school attendance between some of the other wards in Montreal. Saint Ann's ward has been traditionally regarded as one of the financially disadvantaged areas of Montreal in the nineteenth century. The high percentage of children attending school in this area may be attributed to missionary efforts by the Scottish Presbyterian churches to provide Sunday schools for the children. More research is needed in order to verify this theory.

CENSUS STATISTICS

Aged 5 to 16 in school: 71 of 126 (56.35%)

Males aged 5 to 16 in school: 38 of 61 (62.3%)

Females aged 5 to 16 in school: 33 of 65 (50.77%)

Aged 5 to 16 in school, Saint Ann's Ward: 18 of 28 (64.29%)

Aged 5 to 16 in school, Saint Antoine Ward: 15 of 25 (60%)

Aged 5 to 16 in school, Saint Lewis Ward: 11 of 19 (57.89%)

Aged 5 to 16 in school, Saint Lawrence Ward: 18 of 35 (51.43%)

APPENDIX IV

OCCUPATIONS OF MALES IN THE SAINT GABRIEL STREET CHURCH RECORDS, 1835*

This appendix shows the type of information available in church records for the study of the Scottish Presbyterian community in Montreal. These 92 records were gathered from a total of 235 church records, in which the people were not known to be from outside Montreal. Not all church records gave information on the person's occupation. The records were also edited to remove double and triple listings of one individual in the same year. The occupational categories are those developed by Michael B. Katz in his The People of Hamilton, Canada West. This list also gives an example of the types of occupations that Katz has placed in each category.

Type I

Forwarder: 1
Gentleman: 7
Merchant: 7
Surgeon: 1

Total: 16 or 17.39%

Type II

Farmer: 10
Founder: 1
Grocer: 1
Tavern Keeper: 2

Total: 14 or 15.22%

Type III

Blacksmith: 4
Butcher: 1
Cabinetmaker: 4
Carpenter: 9
Chandler: 2
Cooper: 2
Engineer: 2

Engraver: 1
Joiner: 2
Shoemaker: 7
Tailor: 2

Total: 44 or 47.83%

Type IV

Boatman: 1
Carter: 1
Gardener: 2
Quarrier: 1

Total: 5 or 5.43%

Type V

Labourer: 13 or 14.13%

APPENDIX V**SERVANTS AND DOMESTICS IN MONTREAL'S SCOTTISH COMMUNITY**

There were 1267 records collected from Montreal's Scottish Presbyterian churches (at five year intervals from 1835 to 1865) in which the occupation of the person was given, and the person resided in Montreal. There were only 13 domestics, one farm servant, and one groom listed. An occupation was not generally attributed to women in the church records, therefore the numbers of domestics and servants are undoubtedly slightly greater than the church records indicate.

The 1861 census, however, demonstrates that few Scottish women became servants. There are relatively few women born in Scotland who were listed as servants or domestics, especially when contrasted with the great number of Irish born servants and domestics. Of the 545 females aged eighteen and over, only 55 were listed as servants. Seven others were listed as domestics.

APPENDIX VI**DATA OBTAINED FROM SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH RECORDS,
1835-65**

This appendix demonstrates some of the various different types of information that may be obtained from the records of Montreal's Scottish Presbyterian Churches. Chart A is an illustration of the percentages of occupational categories for each of the four churches in 1835. Michael Katz's occupational classification system was used to categorize the occupations found in the church records. It shows that the Secession church is quite different in character from the three other churches. It has a higher percentage of type III occupations and no records from categories IV or V.

