SCOTTISH CHARTISM IN CANADA WEST?: AN EXAMINATION OF THE “CLEAR GRIT” REFORMERS

There is a tendency in Canadian historiography to view radical political reform movements in early nineteenth-century Upper Canada as products of the exposure to American republicanism and thus account for the apparent rejection of such “foreign” ideas by an essentially conservative colonial population. As a consequence, transatlantic radical influences on the colony’s political life have been underestimated. In particular, little attempt has been made to trace the reform ideas introduced to the colony by Scottish immigrants who arrived in their thousands in the early decades of the century. Figures like William Lyon Mackenzie, the Dundee native and leader of the 1837 Rebellion in Upper Canada, have had more than their share of scholarly study but, again, Mackenzie’s American interests have been stressed at the expense of a close study of his Scottish trades experience. This is despite the fact that recent Scottish immigrants, many from Lowland artisan backgrounds, were clearly represented in the rank and file during the events of 1837. The role of the Scottish background of many key leaders of the later radical reform splinter group movement in
Canada West known as the “Clear Grits”\textsuperscript{5}, has also been downplayed as a consequence of an interpretation, put forward both by contemporaries and later historians, which emphasized American influences. For example, Dr. Landon described the Clear Grits as a “radical wing whose political programme was definitely influenced by American theory and practice.”\textsuperscript{6} This was apparently confirmed by the fact that the core of the Grit program was outlined in a speech given by Peter Perry, a long-standing reformer with an American Loyalist background, at a Markham reform meeting on March 12, 1850. Yet a casual examination of Perry’s eighteen-point radical platform reveals a striking parallel with the six points of the People’s Charter - the manifesto of British Chartism, in particular the call for universal manhood suffrage, biennial Parliaments and removal of the property qualification (see Appendix A).

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

\textsuperscript{5} Clear Grits
\textsuperscript{6} Landon
Jacksonian America, but contemporary European republicanism and British Chartism. It will be the purpose of the present discussion to suggest that the Chartist connection, and the transatlantic Scottish role in making it, deserve closer attention. This will be done, firstly, by looking at the leadership of the movement, highlighting the importance of Scottish involvement. Secondly, the focus will shift to the origins and development of the Clear Grit platform in order to account for the “American” interpretation of the movement as well as to point out the similarities with contemporary Chartism. Finally, discussion will move to an examination of the role which Upper Canadian newspapers, published and edited by “Clear Grit” Scots, played in promoting the goals of the reformers, while making an effort to assess the Scottish component of the Upper Canadian constituency most likely to be receptive to their appeal. It will be suggested that even a cursory survey such as this demonstrates the important role that recently arrived immigrants played in shaping the anti-privilege politics of Canada West, and that this calls for a revision of the notion that the population of the province was essentially conservative in nature.

I

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

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

Dr. John Scott, a prominent surgeon in Berlin, Waterloo Township, in a letter to his uncle in Roxburghshire, derided both the “Chartist riots in England, and our radical insurrections in Canada” as examples of “...lawless unthinking striving with constituted authorities.”9 Although such passages do not express much sympathy with Chartism, they do demonstrate an awareness of the movement. Others in Canada must have been more sympathetic, as were the increasing numbers of more recent Lowland artisan immigrants coming into the province. Alex Wilson has contended that the emigration of many of the Chartist rank and file was one of the important contributing factors to the decline of the movement in Scotland after 1839 and again following the agitations of 1848. There was, indeed, a history of radical Scots departing to North America when the pressure was on at home.10
It should not be surprising, therefore, to find that there was a high proportion of Scots and those of Scottish parentage among the founding members of the radical Clear Grits. The principal leaders of the movement began meeting in late December 1849 at the King Street office of William McDougall, a young Toronto lawyer of Scottish and Loyalist pedigree. Three of the founding members present on that occasion were the Rebellion era reformers, Malcolm Cameron, James Lesslie and Peter Perry. Although not involved in the fighting of 1837, all three had been denied meaningful positions in the new Baldwin/LaFontaine Reform coalition government. Only Perry had no Scottish connection, being from a Loyalist family which traced its roots from a seventeenth-century English immigrant to Massachusetts. Despite having played a central role in founding the Reform movement in 1824, Perry’s earlier ties with Mackenzie had discredited him in Baldwin’s eyes.\textsuperscript{11} Early on Perry provided \textit{de facto} leadership for the Clear Grits until his death in August, 1851, but prior to that the role of promoting the group’s goals had been quickly taken up by Cameron and Lesslie.

Malcolm Cameron, unlike Perry, had clear Scottish connections. His father had been a hospital sergeant in a Scottish regiment and his mother was a MacGregor. Although he was born at Trois Rivieres in 1808, Malcolm’s Presbyterian parents ran a tavern in Lanark county and as a consequence Cameron, spent his formative years among the notoriously dissolute half-pay officers of the Ottawa Valley as well as the large number
of Lowland weavers and artisans of the Bathurst district. It was the radical weavers, many from the Glasgow region, rather than the pretentious half-pay officers who influenced the young Cameron and this was reflected in the Bathurst Courier, a reform paper which he founded with his brother John in 1834. Although he would sell the Courier the following year, the paper maintained the reforming bias of its founder and Cameron kept his hand in Upper Canadian publishing, evidenced by the fact that he tried to get his friend and fellow Scot, Thomas McQueen, to edit a reform paper for the newly-settled Huron Tract.

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

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

Of the three Rebellion era Clear Grits, James Lesslie, a native of Dundee and from 1842 the proprietor of the *Toronto Examiner*, had the most recent experience of the social and political climate in Scotland. Lesslie had been in Scotland during the “Radical War” and arrived along with many other Lowland Scots settlers in 1822. He had followed his father, Edward, who himself had earlier accompanied William Lyon Mackenzie on board ship.
from Scotland. James set up a branch of the family general merchandising business in Kingston and in 1826 moved to York (incorporated as Toronto in 1834) to take over the family drug and stationery store, an enterprise that the elder Lesslie had briefly engaged in with Mackenzie. Lesslie and Sons soon came to dominate in this area of business, allowing James to branch out into publishing and civic politics. He became intimately involved with Mackenzie’s bid for the mayoralty of Toronto and in 1835 was instrumental in founding the Bank of the People, the reform response to the Tory government-associated Bank of Upper Canada. Although called by the former Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, a “notorious rebel” and being imprisoned on suspicion of involvement in the Yonge Street rising, no evidence could be found linking Lesslie to the Rebellion. After 1837, he initially championed the cause of responsible government, but after the 1848 elections his paper became one of the most vociferous critics of the Baldwin/LaFontaine coalition. In these early days of the movement, the most important vehicle for the dissemination of Clear Grit radical ideas was Lesslie’s Examiner.

In addition to this Rebellion era core, a group of more recent reformers was present at the King Street meetings. William McDougall himself was the organizer and at twenty-seven, the energy and enthusiasm behind the Clear Grits. He claimed that his commitment to reform was awoken in 1837 when, still a boy, he had witnessed the burning of the rebel headquarters, Montgomery’s
Tavern, which was near his parents' farm on Yonge Street. Suzanne Zellor points out, however, that his early schooling and professional training had some considerable influence on his political thought. Daniel McDougall insisted on a liberal education for his son eventually sending him to the Methodist Upper Canada College. Later, William apprenticed at the law office of James Hervey Price. The majority of Price’s clients were farmers, like McDougall’s father, who often had various grievances with the land policies of the administration. Thus his apprenticeship kept McDougall attuned to the concerns of the pioneer farmers in the province, later translated into a publishing venture entitled the Canadian Agriculturalist. But Price, originally from Cumberland in England, also influenced McDougall’s political opinions, being a reformer himself who was in favour of such radical measures as vote by ballot and elective institutions. As a consequence, McDougall’s education, training and experience encouraged him to identify with those who were committed to radical constitutional reform. His publishing ventures also echoed the journalistic interests of the Clear Grits and this would be demonstrated clearly by the founding of the North American on February 14, 1851, a reform paper which quickly took over from the Examiner as the official voice of the party. But in this regard, McDougall had clearly been anticipated by the newspaper activities of Cameron and, especially, Lesslie.