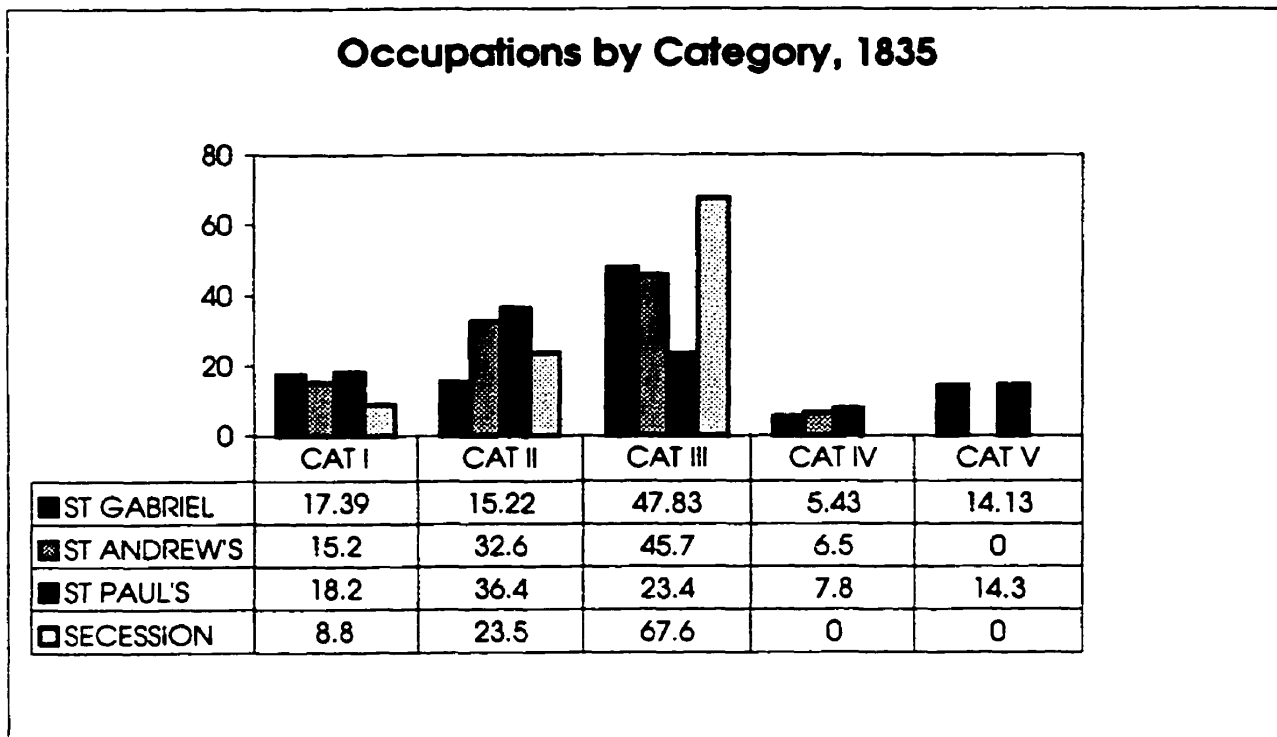
Chart B is a list of the total records from the Scottish Presbyterian Churches between 1835 and 1865. The total number of records each year may be used as a rough guide to the growth or decline of the Scottish Presbyterian community in Montreal.

Chart C compares the individual church record totals over the thirty-year period. With this chart, it is possible to view the growth or decline of the individual churches over time. It is also useful for comparing the level of activity amongst the various churches. The chart was created using the data from Chart B.

Chart D is an illustration of the percentages of occupational categories for each of the five churches in 1845. It shows that the two remaining Church of Scotland congregations (Saint Andrew's and Saint Paul's) appear to have a higher percentage of people of the type I and type II occupations. The other three churches have a decidedly higher percentage of type III occupations.