Another member of the group and recent arrival to Canada West was Edinburgh-born David Christie, who...
had become an affluent farmer in the colony. In 1833, he had emigrated with his family in order for his father to take up a farm in the Scottish settlements of Dumfries Township. But the Christies must have been a family of some means, since they were able to send David to Edinburgh High School before emigrating to Upper Canada. David Christie became one of the most successful farmers in the colony, which also suggests that the family had some resources at their disposal, although Christie gave credit to the improving principles he had acquired as part of his education in Scotland. In Canada West, Christie was instrumental in founding various agricultural societies and exhibitions as well as the Board of Agriculture, but the highest office he held outside of agricultural circles was as reeve of Brantford in 1850. Yet he shared with the other members of the Clear Grits a desire to see radical reform of the constitution along democratic lines. J.M.S. Careless has argued that Christie's interest in reform was a product of a growing perception among the farmers in the western part of the province that since responsible government “ministerial leaders were growing fat if, not unprincipled, in power” and that what was required for them was “cheap and simple government close to the people.” Of course similar indictments of the British governments had been prevalent with radical reform movements since the last decades of the eighteenth century and in Scotland itself, this anti-corruption argument had proved useful in mobilising members of the middle classes. Government repression and increasing violence, however, caused
many to distance themselves, at least publically, from movements like the Chartists.¹⁹

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

Of the founding membership, then, six were of British origin and four were either born in Scotland or of Scottish parentage.²¹ Nevertheless, it had been the Canadian-born Perry, of Loyalist background, who had provided the impetus for the Clear Grits, with his
attack on the policies of the Baldwin/LaFontaine government, a fact that would lead contemporaries, and subsequent historians, to focus on the group’s American orientation rather than its British, and especially Scottish, composition.

II

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

The coalition, however, immediately began to encourage the ire of more determined Upper Canadian reformers, such as Perry, whose expectations, ironically, had been raised by the victory. The administration’s first piece of major legislation, the Rebellion Losses Bill, was designed to recompense Lower Canadians who had suffered damages to property during the insurrection. The bill angered not only conservatives, who denied the necessity of the legislation, but also reformers, who might have agreed with government aid in principle but
did not see why Upper Canada should have to pay for much of it. Baldwin was forced to pass the measure in order to ensure the support of Lower Canadian members, and this betrayed an underlying tension in his government. In order to maintain his position, Baldwin had to balance Upper and Lower Canadian interests.

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

As early as 1849, in his York by-election campaign, Perry tapped into the disillusionment with the slow pace of change and took advantage of Mackenzie’s renewed calls for reform by declaring that he would “act independently in Parliament if elected, would approve truth no matter whence it originated, and would advocate and uphold the true principles of Reform and Responsible Government.” Although Perry wished to fight the election on the issue of unreformed privilege, the Baldwin/LaFontaine administration was more concerned with the growing American Annexation Movement based in Montreal. Along with their supporter George Brown,
the Alloa-born editor of the Toronto *Globe* and boyhood classmate of David Christie, the administration sought to make annexationism the major issue of the campaign.\textsuperscript{25}

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

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

Historians, including Brown’s biographer, have
tended to view the Clear Grit radicalism in the same manner, even though much of the evidence could be interpreted in a different light.\textsuperscript{27} What contemporaries, and some later historians, chose to ignore was that the use of American images to argue for reform had a long history in British radicalism and was particularly evident in the \textit{Chartist Circular}, produced in Glasgow by the city’s leading Chartist, William Pattison.\textsuperscript{28}