**APPENDIX VI
CHART A**

OCCUPATIONS IN 1835 FROM CHURCH RECORDS



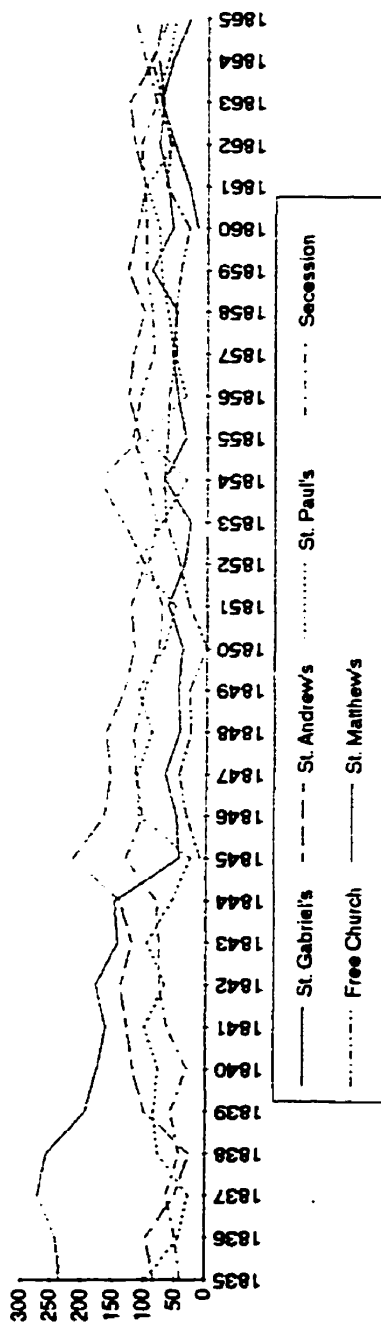
**APPENDIX VI
CHART B**

**TOTAL NUMBERS OF CHURCH RECORDS,
1835-65**

	St. Gabriel's	St. Andrew's	St. Paul's	Secession	Free Church	St. Mathew's	Garrison	Calvin	Total
1835	235	83	97	41					456
1836	241	97	44	50					432
1837	272	50	28	65					415
1838	259	27	79	44					409
1839	196	102	87	58					443
1840	176	120	79	31					406
1841	163	129	100	65					457
1842	179	139	69	78					465
1843	143	121	97	78					439
1844	150	141	57	84					432
1845	45	216	27	131	10				429
1846	49	166	110	105	33				463
1847	68	157	114	116	45				500
1848	45	165	91	120	27				448
1849	46	134	112	101	29				422
1850	40	119	71	81	0				311
1851	65	126	52	74	30				347
1852	37	103	117	97	45				399
1853	28	138	74	85	69				394
1854	70	176	34	98	71				449
1855	36	112	104	123	66				441
1856	50	130	36	110	65				391
1857	58	122	56	90	52				378
1858	51	105	67	93	54				370
1859	93	132	78	101	45				449
1860	58	117	80	102	32	16			405
1861	66	103	102	104	68	31			474
1862	80	121	59	110	63	55	7		495
1863	73	130	88	87	76	77	14	18	563
1864	82	91	66	105	95	59	28	20	546
1865	39	76	54	121	64	30	14		398