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

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

The \textit{Globe} is notable for the fact that it was exceptional among reform papers for the vehemence of its attack on the Clear Grits and, as a consequence, Lesslie’s
Examiner quickly rose to the challenges it made. George Brown had argued that the majority of the issues promoted by the Grits were ones which most reformers agreed upon and had “always contended for” but they had made their way onto the Grit program as “a cloak for the revolutionary parts of the scheme.” In response, the Examiner acknowledged that the platform did not present “many new issues to the country” but stressed the fact that nothing had been achieved on long-standing grievances, as all reforms had been “‘tomahawked’ by the old ladies of the legislative council.”

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

The six points of the Chartist People’s Charter were a similar attempt. Four of the Charter’s points - annual parliaments, universal male suffrage, removal of the property qualification, and secret ballot - were directly related to the novel aspects of the Markham platform. The two remaining points - payment of MPs and equal
electoral districts - reflected similar Clear Grit concerns, such as the demand for “elective institutions” and payment of jurors, both of which were intended to allow all who were qualified and desirous to be able to serve without having to rely on patronage (see Appendix A). All of these Clear Grit and Chartist proposals were designed to allow greater access to the machinery of government and to circumvent privilege.

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

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

The Courier claimed that because the measure ignored the principle of representation by population it merely reinforced the existing system and was the “very essence of Toryism and must have been borrowed from that party, who pride themselves on being advocates of tyranny and misrule.”\textsuperscript{33}
Both Clear Grit papers appealed to the principle of universal suffrage, long demanded by British radicals, but then went on to attack the LaFontaine bill with an Upper Canadian gloss. They contended that the measure was in fact an attempt to have Lower Canadian interests dominate the house. Suffrage was not only seen as an inalienable right, but a way in which the French-Canadian influence could be checked. The *Examiner* saw the bill’s defeat as the foiling of a sinister plot, reporting that, “The *Journal de Quebec* has stated that the measure would be able to give the Gallic population of Lower Canada a certain and lasting preponderance over the rest of the population.” The *Courier* agreed, stating that LaFontaine would never have proposed a bill that would sacrifice Lower Canadian interests. But equal representation, a key Chartist demand translated by the Clear Grits as representation by population, would recognize “the tide of emigration to Upper Canada, in which thousands are yearly arriving.” Both papers believed that the population of Upper Canada was increasingly greater than that of Lower Canada and, therefore, the introduction of universal suffrage and equal representation would accurately reflect the composition of the two provinces in parliament. According to the *Examiner*, this was only natural and LaFontaine’s bill was an artificial attempt to preserve what was doomed:

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

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

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

The high-point of Clear Grit influence came with Baldwin’s resignation in July 1851 over the Chancery Court issue. The Examiner argued that his mistake was
to attempt “the reconstruction of the Court of Chancery at a time when it ought to have been abolished.” The editorial then went on to attack the Baldwin government for failing to take into account public opinion. The *Courier* agreed: “[d]issatisfaction seems to pervade the length and breadth of the [Reform] party in so far as Upper Canada is concerned - brought on we must confess, owing to the tardiness or unwillingness of Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues to grapple with the just demands of the people.” The clear implication was that if universal suffrage were to be enacted, then such high-handed governance would not be possible.35

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

One of the longest-lasting aspects of the Chartist movement in Scotland was the survival of the Chartist churches. According to Rev. William Hill, editor of the radical paper the *Northern Star*, “the chief strength of Scottish Chartism...resided in the Christian Chartist Churches.” Their congregations were located in the Gorbals, Paisley, Renfrew and other industrial areas of the greater Glasgow region. One Chartist paper summed up the sentiment behind the movement:
The man who is not a Chartist is not a Christian otherwise than in name... Practical Christianity can never be reconciled to narrow selfish politics... Real Chartism seeks to do justice to every man without exception. It is therefore a holy-sacred principle[,] a principle which must be engraved on the heart of any man who loves justice, who loves humanity, who loves the Christian religion.\textsuperscript{37}