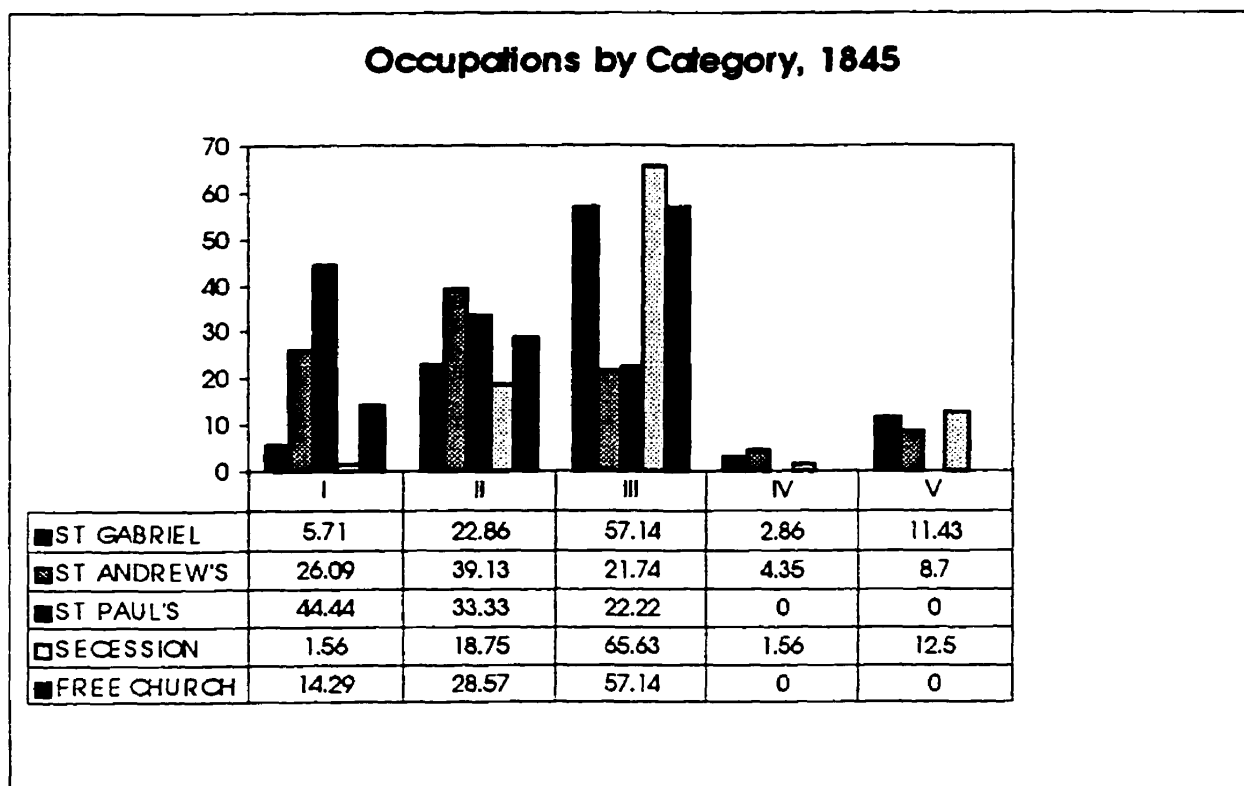
**APPENDIX VI
CHART C**

CHURCH RECORDS TOTALS, 1835-65



**APPENDIX VI
CHART D**

OCCUPATIONS IN 1845 FROM CHURCH RECORDS



APPENDIX VII

IRREGULARITIES IN LYNDA PRICE'S INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE SCOTS IN QUEBEC 1780-1840

The main problem with Lynda Price's work on the Scots in Montreal arises when the reader attempts to determine the basis for her conclusions. Footnotes are scarce and references are often wrong. Even when her statements are correct, the reader becomes suspicious because of the lack of documentation. The sections on the subject of the Scots in Montreal have the appearance of papers that have been rather quickly trimmed out of larger, more explanatory studies. The appendices are particularly disorderly. There are numbers or characters in the text which do not correspond to any footnotes ("16" on p. 91, "62" on p. 93, and "*" p. 107), and footnotes without any corresponding numbers in the text (footnote 4 on page 97, and the "*" on p.73). Other footnotes do not correspond to the proper subject. In chapter three, for example, footnote number twelve sends the reader to appendix four, which does not contain a list of subscribers to the Saint Gabriel Street Church construction debt. Footnote seventeen sends the reader to Campbell's book, and to appendix three of Price's own text. The subject should be lay ministers at the Saint Gabriel Street Church, but none of the appendices correspond to this topic. The subject of appendix three is the Saint Andrew's Church in Quebec City.

The worst offense committed by this book is the improper attribution of appendix five. The biographies of Presbyterian ministers purported to have been "...compiled [sic] by Jane Greenlaw and Peter Orr..." were in fact plagiarized from Elizabeth McDougall's PhD Thesis. The only difference between the two texts, apart from a minor change in the

structure of the footnotes, is in the mistakes and typos in Lynda Price's version (for example, compare Henry Esson, p. 121 with p. 307 McDougall). It is a shame that the only recent study of Montreal's Scottish community should be so seriously flawed.

APPENDIX VIII

THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS OF THE SAINT ANDREW'S SOCIETY OF MONTREAL

The following information is compiled from a list published in the 1886 history of the Saint Andrew's Society of Montreal. The occupations of some of the members in 1835 have been added when possible. Information was gathered from sources such as Reverend Robert Campbell's A History of the Scotch Church and William Rattray's The Scot in British North America. Many people have been positively identified as founding members of the Saint Andrew's Society in these two books. This information has been supplemented whenever possible with data gathered from church and census records. If it was not certain that the identification is correct, a question mark was added. The name of the church is the one that the person attended in 1835. The date added to some of the church names is from the church records database. It represents the church the individual patronized in that year, which may or may not have been the one that the person attended in 1835.

NAME	OCCUPATION	CHURCH
Adam, Robert		
Allan, Hugh	Commission merchant	St. Gabriel's
Anderson, T. B.	Merchant with Forsyth, Richardson & Co.	
Armour, Robert, Sen.	Merchant	St. Paul's
Armour, A. H.	Publisher/bookseller	
Armour, John, Jr.		
Auldjo, George	Bank of Montreal director, merchant	
Benny, Walter		
Black, Rev. Dr. Edward	Minister, Saint Paul's Church	St. Paul's
Blackwood, J. M.		
Boston, John	Sherriff of Montreal/advocate	St. Andrew's
Bowie, Alexander		
Breckinridge, James		
Breckinridge, William		
Brodie, Hugh	Well known farmer and avid agriculturalist	St. Andrew's
Brown, J. O.	Auctioneer, later agent	
Buchanan, Drummond	Lieutenant, 1/2 pay	St. Andrew's
Buchanan, William		
Bury, William		