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

Many of the immigrants who came from Glasgow to Canada West would have known about the Chartist
churches and they would have seen a familiar issue in the Clergy Reserves controversy. Upper Canadian reformers of Protestant background had largely been opposed to the settlement which had endeavoured to give the lion’s share of the sale of reserve public lands to the Anglican Church. Although the Church of Scotland was also generously provided for, the Free Kirk, formed in 1843, was not, and in these circumstances the reserves would have been particularly galling to many Scottish immigrants on religious grounds alone. But the Clear Grit leadership, particularly the Presbyterian Cameron, the Secessionist Christie and the Scots Baptist Lesslie, were especially opposed the Anglican domination of the land reserves income on grounds other than religious belief. As with the Scottish Chartist, the Clear Grits believed the offices of the church were sources of patronage for the Upper Canadian elite and argued that the numbers of adherents did not justify the level of support. In his Markham speech, Perry suggested that there were no biblical grounds for such endowment and claimed that Christ after all had died because he had opposed the “established church.” He stated that the Clear Grits believed in a “voluntarist” principle and that the reserves should be used for the benefit of all Protestants. This alarmed the Catholic Church in Quebec who saw this as a direct challenge to their land holdings in Lower Canada. LaFontaine’s defence of state recognition of “vested religious interests” prompted many Clear Grits to again see French Canadian influence in the coalition halting...
the progress of reform. As a consequence, by 1851 the debate over the reserves question had degenerated into an anti-Catholic attack, as witnessed by editorials in the Examiner, the Courier and even the Globe. 39

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

The Clear Grits had precipitated a great deal of reform infighting and brought down one administration because of the group’s impatience with the pace of reform, but their greater significance, for our purposes, is the extent to which the group demonstrated the
continued importance of British and especially Scottish developments for the political life of Canada West. The Chartists’ six points, and the Scottish variant of the movement, provided the general principles to which the old grievances could be attached and the Clear Grit influenced press, with its heavy Scottish proprietorship, gave the means to promote this new fusion.

III

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

Underhill believed that the “Clear Grits” had the
same appeal among the pioneers of Canada West as Jacksonian “Frontier Democracy” had in the United States; he described this rural electorate as the “intelligent yeomanry of Upper Canada.”

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

The readership of the Courier and Signal not only conforms to this profile, they were also composed of a great many Lowland Scots of artisan, labouring or small farming origins. The intense agricultural and industrial transformation occurring in Lowland society in the opening decades of the nineteenth century not only made for frequent industrial disturbances during
the periodic economic slumps that hit trades like weaving, but also provided hundreds of immigrants for the ships heading to colonies such as Canada West. Many of these migrants were skilled, literate tradesmen who made their way to the Ottawa Valley and the western counties.\textsuperscript{45}

But Scottish settlement was not restricted to the rural pioneering districts of Canada West. Scots were also found in urban centres like Toronto, where they would have seen Lesslie’s \textit{Examiner}. Michael Katz’s examination of Hamilton has also revealed that Scottish Presbyterians made up 12.7 percent of the total population in 1851. At the same time, Scots also made up 10.5 percent of the poorest inhabitants of the city and a great many of these, in turn, belonged to the trades or semiskilled and unskilled labour. As the century progressed many Scots showed considerable upward mobility, that would have been of little consolation to the emigrant weavers, stone masons, carpenters and painters who, in the 1840s, left depressed trades in Scotland only to find destitution in Canada West.\textsuperscript{46} It was this group who would have been reading that city’s reform paper the \textit{Journal and Express}, with its expositions of established privilege as the root cause of the labouring population’s misfortune, an analysis that they would have seen before in Chartist papers and the earlier British radical press. In fact, the tone was so similar that J.M.S. Careless has claimed that Charles Clark’s writings in the paper “would veritabaly make the People’s Charter ring thorough the Clear Grit platform.”\textsuperscript{47}
Nevertheless, Kenneth Dewar, in the most detailed study of Chartist influence on Upper Canadian reform to date, argues that despite Clarke’s artisan background, his letters, signed with the pseudonym “Reformator” and published in various reform papers, represent the more moderate middle-class, or ‘moral’ force, element in the movement. According to Dewar, this was because of his adaption of his experience of English radicalism to the social conditions in British North America. As a consequence, Clarke was “less interested in mediating between worker and aristocracy” as his middle-class Chartist counterparts were attempting in Britain, but was instead committed to “giving voice to farmers, merchants, and mechanics, obstructed by the feudal pretensions of government officials and professional men.”48