Campbell, Dr. G. W.	Doctor	St. Andrew's 1836
Campbell, James E.	Lumber merchant, ship owner	St. Gabriel's
Christie, William		
Clarke, Alex.		
Clarke, W. R.		
Cormack, William	Dry goods merchant	St. Gabriel's
Cowan, William	Merchant	St. Gabriel's 1840
Cowan, William		
Cringan, Thomas		
Cuthbertson, James		
Dempster, George		
Dick, James		St. Andrew's 1840
Dickson, G. P.		
Dods, John		
Douglas, William		
Dow, William	Brewer	
Dow, Andrew		
Dow, William		
Duff, Donald		
Easton, Andrew		
Esson, Rev. Henry	Minister, Saint Gabriel Street Church	St. Gabriel's
Ewing, Alexander	Merchant	
Farquhar, William		
Ferguson, Alexander	Forwarder	St. Gabriel's
Ferguson, David	Wealthy cooper	Secession 1840
Ferguson, Archibald	Either a cooper or a forwarder.	Secession 1840
Ferrie, Adam	Merchant	St. Gabriel's
Fisher, Duncan	Lawyer	St. Gabriel's
Fletcher, John	Volunteer hook and ladder company.	St. Paul's
Forsyth, John B.		
Fraser, Dr. William		
Fraser, Farquhar		
Gilmour, Allan		
Gilmour, Jas.	Merchant	St. Andrew's
Gorrie, Daniel	Brewer, & contract/fodder for army horses	
Grant, John	Innkeeper?	St. Andrew's?
Greenshields, Jas. B.		
Greenshields, John jr.		
Gunn, William	Bank of Montreal	St. Gabriel's
Gunn, William	Commissariat Dept.	St. Gabriel's 1836
Hall, Dr. Archibald		
Henderson, James	Merchant	
Hood, John		
Hutchison, William	Successful builder, architect	St. Gabriel's
Innes, Robert W.		
Johnston, George	Government baker	St. Gabriel's 1840
Johnston, James		
Keiller, James		
Keiller, John		
Kennedy, Angus		
Lillie, James	Farmer, Hochelaga	
Logan, James	Merchant?	
Mack, John	Innkeeper?	
Mack, D. K.		
Mackay, Robert	Lawyer	

Macrae, William		
Mathieson, Rev. Dr.	Minister, Saint Andrew's Church	St. Andrew's
McCulloch, Dr.		
McCulloch, Ferdinand	Hardware merchant	St. Gabriel's
McCulloch, Henry		
McDonald, George	Merchant	St. Gabriel's
McGill, Hon. Peter	Wealthy businessman	
McIntosh, Neil		
McIntosh, William		
McKay, David		
McKay, Donald		
McKenzie, John G.	Dry goods merchant	St. Andrew's 1840
McKinlay, William		
McLean, John		
Millar, Walter		
Miller, James	Shipping commission merchant	St. Gabriel's
Milne, James		
Morris, Robert		
Murray, William	Bookkeeper, later insurance	St. Gabriel's
Ogilvie, Alexander	Merchant?	St. Gabriel's
Ogilvy, Arch., sen.		
Poet, James	Turner?	Secession?
Ramsay, Hew		
Ramsay, Mungo	Baker	St. Paul's 1840
Redpath, John	Stonemason, later owned sugar refinery	St. Paul's
Rynas, George	Merchant	St. Gabriel's 1836
Robertson, Dr.	Wm?	St. Paul's
Robertson, William		
Ross, John		
Ross, Joseph		
Ross, Arthur		
Ross, John		
Russel, Colin	Merchant	
Scott, James	Dry goods merchant	St. Gabriel's
Shaw, Andrew	Shipowner and merchant	St. Gabriel's
Shedden, Robert		
Skakel, Alex.	Grammar school	St. Gabriel's
Smith, Dr. W. P.	Doctor	St. Gabriel's 1840
Smith, John		
Smith, John		
Smith, William		
Somerville, James	Retired Rev., St. Gabriel St. Ch., died 1837	St. Gabriel's
Spiers, John	Dry goods merchant	St. Gabriel's
Starke, James	Bookseller/printer	St. Andrew's
Stewart, Dugald	Dry goods merchant	
Strang, Strang	Must be Struthers Strang, merchant	St. Andrew's
Taylor, Hugh		
Torrance, David	Merchant	
Torry, John B.		
Turner, James	Veterinarian	
Tyre, James	Dry goods merchant	St. Andrew's 1836
Ure, Thomas		
Vass, Alex. H.	Merchant	St. Gabriel's
Walker, Joseph		
Watson, William	Likely the flour inspector	

Watson, D. G.
White, Andrew
Whitelaw, John
Willock, John
Young, James

Successful carpenter

St. Paul's