All the same, despite the appeal to the labouring population and the occasionally violent nature of some Chartist protest, particularly with the 1839 Newport Rising in Wales, Gareth Stedman-Jones has concluded that the movement in Britain was also dominated by middle-class concerns and rhetoric. Parliamentary reform only provided a focus for middle-class and working-class discontent at a time when the former was excluded from governmental participation. As Stedman-Jones states, “...from 1832 onwards the middle-class formed part of the legislative classes and thus became the authors of the miseries of which the working class complained; while a portion of middle class opinion was prepared to support the Chartist petition, there was no corresponding support for the Convention (of 1839) as
rival legislative body.” Since the middle-class was not prepared to take this revolutionary step, and because they provided the rhetoric for the movement, the differing aims of the classes took the steam out of Chartism. Dorothy Thompson further supports this thesis by suggesting that by the 1850s working-class energy was diverted from Chartism into trade unionism.\textsuperscript{49} This class division within the movement has often been portrayed as a conflict between “moral force” and “physical force” elements. William Ferguson uses this model to account for the differences between Edinburgh and Glasgow Chartists, although this explanation also recognizes economic factors, “Glasgow was more proletarian and suffering from industrial depression and unrest, whereas the Edinburgh Chartists were dominated by fairly prosperous artisans.” As a consequence, the Glasgow Chartists were more prone to direct physical action than their better off and more moderate Edinburgh brethren.\textsuperscript{50} To a certain degree, this dichotomy was reflected in the reform movement of Canada West, with George Brown being the inheritor of Edinburgh liberal ideals and the Clear Grits representing the more radical disillusioned elements. As Careless points out, Brown was keenly interested in questions of penal, social and governmental reform but, as with his British liberal counterparts, he was reluctant to accept large-scale constitutional changes.\textsuperscript{51} The Clear Grits, on the other hand, were demanding immediate wholesale reforms of this nature.

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

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

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

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

In Canada West, both this continuity as well as the transformation to peaceful tactics are exemplified by William Lyon Mackenzie. Although he had renounced his earlier revolutionary past, upon his return to Upper Canada Mackenzie sought to promote further reform through debate in the legislature and through his newspaper, the *Message*. This did not mean, however, that he had lost his interest in radical working-class politics.
In his private scrap books, which are housed in the Public Archives of Ontario, one will find under the heading “Chartism, or White-slavery - labourers - workmen,” clippings from *The Radical, The Northern Star* and the *Chartist Circular*, including a story from the latter on the Chartist disruptions of political meetings in Glasgow.\(^5\)

Although Mackenzie was not a member of the Clear Grits, much of his experience, tactics and personal connections to Scottish radical influences were shared. Many of the areas of Upper Canada which had supported the Rebellion had also supported the Clear Grits and were, in addition, areas of particularly heavy Scottish settlement. A great many of those Scots were only recently removed from the radicalized political context of Lowland Scotland. Although there has been some recent reaction against overdrawing the regional aspects of Chartism, such as Chartist churches, and emphasizing once again the British and working-class aspects of the movement, nonetheless it is clear that Lowland Scotland, and the Glasgow region in particular, played a central role in the movement.\(^5\) For this reason alone we should be sensitive to the radical baggage, including their newspapers, that many Scots would have brought with them to Upper Canada. This inclined them to support reform movements in general and the Clear Grits in particular. Contemporaries, especially George Brown, were obsessed with the personal qualities of the group’s leadership, Brown called the Grits “a miserable clique of office-seeking bunkum-talking cormorants,”\(^5\) but as we
have seen, the critic’s condemnation has led historians to overlook the remarkable Scottish composition of the Clear Grit leadership and their press.

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

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**Endnotes**

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4. See Colin Read and Ronald J. Stagg, eds., *The Rebellion of 1837 in Upper Canada* (Ottawa, 1988), pp. lxxv, 16, 103. Although Scots were not heavily represented in
Duncombe's rebellion, which centred on the western, mainly pioneering, part of the colony and followed the failure of Mackenzie's rising, Lowland Scottish settlers in Dumfries township had supported the reform movement and appear to have been excluded only because news did not reach their settlements until after the insurrection. See Colin Read, The Rising in Western Upper Canada: Duncombe Revolt and After (Toronto, 1982) pp. 50, 182-83.

5. The origins of the label “Clear Grit” are obscure. One contemporary report suggested that the term came out of a discussion between David Christie and George Brown regarding the nature of the group. Christie claimed that moderate reformers, like Brown, would not be welcome: “We want only men who are Clear Grit.” Certainly, Brown's paper, the Globe, was applying the term to the radicals in December of 1849 and the label stuck. “David Christie,” DCB, vol. X, 1871-1880, p. 169.


Canada, 1760-1849 (Toronto, 1982), pp. 139-158.


10. For example, the pro-Chartist, editor of the “Paisley” Section of the Glasgow Saturday Post, John Henderson (1797-1851), had fled Scotland in 1819 when he was suspected of supplying pikes to radicals. He later served as Paisley Provost in 1841-43 before making his newspaper contributions. For the influence of earlier radicalism on Lowland settlers emigrating to the Ottawa Valley see M. Vance, “The Politics of Emigration: Scotland and Assisted Emigration to Upper Canada, 1815-1826,” in T.M. Devine, ed., Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society (Edinburgh, 1992) and “Advancement, moral worth and freedom: some possible meanings of ‘Independence’ among early nineteenth-century Glasgow emigrants to Upper Canada,” in Ned C. Landsman, ed., Scotland and the Americas (Edinburgh, forthcoming). For the importance of emigration in the decline of Scottish Chartism, see Alex Wilson, The Chartist Movement in Scotland (Manchester, 1970).


14. See for example his letter “To the Electors of Huron, Perth and Bruce” explaining the reasons for resigning from the Hincks reform coalition in 1851. December 19, 1851, Courier.

15. The 1820 “Radical War” was an abortive rising of radical-


19. For an example of this, see Fiona A. Montgomery, “Glasgow and the Movement for Corn Law Repeal,” History, 1979, pp. 363-379, who argues that middle-class reformers shifted focus from Chartism to the Corn Laws to the detriment of the former movement.


21. Another Englishman, originally from Thorbury, Gloucester, was Dr. John Rolph, a physician, lawyer and political ally of Mackenzie, who was adopted by the Clear Grits as a spokesman because of his rhetorical ability and open conflict with Baldwin. However, his involvement with the foundation of the movement is uncertain and unlike the other members, he was from a relatively affluent professional family. “John Rolph”, DCB, vol. IX, pp. 683-689.

22. For a detailed analysis of the attainment of responsible government and the significance of this element of self-government for the Canadas, see J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institu-


26. Hopkins, like Perry, was from an American Loyalist family (New Jersey) and had a long political career as reform MP for Halton county. As with Perry, early on he had close ties with Mackenzie and openly rejected the more moderate course followed since the Rebellion. His by-election campaign provided the Clear Grits with the ready-made opportunity to announce their platform to the electorate, hence the Markham speech. “Caleb Hopkins,” *DCB*, vol. X, 1871-1880, pp. 358-359.


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

“The Social Condition of the American Operative,” July 10, 1841. See also “The Emigrant’s Farewell,” Appendix B.

29. For example see the Courier, May 10, 1850, August 20, 1851, December 19, 1851.
31. Examiner, March 20, 1850.
32. Examiner, July 3, 1850.
33. Courier, July 12, 1850.
34. Examiner, July 3, 1850; Courier, July 12, 1850. See also Careless, Union of the Canadas, pp. 181-82. The co-existence of liberal and radical movements for reform alongside racial antagonism was not peculiar to British North America, as recent work on race and class in the United States has shown. See in particular David R. Roediger, The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (New York, 1991). For the reaction to the Irish in Scotland, see T.M. Devine, ed., Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society (Edinburgh, 1991).
35. Even some of the more circumstantial Clear Grit complaints, such as the ill-effects of unrestrained government spending, caused by a lack of checks which it was assumed universal suffrage would provide, are echoed in Scottish Chartist literature [See “Retrenchment and a Property Tax,” Chartist Circular, June 7, 1840]. The concern with the legal supports for the aristocracy was also anticipated in the Chartist press [See “On the Law of Primogeniture,” Chartist Circular, December 21, 1839]. For a general account of the linkage between material circumstances and constitutional reform in British radicalism, see D. Wright, Popular Radicalism: The Working Class Experience 1780-1880 (London, 1988).
36. Courier, July 22, 1851.
37. Alex Wilson, The Chartist Movement in Scotland, pp. 40-
38. McDougall, Cameron and Lesslie were all supporters of the contemporary Anti-Clergy Reserves Association. See the entry for each in \textit{DCB}.  
41. \textit{Courier}, March 29, 1850.  
52. Tony Clarke, “Early Chartist in Scotland,” p. 120.
APPENDIX A

I. The People’s Charter

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. ASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT – “The time of meeting of Parliament should be also fixed by law.”

8. RETRENCHMENT – “The Government of Canada is the most expensive in the world, considering its circumstances.” “Proper retrenchment would enable us to save some $500,000 to $600,000 a year.”

9. PENSION TO JUDGES – “Bad in principle and worse in practise.” “He referred to the case of our Judges – such a system ought to be done away with.”

10. LAW COSTS – “Are greater than in any other country.” He believed vast savings may be made to the country by a proper system, and was not opposed to paying lawyers properly for the performance of necessary duties.” “They (the Judges) are not the right men to fix the fees or law-costs – that should be done by law.”

11. THE JUDICIARY – “He would abolish the Court of Chancery, and also the Common Place, and have one Court of Queen’s Bench, County Courts and Township Courts, and would have judges to “tend them.” For the Township Courts the Judges could attend them; these Courts could have jurisdiction as high as £100 in matters of contrast.”

12. FREE TRADE – “He was a Free Trader. The system of free trade and direct taxation, was the best that could be devised for any country.”

13. THE CLERGY RESERVES – “The Reserves were set apart, not for one church, but for all Protestants – they should now be used for the public benefit of all.”
“He (Mr. P.) would not go to Downing Street about it; we should settle it ourselves so that it should stay settled.”

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

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

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

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

18. PROGRESS GENERALLY – “Members generally were blamed for not moving as fast as the people, but the principal difficulty they would have with him would be
to hold him back, as he would probably wish to go faster than his constituents, and would require ‘breeching’ a little.”


*Chartist and Clear Grit points which are related directly.
APPENDIX B

“The Emigrants’ Farewell”

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

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

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

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

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


3. It is useful, I think, to distinguish between defacto and bureaucratic multiculturalism. Whereas the former identifies a community’s comprising people of diverse cultural backgrounds as a matter of fact, the latter is a political initiative designed to encourage and reward group difference.


8. Tanner, p. 128.


13. IBID, p. 63.

14. IBID, p. 87.

15. IBID, pp. 127 and 135.


